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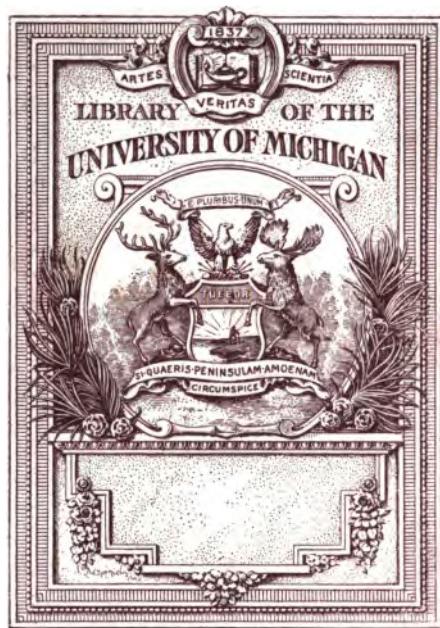
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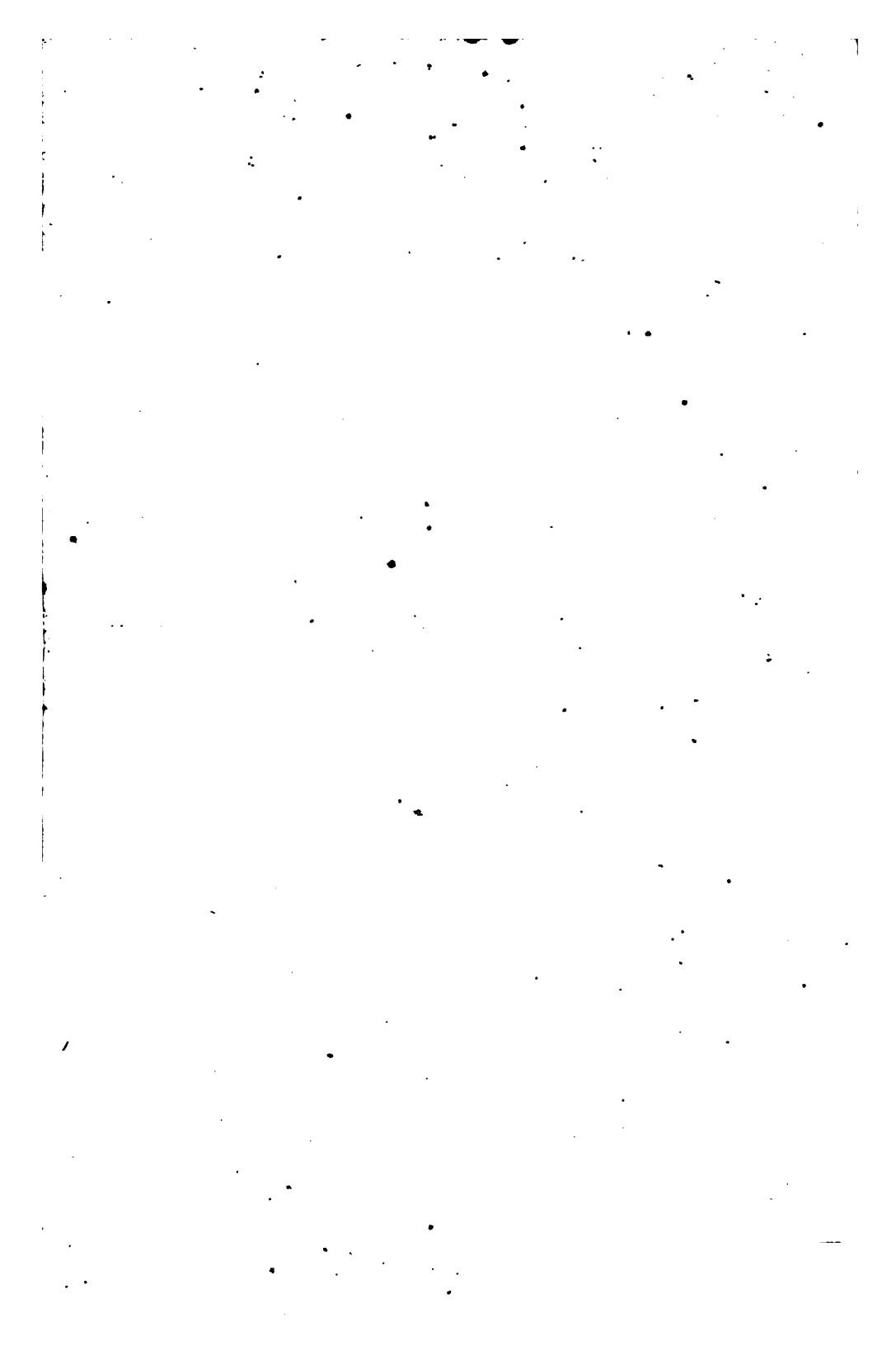
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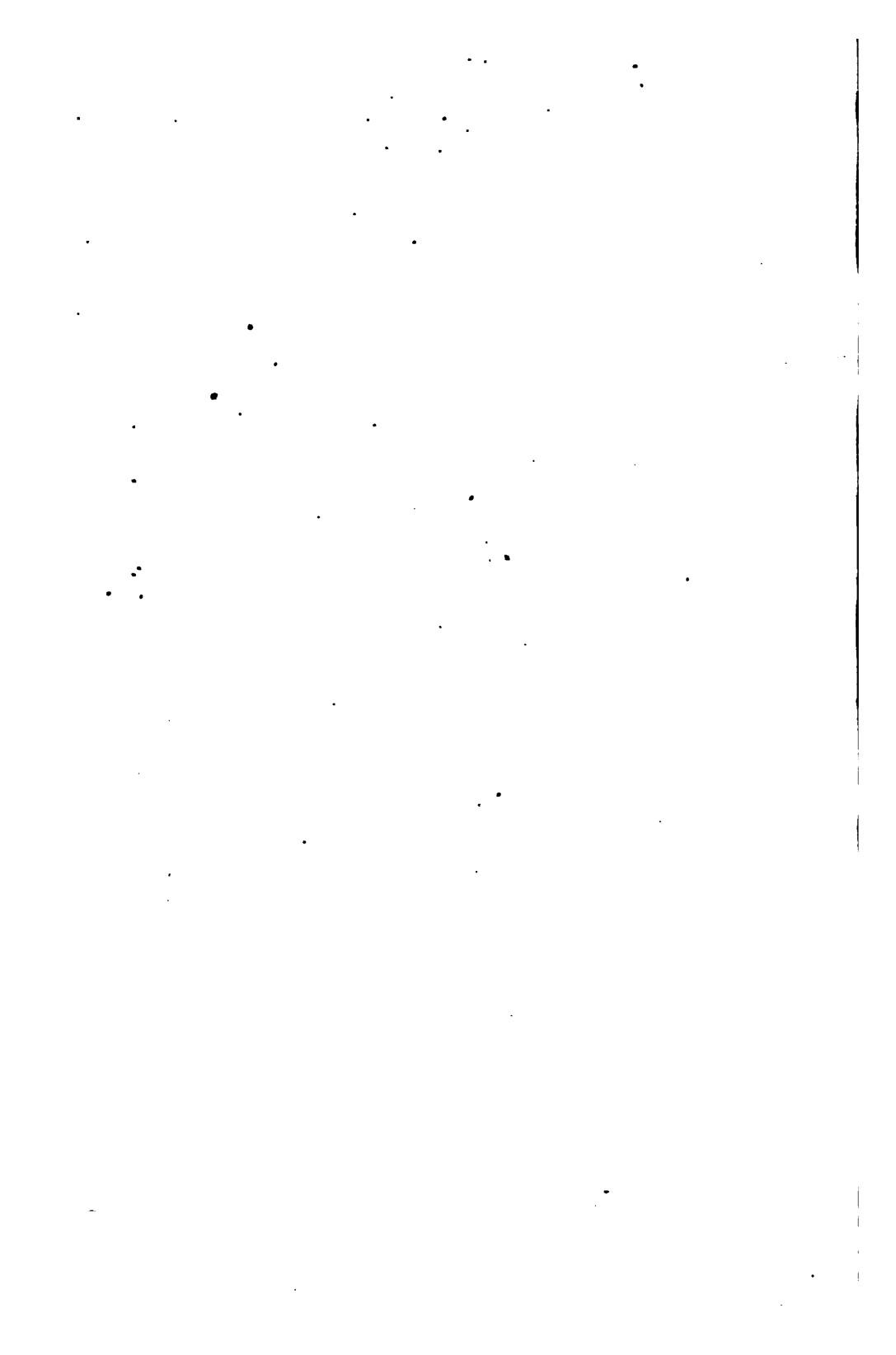
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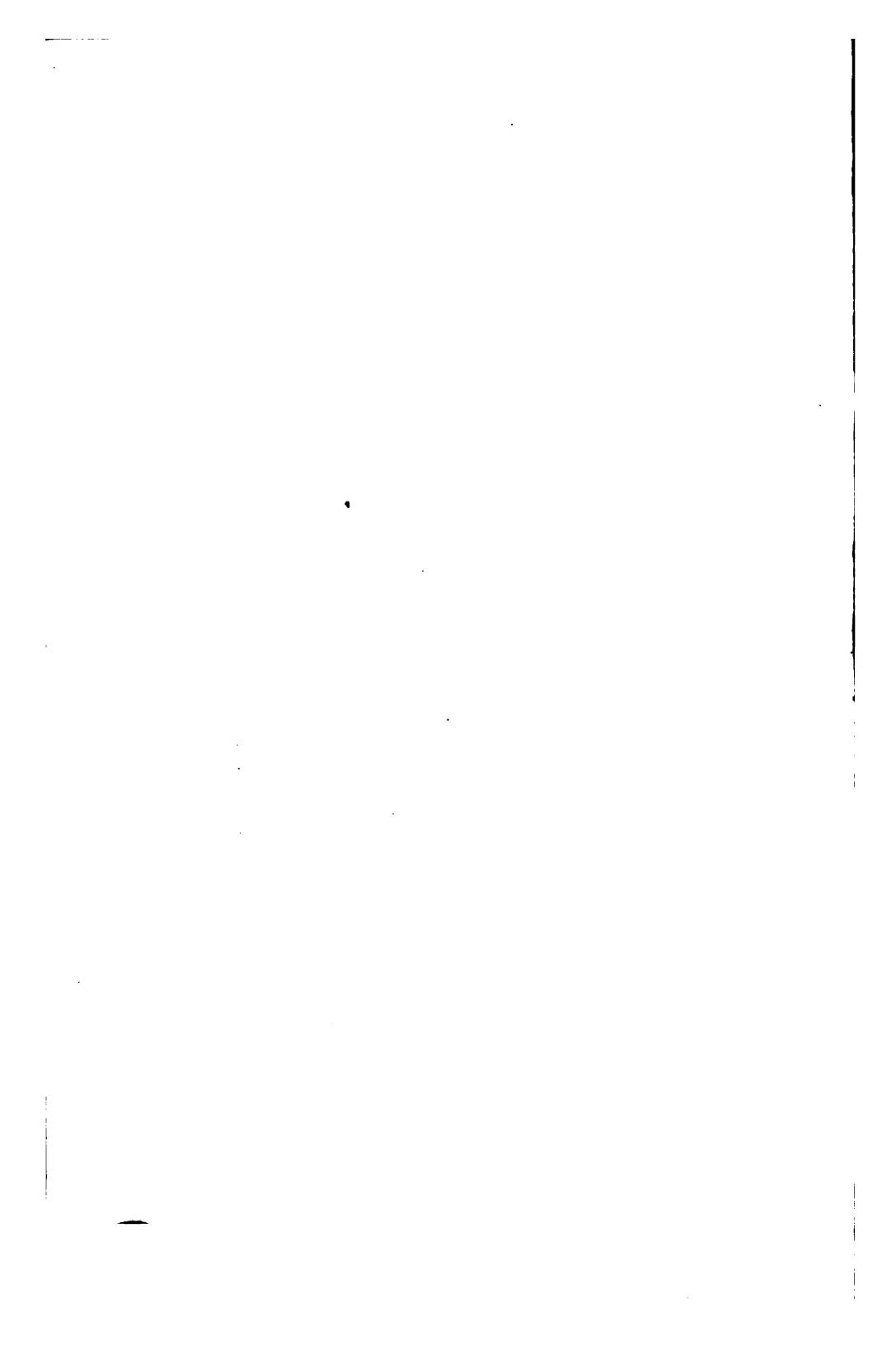
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**ELIJAH AT THE BROOK CHERITH, AND AT ZAREPHATH.**

IN these days, when a specious rationalism is assaulting the very foundations of a divine revelation, and is scoffing at, or explaining away, all idea of miraculous agency, it may not be an uninstructive task to select from time to time, for our more special study, one of those gracious or judicial interpositions of the Most High towards his chosen people, which are recorded in the Old Testament. And as we are attentively and reverently reading what shall have thus been selected, that which is super-human, as the mind pauses to contemplate it, will generally be found so plainly in keeping with that grand and pervading element of Hebrew history, its wonderful theocracy, and at the same time so simply interwoven with what may be called the merely human portion of the narrative, as to give to the sacred record a marvellous, though seemingly undesigned, stamp of authenticity. This, while it can scarcely fail to strike and arrest with a pleasing surprise the mind of a sincere inquirer, is also not less calculated to confirm anew the faith of the humble and devout Christian.

We may be permitted to refer for an illustration of our remark to the seventeenth chapter of the first book of Kings, where we read as follows:—“And the word of the Lord came unto Elijah the Tishbite, saying, Get thee hence and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, which is before

Jordan. And it shall be, that thou shalt drink of the brook, and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there. So he went and dwelt by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan. And the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening, and he drank of the brook."

The plain Christian student of Holy Writ, who would indeed be surprised were he not to meet with wonderful things in the history of Jehovah's dealings with his chosen people, sees nothing in this marvellous narrative that he feels himself justified in confidently and impatiently rejecting as too mean and trivial for the wisdom and power of the Holy One of Israel to condescend to devise and execute. Believing in the existence and attributes of the God of the Bible, who is the Creator of heaven and earth, and the moral governor of the universe, and who, if it should be his good pleasure to do so, has both the right and the power to assume and sustain, in a special and peculiar sense, the office of king over some one particular nation; such an inquirer asks little beyond a clear historical testimony, duly preserved unto the present day, which shall be able to bear all fair and needful investigation, and he finds himself prepared to follow, not without gratitude for the spiritual instruction thus provided, the successive steps of the brief history before us. His reason and his conscience can receive as important and connected facts, Jehovah's selection of a prophet whose character was so strikingly adapted to his mission, at a time when the divine forbearance had been outraged by daring provocations, and when the apparently universal apostasy of the kingdom of Samaria to the idolatry of Baal made such a divine and judicial interposition almost necessary—the entrusting to this selected prophet the denunciation of a severe judgment meet for the transgression, and to be fearlessly proclaimed before the idolatrous Ahab—the deadly wrath of the guilty king against his fearless reprobate rendering flight and concealment imperative upon the faithful messenger—the banks of the Cherith graciously assigned by heaven as the place of solitary and secure retreat—and finally, though marvellous yet not incredible, the ravens of Israel set apart by their Almighty Maker and preserver, and constrained to feed that prophet whom the king of Israel, with his princes and priests (all of whom had rendered themselves, through their idolatrous Baal-worship, far more unclean than the unclean ravens), was fiercely seeking, in order to silence his testimony by taking away his life. Difficulties in the way of the submission of faith are lessened, when we recall the well-known words of our Lord to his disciples, "Consider the ravens, for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouses

nor barns, and God feedeth them." A few minutes' quiet meditation on such a sentence, coming from such lips, will pleasingly tend to soften our self-sufficient incredulity, to enlighten healthfully our minds, and to nourish and assist our belief. We are led onward to approve, admire, and believe, as we see that it was neither unworthy of the wisdom, nor degrading to the power of that God who mercifully deigns to feed the ravens, to provide by their unwonted ministry for the daily necessities of the faithful Tishbite, while, during a time of mortal peril, he was constrained to keep aloof from his fellow-men in his appointed hiding-place by the brook Cherith.

But there are minds which are not satisfied with the patient exercise of devout and impartial investigation to discover what are the claims which a miraculous scriptural narrative possesses to our acceptance and belief. Such persons are morbidly jealous of miraculous agency, while they cannot bring themselves to reject altogether the reality of a special divine interposition in the affairs of men, on certain extraordinary occasions, setting aside for a time the ordinary laws of nature. But they are unable to resist a secret longing to explain away, at the risk of serious spiritual loss, what is superhuman, merely because it is superhuman; and under the influence of an unhappy speculative impatience, they become more disposed to sit as judges upon the Word of God, than as humble learners at the footstool of the God of the Word.

When these become aware that the Hebrew term, which is translated "ravens" in the history of Elijah, has also the signification of "Arabians," they are not content to enter upon a dispassionate inquiry how far the latter can claim to displace the former meaning. They warmly and at once reject the ministry of the unclean birds, and insist upon that of Arabian Gentiles, chiefly because the latter view has in it less of the miraculous element than the former. Some, who have no wish to abandon the old interpretation for themselves, too readily join in this course from a false liberality that not unfrequently labours, even to the serious peril of the simplicity of scriptural truth, to render the miraculous portions of the sacred record as little offensive as possible to sceptical minds. Turning away, however, from such motives, which unfit the mind for the right discharge of our duty, let us inquire to which form of divine interposition in the present case the context is most favourable. For a sober appeal to the context is the proper way to discover which of the meanings of an ambiguous term is to be chosen in any particular instance. Nor is it to be regarded as a trifle unworthy of notice that, if our Authorized Version gives us (as we may reasonably

think it does) a sufficiently accurate rendering of the preceding and succeeding context, a plain and sensible English reader, with a map of Palestine before him, is well-nigh as competent to pass judgment upon this question, as is a profound Oriental scholar.

Elijah the Tishbite was of the inhabitants of Gilead, a region on the eastern side of the Jordan. And had he been in Gilead when he received the divine injunction to conceal himself from the pursuit of Ahab and Jezebel, and if the heavenly mandate, without naming the waters of the Cherith and Jordan, had been delivered in something like the following terms—"Go hence, into the country of the children of the east, that Ahab may not find thee; behold, I have commanded the *עריוֹת* to feed thee there," we should scarcely hesitate to accept "*Arabians*" as the correct translation of the ambiguous Hebrew word. Indeed, if the Lord had sent his servant for refuge into a Gentile country, we should naturally expect that he would incline the hearts of the inhabitants to treat him with hospitality and courtesy. Thus, when he withdraws, at the divine command, into "the land of Zidon," he is directed to share in the miraculously provided meals of the widow and her son at Zarephath. But if Elijah is to remain in Ephraim, we do not see why the Lord should bring in Gentiles from a distance to do that which could be equally well accomplished by some other instrumentality. And if it formed part of his divine and all-wise plan to make even the very manner of supplying Elijah with food in his hiding-place a manifestation of his inexpressible superiority to Baal, how much more suitable for such a purpose would be the ministry of ravens than that of Arabian Gentiles.

But the Tishbite was not directed to go and sojourn for a while among the children of the east; and the context plainly teaches that he was not in the land of Gilead when the divine injunction reached him. He had fearlessly executed what would have been a perilous, not to say certainly fatal, commission, but for special protection from on high, in declaring to the idolatrous Ahab, "As the Lord God of Israel, before whom I stand, liveth, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my words." The sharp sting from the lips of the prophet was, that so bold and stern a denunciation was fearlessly addressed, at a time when Israel, through the arts and devices of Jezebel, had openly renounced Jehovah for Baal, to the royal patrons of that wretched and intrusive idol. Jezebel, in the hour of her idolatrous triumph, could not fail to understand the meaning of the prophet's menacing language. It plainly implied, on the part of the Most High, deep loathing and withering scorn of

Baal, whom Tyre and Sidon honoured as the god of themselves and their fathers, with righteous indignation against the revolted Israelites of every rank and class, from the throne to the cottage, who had followed Jezebel, and surrendered themselves to the service and worship of a foreign idol. The prophet's menace announced also the divine determination to inflict signal and suitable punishment upon their heinous spiritual ingratitude and rebellion. In consequence of the helpless inability of the poor dumb idol to preserve its wicked and infatuated votaries from the impending horrors of drought and famine, its worship was as absurd as it was sinful and insulting to the majesty of Jehovah. For dew, and showers, and fruitful seasons, seed-time and harvest, were precious gifts that proceeded not from the lifeless and senseless Phœnician image, but absolutely and only from the Jehovah of Israel. It was He, and none other, who was the supreme God of heaven and earth, from whom alone cometh down blessing upon the children of men.

The perusal of the sacred narrative leaves little doubt as to the particular locality in which the prophet presented himself before Ahab; it was certainly on the western side of the Jordan, and most probably at the palace in Jezreel, or in the city of Samaria, where Ahab had built an altar to Baal. And it was after the delivery of his threatening message, that he received the divine injunction concerning the spot whither he was to repair, in order to hide himself from his enemies. He was to go eastward, to the not very distant brook Cherith, whose waters flowing through the eastern part of the territory of Ephraim, which was bounded in this direction by the Jordan, entered the channel of that river at its western bank.

The question immediately before us would thus seem to admit of being answered with comparatively little difficulty. For where may we think of looking for Arabians to the north of the tribe of Judah, within the confines of Ephraim, not far from the western bank of the Jordan, and almost in the heart of the promised land? Can we conceive it possible that even a stray band of these nomades should have found their way to the prophet's solitude, and that too, so abundantly provided with the necessaries of life, that they would be able to support themselves in a region of blighting and withering judicial drought and famine, and daily supply the concealed prophet with a morning and evening meal of bread and flesh, until the waters of the Cherith should be dried up? It will hardly avail to ask by way of objection—"Is anything too hard for the Lord, even the bringing of Arabian nomades to pitch their tents for a time in the territory of Ephraim? And does not his word tell us that

he had commanded the Horevim to feed the Tishbite?" While we readily give a negative reply to the former, and an affirmative to the latter of these two questions, we must not allow ourselves to forget that the term "Horevim" means "ravens" also as well as "Arabians," and that, if it was undoubtedly possible with the Most High to convey food to Elijah by the ministry of Arabians, it was at least equally possible with Him to accomplish the same end as effectually by the ministry of ravens. He who, in the days of Darius, could make the ravenous lions forget their savage nature, while Daniel was with them in their den, would not, in the days of Ahab, have found it a task beyond his power to subdue the ravens to his omnipotent will. We are to remember also, that these birds would already be in sufficient abundance near the Cherith, and prepared at once to enter upon their Creator's service—they would not, therefore, need, like their Gentile namesakes, to be brought from a considerable distance. Had the Divine purpose been merely to supply with food a prophet in some sequestered spot, in a time of judicial famine—that prophet being supposed to be without watchful and powerful enemies, and in no danger of perishing except through the extremity of famine—a little reflection would enable us to discern in the ravens of Israel a far less cumbrous instrumentality than that of Gentiles from Arabia. Indeed the latter, in so parching and continuous a drought, would rather require themselves to be miraculously supplied by the aid of ravens, than be able to provide bread and flesh for the solitary Tishbite from their own scanty and daily diminishing stores.

And how strikingly is our view confirmed by the fact that Elijah, whose life was aimed at by royal and deadly foes, was to be *concealed* as well as fed—the prophet's retreat was also to be his hiding-place. How long would he have been safe from the pursuit of the blood-thirsty Jezebel, if Arabian strangers, who could not fail to draw upon themselves the notice of curious Israelites, should have taken up their abode in the vicinity of the Cherith, carrying bread and flesh to the prophet every morning and evening? Could a more effectual way have been devised of making the place of his temporary seclusion known to his deadly enemies? The pursuit was keen, and when unsuccessful in Samaria, was extended beyond the limits of Ahab's realm. Did not Obadiah afterwards say to Elijah, "There is no nation or kingdom whither Ahab hath not sent to seek thee?" Again we ask, how long would the Tishbite have remained concealed from such indefatigable pursuers, if Arabians had supplied him with bread and flesh twice every day? The plain tenor of the Divine injunction should go far to remove the difficulties

from the path of the devout inquirer, as to the meaning to be given in the present instance to the ambiguous term בְּרִירָה. "Get thee hence," said the Lord, "and HIDE THYSELF BY THE BROOK CHERITH, that is before Jordan." The vicinity of the brook furnished him with a hiding-place which could be easily reached, whether he received the injunction at Jezreel or Samaria, and its waters were at hand to quench his thirst, while they continued to flow. Ahab and Jezebel could scarcely imagine that Elijah would venture to remain within the territory of Ephraim. Perhaps he would not have done so if left to himself. But there was One watching over him, who knew where to find the place of greatest security, and who could baffle the persecutor, and preserve his faithful prophet from all harm. We would now ask, not in a merely critical, but in a devout and reverential spirit, which method of supplying the Tishbite with his daily portion of bread and flesh was the more simple and consistent with the declared Divine purpose of making the prophet's retreat a safe hiding-place from the pursuit of Ahab and Jezebel? The employment of Arabian Gentiles who would themselves, under the pressure of the judicial drought and famine, need special, not to say miraculous support, or the obedient ministry of the ravens of Israel? Can we hesitate what reply to give?

After a while, as no rain fell on the land, the Cherith became dry, and at the Divine mandate, Elijah removed to Zarephath, "which belonged to Zidon." We shall speak of this place presently, but must first prepare the way for doing so, by saying a few words on the subject of the judicial drought sent to punish the children of Israel—who, it is to be carefully remembered, were living under a theocracy—for their gross and almost universal idolatry. We shall be assisted in doing so, if we look at the condescending and instructive manifestation of the Divine power displayed in the history of Gideon. At the prayer of this Israelite when about to be the deliverer of his people, the fleece was saturated with dew, while all around was dry; and on the second night, "it was dry on the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground." The power which the Lord thus graciously exercised to remove Gideon's doubts and assure his heart, was sometimes, in connexion with the theocratic form of government, put forth on a far larger scale, in the manifestation of his righteous displeasure against the sins of his people.

Thus we read at the commencement of the Book of Ruth, that "there was a famine in the land." Now it is plain from the Scriptural records, that Israel held the promised land from the Most High in virtue of a covenant of which a leading term was that obedience on their part would certainly be followed by

dew, and rain, and fruitful seasons, and disobedience would be visited by the withholding of these blessings. When, therefore, there was at any time a famine in the land of Israel, such visitation was a token of the Divine displeasure at the sins of Israel, and a proof that there had been a breach of the terms of the covenant. Now had such a famine extended to the surrounding countries also, it might have been supposed to have had its origin in certain natural causes, with which Israel was no more concerned than Philistia or Moab. But when the fleece was dry, and there was dew all around, when there was famine in Israel and abundance in the neighbouring countries, it would be evident that there were drought and dearth in the fields and vine-yards and olive-yards of the Lord's people, because they had transgressed against his covenant, they being the only one of all the nations to whom Jehovah had given special laws, and with whom he had entered into a special covenant.

At the very time of the commencement of the particular famine noticed at the beginning of the Book of Ruth, a man of Bethlehem-Judah, with his wife Naomi and their two sons, sought to escape the prevailing dearth by going to sojourn in Moab, whose territory we are thus taught was free from the visitation. While there, the husband died; and after him, the two sons, who had married Moabitish women, died also. After their death, Naomi, accompanied by Ruth, one of her daughters-in-law, returned to Bethlehem, "for she had heard in the country of Moab, how the *Lord had visited his people* in giving them bread." Thus Scripture itself warrants us in believing that He who had again graciously visited his people in giving them bread, had previously visited them *judicially* in sending a famine on the land, while He continued to the neighbouring region of Moab her ordinary seasons of seed-time and harvest. The view which we are taking is still more plainly illustrated in the history of Elisha. We read that he said to the woman of Shunem, whose son he had restored to life,—"Arise, go thou, and thy household, and sojourn wheresoever thou canst sojourn; *for the Lord hath called for a famine*; and it shall come upon the land seven years. And the woman arose, and went and did after the saying of the man of God; and she went with her household, and sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years." Here then we see that, while there was a judicial dearth in Samaria during seven years, the harvests were apparently not affected by it in the immediately adjoining territory of Philistia.

Now we may suppose something like this to have been the case in the days of the great drought which followed Elijah's prayers and denunciations. We speak of the prophet's prayers,

for we learn from St. James, that Elijah prayed for the drought before he announced the Divine purpose to Ahab. And as this drought was specially sent in answer to Elijah's prayer, and to punish the idolatry of Ahab and Samaria, it would affect neither Judea nor Philistia, Moab nor Ammon, nor the more distant land of Egypt. Hence, it would not be necessary (as in the days of the patriarch Jacob) to send down to Egypt to buy corn there. A supply could be procured from time to time in Philistia or Judea, in Moab or Ammon, by those whose means enabled them to purchase it. Still, as multitudes would be too poor to do this, there would be much suffering. Drought, dearth, and famine would bring in their train disease and pestilence, and numbers would perish through lack of sufficient nourishment for the support of life. The hard case of the widow of Zarephath would be that of many families in the kingdom of Samaria. When the prophet asked her to bring him a little water and a morsel of bread, she replied—"As the Lord thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but an handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruise; and behold I am gathering two sticks that I may go in and dress it for me and my son that we may eat it and die."

Now it was to the house of this widow that Elijah was divinely commanded to go, when the Cherith was at length dried up: "Arise, get thee to Zarephath which belongeth to Zidon; behold, I have commanded a widow woman there to sustain thee." As this town of Zarephath was not within the limits of the kingdom of Ahab, we might reasonably and scripturally think, according to the theory which has been advanced above on the subject of judicial visitations of drought and famine upon God's people, that Zarephath of Zidon would not suffer from the withering scourge which the sin of Ahab had brought down on Samaria. Yet we see that the fatal dearth prevailed there also, and that when the Tishbite arrived, the widow and her son were about to take their last meal, and then submit to a lingering death. Let us examine the subject a little more closely, and perhaps we shall find that the exception confirms the theory to which at first sight it may seem opposed.

Now we are told that Omri, the father of Ahab, who made Samaria the metropolis of the kingdom of the ten tribes, "wrought evil in the eyes of the Lord, and did worse than all that were before him." Yet the Most High did not see fit to inflict special and remarkable judgments on him and his nation. Perhaps one of the principal reasons of the Divine forbearance was, that Omri was not a leader in new paths of impiety, introducing fresh outrages against the divine majesty of Jehovah, yet more intolerable than those which already existed. Very guilty

as he was, he was but a guilty follower in the path of those who had reigned before him, walking in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin by placing the golden calves at Dan and Bethel. The Divine patience and long-suffering were accordingly still continued, waiting as it were until increase of provocation should constrain the Lord to arise unto judgment. But it was with Ahab, and not Omri, that Elijah had to do. And of this wicked son of a wicked father it is said, that "he did evil in the sight of the Lord, above all that were before him." And in his case there is this additional and heavy charge: "And it came to pass (as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat), that he took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal and worshipped him. And he reared up an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, which he had built in Samaria. And Ahab made a grove; and Ahab did more to provoke the Lord God of Israel to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him."

The Lord would not, however, punish even Ahab without due and sufficient warning. Accordingly, He meets these hitherto unheard-of provocations and outrages, by raising up a faithful witness against them, his servant Elijah the Tishbite. The awful and glowing testimony of the devoted man of God availed not to move those who heard it to repentance and amendment of life. He at length saw and felt that no words uttered by the lips of man could arrest the infatuated nation in its downward career, and that severe judgments could alone stop the growing evil, and prevent the entire and irremediable apostasy of the ten tribes from the God of their fathers. Elijah's heart could not bear the thought of such utter and hopeless defection; and choosing what appeared to him the unspeakably less evil, in the fulness of his holy zeal and jealousy for the honour of Jehovah, and in the spirit of a true and God-fearing patriotism—and all other patriotism is hollow and worthless—he prayed that dew and rain might be denied for a time to the guilty land, until the suffering people should learn, by painful experience, that Jehovah and not Baal was the almighty source of power and goodness—that the Lord of Israel was the only giver of fruitful seasons, of seed-time and harvest—and that to desert Him for the service of Baal was to bring upon themselves certain shame and desolation. The apparently strange prayer of which we are speaking was not the petition of a discontented and disappointed man, who in the bitterness of personal mortification invoked the Divine judgments upon those who had despised his warnings. The very fact that Elijah's prayer was so literally and awfully answered,

while he was himself so carefully nourished, and preserved from the pursuit of his enemies, by Him to whom the petition was addressed, will of itself convince the humble and devout student of Scripture, that the prayer was uttered in a godly spirit, that it was the fruit of a godly jealousy for the honour of the Lord of hosts, the God of his fathers, and of sincere patriotic desire for the true welfare of his nation, and that it was acceptable unto Him to whom it was offered.

Divine testimony against transgression, when it fails to make a right impression upon the wicked, too frequently hardens and confirms them in their evil courses. Elijah's fervid reproofs and prophetic denunciations proved the savour of "death unto death" to Ahab and Jezebel, who, exasperated by rebuke and menace, became the still more fierce and determined champions of the idolatry which had so greatly provoked the Divine Majesty. How easily we infer that the heart of this Zidonian woman, like that of Pharaoh, was rendered only more obdurate and stubborn by judgments which should have made her humble herself before the Most High in sackcloth and ashes, when we learn in the sequel of the history that, after three years' absence of dew and rain, there were gathered together to oppose Elijah and defy Jehovah, at Mount Carmel, "of the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and of the prophets of the groves four hundred, which ate at Jezebel's table"—fed there, in a season of judicial drought and famine, by this idolatrous foreigner, when hundreds, perhaps thousands of her husband's subjects were perishing through lack of the necessaries of life. How thoroughly this artful woman had seduced that husband into apostasy, is too plain from the words of the sacred historian: "There was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, *whom Jezebel his wife stirred up.*" And how successful she had been in infusing her own idolatrous, malignant, and persecuting spirit into the hearts of the great mass of the ten tribes, may be gathered from Elijah's words: "The children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away." We learn this still more clearly, if that be possible, from the answer of God to the prophet, and the mention of the scanty remnant which had not been beguiled into the prevailing idolatrous apostasy; "Yet have I left seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." The power and faithfulness of God were shewn in the preservation of this remnant—but that the number of the faithful should have been so limited, is a proof

how apparently triumphant must have been the career of the daughter of Ethbaal in turning away the children of Israel from their allegiance to the living and true God.

The reader will soon find, we trust, that our thus dwelling upon the character and actions of Jezebel is no needless digression. It is essentially necessary to the right understanding of this branch of our subject, that we have a tolerably clear idea of the royal position and influence, of the pride and subtlety, and of the impious and indefatigable malignity of this Zidonian princess. For it must be remembered that we are endeavouring to account, on scriptural grounds, for the seeming prevalence of the *judicial* drought and famine in Zarephath, which belonged to Zidon, a town beyond the limits of Ahab's kingdom. From what has already been advanced, we may easily believe that the Most High had special ground of quarrel, not only against apostate Israel, but also against the Zidonian woman who was the head, and heart, and hand of that apostasy. Whatever excuse might have been alleged, on the score of educational prejudice and ignorance, for her devotion to Baal, even after her arrival in Samaria to reside there as queen of the ten tribes, no such plea could be offered from the time that the power of Jehovah, and the impotence of Baal, were proved before her very eyes by the prevalence and long continuance of the judicial drought, which confirmed the divine character of Elijah's mission, and unanswerably declared the truth of his prophetic denunciations. And yet, perhaps, even this terrible exhibition of divine power and indignation may have wrought only a partial faith in the mind of Jezebel. She may perhaps have sullenly and reluctantly conceded that the judicial drought which the Tishbite predicted, went far to prove that Jehovah had supreme power over the dew, and rain, and harvests in the land of Israel, and only there; while in Phœnicia, in the territories of Sidon and Tyre, Baal had the like power and superiority. We know that when the army of Ahab had defeated the Syrians, "the servants of Ben-hadad said unto him, The gods of Israel are gods of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they." Jehovah had humbled Baal to the dust in Samaria; if, then, his power really extended so far, why did he not also do the same in the idol's own territory? The Zidonian princess, then, her priests and prophets, with those of the children of Israel whom she had seduced into hardened apostasy, had to be taught yet more thoroughly the folly and wickedness of their idolatry. Now Phœnicia, though not exclusively, was especially the region where Baal was adored and honoured; and the magnificent and

opulent cities of Tyre and Sidon were, so to speak, his metropolitan strongholds. Can we wonder, then—(or rather should we not almost expect such a thing)—that the Lord should have seen fit to shew to Ahab, Jezebel, and apostate Israel, that Baal was as utterly powerless in Sidon as in Samaria? This would be the natural result, at the court of Ahab, of the tidings that the drought, which Elijah had denounced in the name of the Most High as the righteous punishment of Israel's defection to Baal, had extended into the very land and realm of that contemptible and intrusive idol, in whose honour, and for whose cause, a temple and altar had been erected in Samaria, within the territory of Ephraim—the altars of Jehovah had been thrown down, and the blood of his prophets shed like water. Is it, then, to be regarded as a strange thing, if the Lord at length makes bare his arm, and puts Baal to open shame in the land “of Ethbaal, king of Sidon,” the father of the impious and malignant Jezebel? This view, which we are inclined to regard as a legitimate inference from the scriptural narrative, taken in connexion with the fact of the Hebrew theocracy, is apparently not without a certain degree of support from secular testimony. Josephus tells us that about this time the Tyrian annals speak of a drought and famine, which prevailed nearly a year. This would assist in inclining us to think that the God of Israel, as the God of the whole earth, triumphed over Baal in the cities of Tyre and Sidon, as well as in the obscure town of Zarephath and its immediate vicinity, and that the drought in Phœnicia was only contemporary with the concluding period of that in Samaria.

In the few sentences which follow, we regard the miraculous supply of food to Elijah by ravens (rejecting the view which would substitute Arabians for these birds), as one of the historical facts recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures, and merely suggest what may be looked upon as possible, without offering it as a supposition so probable as to challenge acceptance. No one will think that fresh food was created for the prophet by divine power every morning and evening, and then brought to him from a distance. Nor is it likely that the ravens took bread and flesh where they could find them, without the knowledge and consent of those to whom the food belonged. According to our idea of the administration of the Hebrew theocracy, the judicial drought, which was inflicted on Samaria as a punishment for Israel's apostasy to Baal, would not extend to the neighbouring kingdom of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The territory of Ephraim immediately adjoined that of Judah. If we believe that God could, had such been his pleasure, have com-

manded Arabians to do his will concerning the prophet Elijah, there is no difficulty in supposing that He may have commanded one or more devout families, within the confines of the realm of Judah, in comfortable worldly circumstances, to prepare twice in every twenty-four hours, a sufficient quantity of bread and flesh for the morning and evening meal of the prophet, and to place it where the ministering ravens could find ready access to it. From the Cherith to the borders of Judah would not be too long a distance for a raven's flight; and thus either the ravens of Samaria, or those of Judah, would duly discharge their appointed task every morning and evening, until the drying up of the waters of the Cherith should render it necessary for the Tishbite to remove elsewhere.

We are occasionally surprised to find passages of Scripture, of which we had previously taken little account, unexpectedly assuming a certain value and importance. For example, we meet with the following commandment in the Mosaic law: "And these are they which ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten; they are an abomination . . . every raven after his kind." While desirous to avoid laying greater stress on these words than they will fairly bear, a plain and candid mind can scarcely refrain from drawing from them an inference favourable to the authenticity of the history of Elijah, as delivered to us by the sacred penman. Though the command only applies to the rejected bird as an article of food, yet the Hebrew would be naturally trained to regard it with a feeling of religious dislike. Hence it is improbable that an Israelite, seeking to compose a religious story connected with the name of one of the holiest prophets, that should be acceptable to his countrymen, would choose to make the unclean raven the trusty and domestic messenger between the God of Israel and that holy prophet. The very employment of the excommunicated bird speaks of fact rather than fiction. To one who wrote from the stores of his own imagination, it might have seemed a more specious course to give the Tishbite, at such a time, a less generous and more ascetic diet; to deny him flesh, and furnish him only with bread. Fiction, having laid this foundation, might have proceeded to select clean birds, as the dove (though without the convenient and capacious beak of the raven), to convey this simple food. Yet if, in this case, religious prejudices would have been carefully respected, the narrative would no longer have possessed a certain self-authenticating character which now seems to belong to it.

But whether we suppose Elijah to have been fed at the Cherith by ravens or Arabians, the authenticity of the miracu-

lous transaction has the highest sanction. In the time of our Lord, what happened at the Cherith doubtless formed a part of the scriptural record of the life of Elijah as well as his sojourn at Zarephath. When therefore Jesus cited the latter (Luke iv. 25) as a fact, he may be understood to have also virtually confirmed the former.

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#### DÜSTERDIECK. AND OTHERS ON THE APOCALYPSE.\*

We propose, in this article, to speak briefly of the kind of composition to which the Apocalypse belongs, and its practical design, and to give an analysis, and to some extent an explanation, of the subject or contents of the book. We shall also point out the difference between the views of Dr. Düsterdieck and those of De Wette and Lücke,—with which latter in general we agree,—on one or two interesting points.

We are aware of the general feeling in regard to the Apocalypse, as a mysterious and unintelligible book. It was said of Calvin, by Scaliger, that he shewed his wisdom in *not* writing a commentary on the Apocalypse. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that writers without number have shewn folly enough in what they have written upon it. The world has continued to go on in its even course, while expositor after expositor who has predicted its dissolution from the mystic pages of the Apocalypse has gone down to the dust, his time-explored theory remaining only as a monument of wasted labour and perverted talent.

Whether it be possible to explain this remarkable book to the entire satisfaction of minds destitute of literary culture, may admit of a question. But it seems to us that, since the time of Eichhorn, there has been no difficulty in the way of persons accustomed to reading and reflection, to prevent their arriving at tolerably correct views of the nature and meaning of this wonderful production. Notwithstanding the errors into which that distinguished scholar fell in regard to the species of

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\* *Kritisch Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, von Dr. Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer, Consistorialrath in Hannover. Sechzehnte Abtheilung. *Die Offenbarung Johannis*. Bearbeitet von Dr. Friedr. Düsterdieck. Göttingen. 1859. [From the *Christian Examiner*, published at Boston, U.S. Though we cannot agree with the writer in his doctrinal opinions, there is much that is valuable and suggestive in this essay.—ED. J. S. L.]

composition to which the Apocalypse belongs, and in regard to the meaning of some particular parts of it, to him belongs the great merit of putting the exposition of the work on a right foundation. The secret of his success was in giving up old theories in respect to the interpretation of prophetic language, and in regarding the Apocalypse as a human composition, to be explained on the same principles of interpretation as all other books, and in view of the historical circumstances, the religious opinions, which were present to the mind of the writer, and the forms of thought and composition which existed in his time. Especially he abandoned the theory that the meaning of a prediction can be ascertained by distant *events*, and proceeded on the true view of regarding the Apocalypse as containing the subjective views of the writer,—which might, or might not, be justified by the occurrence of contingent or historical events.

Eichhorn regarded the Apocalypse as a drama, or rather as a spectator's description of a drama. In this opinion he has been followed by none of the learned modern expositors. It is not justified by a consideration of the class of Hebrew writings from which it sprung, nor by a careful survey of the contents of the book. It is true that the meaning of the writer is conveyed in the language of symbols, addressed, as it were, to the sense of sight. There is a sort of scenical representation. But it is for the most part a representation of prophetic symbols rather than of actual occurrences, and of general ideas rather than of particular actions. The attempt to bring it under the categories of classic or modern literature, and reduce it to the form of a drama, marking out the prologue, the intermediate acts, and the conclusion, overlooks the kind of literature from which it sprung, and serves only to confuse the reader, and to add darkness rather than light to the composition. It is pure hypothesis, and proceeded from one who was never at a loss for an ingenious theory on any subject.

No better success has attended the efforts of those who have regarded the Apocalypse as an epic poem; though undoubtedly it has some features which belong to that species of poetic composition.

The author was a Jewish Christian prophet; a prophet under the Christian dispensation, resembling some of the prophets of the Old Testament under the Jewish. The class of composition to which the work belongs was the symbolical prophetic; that is, the peculiar kind of prophetic composition to which the Jewish prophets tended in the later period of the national literature. Portions of the books of Ezekiel, Zecha-

riah, and Daniel, evidently belong to the same species of composition. Other writings of the same general nature, though far inferior in excellence, are the Revelation of Peter, the Book of Enoch, which was probably written before it, the Book of the Ascension of Isaiah, the Fourth Book of Esdras, and the Sibylline Oracles. The Cabalistic writings of the Jews also contain similar ideas.

These ancient uncanonical writings, though not to be compared with the Apocalypse in religious inspiration or literary excellence, yet shew that there did exist, near the time of its author, a style of composition of the same general nature,—a fashion of expressing one's thoughts similar to that which we find in the Apocalypse. They shew that its symbols and emblems are not mere images, immediately suggested by the Deity to the mind of the prophet; not arbitrary signs, of which he did not himself understand the signification, and which were to be interpreted by distant events; but, in certain kinds of composition, the ordinary language of the times, having a definite meaning for the contemporaries of the writer,—language which the contemporaneous readers of the book were expected to understand and to be influenced by. At the time of publication, the Apocalypse was, without doubt, understood by its readers with as little difficulty as the Epistles of Paul. For in the latter are some things which can be found out only by those "who have wisdom."

In regard to the practical design of the author, it was evidently the same which the writers of the Epistles of the New Testament had in view; namely, to confirm Christians of his own times in the faith,—to excite them to perseverance in the Christian virtues, and to prevent their falling away under the terrors of persecution, and even to exhort Jews and Gentiles to conversion. (See i. 9; ii. 10; iii. 10; xiii. 7; xi. 18; and xiv. 6.)

Such was the author's practical design. It is the same with that which the apostles generally had in view. Now, in order to effect this object, it is well known that the apostles continually refer to the near coming of Christ. It was impressed on their minds, that the low distressed condition of Christians was not long to remain what it was. Christ would speedily come to exalt his friends and punish his enemies, and establish his kingdom beyond all opposition.

Our Saviour himself had predicted a coming of his, which was to take place during the lifetime of those who listened to his prediction. See Matt. xvi. 28. It has generally been supposed that this relates to an invisible or spiritual coming; a

coming which was to be manifested in the display of power for the establishment of his kingdom, or a coming in the spirit and power of his religion in the minds of men. However this may be, it is evident that the apostles expected, in their own day, a personal coming of Christ, visible to the outward eye. Amid all their labours and trials, and all the dangers and persecutions of the churches which they founded, this was their great topic of encouragement, of admonition, of warning, and of consolation. "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh;" "the Lord is at hand." (See James v. 8; 1 Pet. iv. 7; Phil. iv. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.) It was to be a coming of triumph to his friends, of confusion and destruction to his enemies.

This speedy coming of Christ filled the mind of the writer of the Apocalypse, and is urged by him as the great motive and means by which his practical design was to be accomplished. It is announced at the outset: "Behold he cometh in clouds, and every eye shall see him!" It forms the devout aspiration at the close of the book: "Surely I come quickly: Amen! Even so come, Lord Jesus!" It runs through the whole book, as the principal idea. (Comp. ii. 16; iii. 3, 11; vi. 2; xii. 10; xix. 11; xxii. 7.) In connexion with its practical design, the subject of the book may be stated to be, the coming of Christ, and the events which, as the writer believed, would precede and accompany his reign.

The difference between the Apocalypse and the Epistles of the New Testament in relation to this subject of the coming of Christ is, that the former is a prophetic poem, while the latter are plain prose. The former sets forth in a series of prophetic symbols what the apostles express in plain, unstudied declarations. The former would bring home the great event of the coming of Christ to the imagination, as well as the faith, of his readers. What there is in the Apocalypse more than in the Epistles and the Gospels, is to be attributed to the imagination of the writer, under the influence of strong inspiration, or to the opinions which he held, in common with his contemporaries, as to the events which would precede or accompany, first the limited, and afterwards the complete, establishment of Christ's kingdom, when he should in person descend from heaven. Many of the opinions which the Jews entertained respecting the first coming of the Messiah were transferred by the early Christians to his second coming. These opinions, drawn from the oral narratives which now form the Gospels, from the Epistles, from contemporaneous writings which are lost, and of which we have similar ones in the Book of Enoch and others before mentioned, are embodied in the Apocalypse,

embellished by a great variety of figures and symbols drawn from the prophet's own imagination.

The ground-idea only—what Christ predicted—the establishment of the kingdom of God in some way—the triumph of Christian principles, and the blessedness which will be their result to society and to individuals on earth and in heaven,—this is all which can be literally fulfilled. All the rest having reference to contingent events, is to be referred to opinions of the writer and his contemporaries, which, we think, time has proved to be unfounded.

With these views of the character, design, and subject of the Apocalypse, it appears to us that it will not be more difficult to arrive at the meaning of it than of other portions of the New Testament.

In the mind of the writer, the coming of Christ and the establishment of his kingdom were evidently not regarded as purely spiritual events. He could not say, as Christ did, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." It was connected in his mind with the putting down of physical power in heaven and on earth. There was to be war in heaven and on earth, in his view, before Christ should reign in triumph. Hence a great part of the work consists in symbolic prediction of the ruin or destruction of those political powers which were thought to present the greatest obstacles to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ—viz., Jerusalem and Rome. These cities were the centres and representatives of all the earthly force, with the exception of that of the extreme North, which is afterwards introduced under the name of God and Magog, which was supposed to be in opposition to the triumphant establishment of the kingdom of Christ.

With respect to its contents, the Apocalypse may be divided into five parts:—

I. A short statement respecting the writer (chap. i. 1—4).

II. A vision of Jesus Christ to the author, in which he is represented as directing him to write letters of encouragement, admonition, or rebuke, to the seven churches of Asia Minor (chap. i. 5—iii.).

III. A succession of symbolic visions and representations, setting forth how the opposition to Christ's kingdom from the Jewish nation was to be put down (chap. iv.—xi.).

IV. Another succession of visions and symbols, representing the destruction of the opposition to Christ's kingdom which came from heathenism and was embodied at Rome, and afterwards in the North, and the final triumphant reign of Christ (chap. xii.—xxii. 6.).

V. Concluding remarks relating to the book (chap. xxii. 6, to the end).

Of these five divisions, the third and fourth may be regarded as the Apocalypse proper ; that is, they contain the symbolical revelation of things future. They extend from chap. iv. 1 to xxii. 6, and contain visions and symbols relating to the forces which are opposed to Christ, and to his final victory over them. A more particular analysis, accompanied with explanatory remarks, is as follows.

In the beginning of chap. iv. John is represented as seeing a door opened in heaven, and hearing the same voice which directed him to write the letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor, saying to him, "Come up hither, and I will shew thee what things must hereafter come to pass." He is in the spirit caught up to heaven, and sees Jehovah seated on a splendid throne, surrounded by a rainbow in brightness like an emerald, supported by four wonderful living creatures, and having around it seats, upon which sat four-and-twenty elders in white garments, with crowns of gold on their heads, who were continually praising Him that sat on the throne. In chap. v. is seen in the right hand of Jehovah, who sat on the throne, a book sealed with seven seals, obviously the book of the Divine purposes respecting the future events which the writer was about to set forth in his symbolic language. None of the inhabitants of heaven is able to open that sealed book. On this account John weeps. An angel tells him to be comforted, since the Messiah, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, had prevailed to loose the seals and unroll the book. Immediately a Lamb with seven eyes, symbols of knowledge, and as many horns, symbols of strength, with the marks of a bloody death upon it, undertakes, and that with success, to open the sealed volume amid the acclamations of all the spirits in heaven.

In chap. vi. begins the unveiling of the future, through the opening of the seven seals by the Messiah. The first four form a separate division, containing symbols which go together. The first seal of the book of destiny is opened by the Lamb, and a white horse is seen, his rider having a bow in his hand, and receiving a crown upon his head as he rides forth to conquer. This symbol evidently denotes victory, as destined to be the final result of the Messiah's cause.

With the opening of the second seal a red horse, having a rider with a great sword in his hand, to whom it was given to take peace from the earth, appears as the symbol of coming war.

The third seal opens, and a black horse, with a pair of scales

in his hand to weigh out the wheat rather than measure it, appears as the symbol of famine.

With the opening of the fourth seal appears on the scene a pale horse, having a rider whose name is Death, manifestly the symbol of pestilence. All these four emblems of victory, war, famine, and pestilence are followed by Hades, the region of the dead personified, and together with it are set forth the calamities which are to be inflicted on the enemies of Christ, as a preparation for his triumph, or the victorious establishment of his kingdom (vi. 1—9).

The fifth seal is opened, and the voice of martyred Christians is heard under the altar in heaven, calling aloud for vengeance on their persecutors and murderers. The design of this representation is evident; namely, to shew that the calamities denoted by the preceding symbols relate to the enemies of Christ and Christians (vi. 9—11). They are told to wait a little longer, till the impending martyrdom of their fellows should be completed.

On the opening of the sixth seal, still more dreadful symbols of calamity and punishment, which should fall on the opposers of Christianity, are exhibited. An earthquake, the sun becoming black like sackcloth, the moon becoming like blood, the stars falling from heaven, the firmament parting as a scroll is rolled up, are mere general symbols of approaching calamities about to fall on the enemies of Christ, or of the near approach of the time of judgment (vi. 12—17).

Before the opening of the seventh seal a vision is interposed, the design of which seems to be to shew that the faithful followers of Christ had nothing to fear from the calamities which had been announced on the opening of the six preceding seals, but rather to hope that their sufferings would then be brought to an end, either by life or by death. An angel appears, holding fast the four winds, while another angel, during the stillness of nature, sets a seal on the followers of Christ. An immense number is sealed, whose song of praise and happiness in the presence of Christ is described (chap. vii.).

Then comes the opening of the seventh seal, the contents of which are so dreadful as to cause a silent horror in the inhabitants of heaven for a considerable time. It is the stillness of expectation, such as precedes a storm. Seven angels are represented as appearing, furnished with seven trumpets. As the approach of an army among the Jews was announced by the sound of trumpets, so these seven angels in the same way announce the coming of the Messiah to put down his enemies. Before the trumpets sound, incense is burnt by another angel in

a golden censer before the throne of God, as a symbol of the prayers of Christians. Their prayer is heard ; in token of which fire is taken by the angel from the altar and scattered upon the earth, to denote the punishment which was soon to come upon the enemies of Christians. The angels prepare to sound their trumpets. Four of them form a separate division from the rest, as was the case with four of the seven seals. These four sound, and various calamities, represented by hail, fire, blood, poisoning of the waters, the darkening and falling of the heavenly bodies, come upon the earth (chap. viii.).

The fifth angel now sounds his trumpet, and the first woe commences. An angel-star, which had fallen from heaven, is seen by John to open the door of the bottomless pit, from which swarms of locusts, such as we find described in the book of Joel, are represented as issuing forth. These probably represent invading armies. They were to injure, without utterly destroying those who had not the seal of God in their foreheads. They come under the instigation and leadership of Apollyon (ix. 1—12).

Now the sixth angel sounds, and the four angels of destruction, who had been bound at the river Euphrates, are let loose. With them comes an immense host of cavalry, terrible in respect both of horses and riders, who are said to destroy a third part of men ; that is, to inflict very extensive destruction. The remaining part are said to remain impenitent and unreformed. It is to be observed that all the symbols of woe which accompany the sounding of the fifth and sixth trumpets are merely preparatory, or by way of prelude, to the great event or consummation, which is set forth in the eleventh chapter, by which the opposition of the Jewish state to Christianity is put down. That is, they do not denote particular independent events, but have reference to the one great catastrophe set forth in the eleventh chapter (ix. 13—21).

Previous to the sounding of the seventh trumpet, which is to introduce the concluding woe, a new scene or symbol is introduced. An angel descends from heaven, clothed with a cloud, having a rainbow upon his head, his face being like the sun, and his feet like pillars of brass. He has in his hand an open book-roll. With his right foot on the sea and his left foot on the earth, he swears that there should be no longer delay,<sup>b</sup> namely, in the accomplishment of the purposes of God relating to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, when the seventh angel should sound. The angel gives John the book-roll which was

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<sup>b</sup> "Οτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται, erroneously rendered in the Common Version, "that there should be time no longer."

in his hand, the volume of the Divine purposes, and directs him to eat it. It was sweet to his mouth, but bitter in his stomach. The former circumstance denotes the seer's joy on account of being intrusted with the Divine message, and the latter expresses his feeling of pain on account of the woes which formed the substance of the message contained in the roll. The eating of the book is symbolical of the reception of the prophet's gifts for the remaining part of his revelations of the future (chap. x.).

And now, before the coming of the second woe and the destruction of the Jewish power, the question occurs to the seer, How shall it be with the holy temple of God? His patriotic Jewish feeling seems to lead him to answer the question in a way not accordant with Matthew's gospel, and with the actual event. He cannot conceive of the holy temple's<sup>c</sup> destruction. A measuring-rod is represented as given to the seer, and he is directed to measure the temple, the altar, and its worshippers, as a symbol that these were to be preserved amid the impending calamities; but not to measure the outer court, for that was to be given to the Gentiles, who should waste it for three years and a half. Only the temple proper is to be spared. During the time of the conquest of the Holy City, two witnesses, probably Moses and Elijah, would prophesy, clothed in sack-cloth. At the end of their testimony, they were to be slain by the beast from the bottomless pit, that is, the antichristian power, which is afterwards, in chap. xiii. and xvii., more particularly set forth. Their dead bodies were to lie three days and a half in Jerusalem, "the city where our Lord was crucified." But afterwards they would arise and ascend to heaven in a cloud, in the sight of their enemies. In the same hour, a tenth part of the Holy City fell; seven thousand men perished, and the remnant gave glory to the God of heaven, that is, became subjects of the Messiah's kingdom. This was the conclusion of the second woe. It put an end to the opposition to Christ's kingdom from the Jewish nation. But this was only preliminary to a greater contest,—only preparatory for the final triumph of Christ over the opposition from Rome. The second woe completes all that relates to Jerusalem (xi. 13).

Then commences the preparation of the third woe, which has no relation to the Jewish nation, and does not take place, as we suppose, till the pouring out of the seven vials, by which the Roman antichristian power is put down in chap. xvi.

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<sup>c</sup> Düsterdieck, in agreement with Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette, has demonstrated with great ability the untenability of the allegorizing view of Hengstenberg, that the temple can here mean the Christian Church.

The seventh angel now sounds his trumpet, by which, we conceive, not the immediate completion, but the ideal or prophetic certainty, of the third woe is announced. The voices of praise in heaven, celebrating the establishment of the reign of Christ (xi. 15—18), are an account of what is to be, when the third woe is passed, and relate to the whole contents of chap. xii.—xix. The sounding of the seventh angel's trumpet so surely indicates that the kingdoms of the world will speedily become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, that the inhabitants of heaven give praise, as if the event had come. In conformity with this view is the meaning of verse nineteen: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant." The temple is the peculiar dwelling-place of God, who keeps his covenant or promises. The opening of this temple, and the vision of the ark of the covenant, indicate the revelation of the mysterious purposes of God relating to the establishment of the kingdom of his Son (xi. 19).

And now, instead of proceeding immediately to the description of the third woe, the poet-seer proceeds to a highly imaginative description of the enemies which were to be put down, prefixing to it a symbolical representation of the birth of Christ. This constant postponement of the final triumph of Christ over his enemies by the interposition of preparatory symbolical scenes, is evidence of the writer's skill, and makes the difference between a poem and a plain prose statement, which might have been made in a very few lines.

A great and horrible dragon, with seven heads, seven horns, and ten crowns on each of his heads,—the Satanic archetype in heaven of the beast representing the Roman power on earth,—is represented as watching a woman clothed with the sun, and having the moon under her feet,—a symbol of the true Jewish Church, or theocracy,—who was about to bring forth a child, namely, the Messiah, with the purpose of devouring the child. This monster, Satan, is represented as cast out of heaven by Michael, the archangel, and his hosts; and the woman and her son are rescued. This casting out of Satan from heaven, being regarded as typical of what was to be on the earth, occasions great rejoicing and thanksgiving in the heavenly world. But Satan is represented as still remaining upon the earth, having great wrath, and stirring up all his instruments to war against the woman, her child the Messiah, and his followers (chap. xii.). Two of these instruments are represented under the symbols of monstrous beasts, evidently denoting heathen Rome, and the idolatrous priesthood or pro-

phethood of Rome, as rising in succession, the one from the sea, and the other from the earth. As the sea was conceived of as encompassing the whole earth, the representation that the principal beast comes from the sea, and the second, which was merely an adjunct power wholly in the service of the first, from the land, is probably designed to set forth the all-comprehensive grasp of the Roman empire. One of the heads, "wounded to death, but whose deadly wound was healed," denotes Nero,<sup>4</sup> who had wielded the power of the Roman empire, and had been put to death, but was expected to re-appear as Antichrist (comp. chap. xvii. 8—11). The vast influence of both beasts is further described, and the name of the beast given in the number six hundred and sixty-six, as an enigma to be interpreted by the wise. If this number refers, as is most probable, to the letters of the Greek alphabet which denote it, the name of the beast is λατεῖνος,<sup>5</sup> Latin, the noun implied being λαός, people, or αὐτοκράτωρ, emperor. If the number refer to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet which denote it, the beast's name might be נָרֵוּ, Nero Cæsar (chap. xiii.).

And now against these terrible forces under the conduct of Satan, the writer sets forth, in striking contrast, symbols of the victory and rest, which are designed by the Almighty to be the final issue of the conflict. The purpose of this is to encourage and console. Christ is seen on Mount Zion surrounded by the redeemed (xiv. 1—6). Then follow successive proclamations by three angels. The first announces the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. The second proclaims the fall of Rome, under the name of Babylon; that is, its destined fall. For that which is decreed in heaven is, in the Hebrew and New Testament idiom, often represented as done (6—8). The third declares the judgments which awaited the followers of the beast. This is followed by a voice declaring the blessedness of Christ's followers (9—13). Then follow images setting forth the near approach of the Messiah, under the form of a man with a sharp sickle, who is directed by an angel to thrust it in and reap. Other images succeed, of similar import (14—20).

The symbols and pledges of Divine retribution having been thus given, preparation is made for its execution in chap. xv. The writer sees a new vision in heaven, namely, seven angels receiving from God the commission to inflict the seven last plagues, by which the wrath of God was to be accomplished upon the two beasts, representing the Roman antichristian

<sup>4</sup> So Victorinus, Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Bleek, Baur, Stuart.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, λ 30, α 1, τ 300, ε 5, ι 10, ρ 50, ο 70, σ 200—666.

power. As soon as this is seen, the host of martyrs sing a song of anticipated triumph, called the song of Moses and of the Lamb, because it has been sung by Moses and by the Lamb, and Christians have learned it of them. The unity of the Church of God, begun in Judaism and continued under Christ, is thus recognized. Then from the temple in heaven, the peculiar abode of God, the keeper of his covenant or promises, the seven angels go forth, receiving seven golden vials or bowls, filled with the wrath of God. The decree of retribution is irrevocable. No one can enter the temple in heaven until it is accomplished (xv. 1—8).

At the command of a voice issuing from the heavenly temple, the seven angels pour out their vials. The calamities which have been announced by the foregoing symbols are actually inflicted. The Roman antichristian power, *i. e.*, Rome with her dependent cities, is brought to a ruinous state (chap. xvi.). The absolute completion of its destruction is not represented as taking place until chap. xix. 11—21, under the immediate presence of Christ at the head of his army.

Then follows a more particular account of the judgment upon Rome, and the causes of it, in a conversation between an angel and the writer, and in other visions, in chap. xvii. Here occurs a remarkable description of the Roman power, as “the beast which was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;” and again, as “the beast which was, and is not, and shall come;”<sup>1</sup> and of seven kings, of whom five are represented as fallen, one as then existing, one as about to come and continue but a short time, and one as being about to come as the eighth, and yet be one of the seven. This enigmatical description admits, as it appears to us, of but one satisfactory solution, namely, that which supposes the five kings who had fallen to denote five Roman emperors,—1. Augustus, 2. Tiberius, 3. Caligula, 4. Claudius, 5. Nero. For there appears to have been an expectation in all parts of the Roman empire, and even in the Christian Church down to the time of Augustine, that Nero would come to life and again appear on the stage. The writer of the Apocalypse, adopting this wide-spread opinion, represents Nero as the head of the empire, as one of the five which had fallen, and thus as the beast which was, and is not, and shall come as the eighth king, though one of the seven. The sixth emperor, then, will be Galba, or, if we exclude Galba Otho and Vitellius as mere

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<sup>1</sup> *Kai παρεσται, and shall come,* instead of *kaiπεται εστιν, and yet is,* is the reading of all the late critical editions.

insurrectionary princes, the sixth will be Vespasian. After the seventh, which the writer does not mention by name, but which he might well expect to be short-lived in the tumultuous times of Galba, Nero was to reappear as the eighth, and soon afterwards to go to destruction, being overcome by the Lamb (chap. xvii.)

In chap. xviii. another angel is seen descending from heaven, announcing the utter destruction of Rome as immediately impending (1—3). The people of God are warned to come out of her (4—8). The lamentation over her destined fall is then described (9—19). Heaven is called upon to rejoice over her sure destruction, and an angel takes up a great millstone and casts it into the sea, as a symbol that she shall fall to rise no more (20—24).

And now, before the final and complete triumph over the beast and false prophet, the writer, according to his custom, brings in an episode of thanksgiving and praise, in view of the victory which the Messiah is to win (xix. 1—10). Then appears, in the dress of a triumphant warrior, the faithful and true judge and irresistible conqueror the Messiah, followed by his heavenly warriors. The two beasts from the sea and the land in vain endeavour to make resistance. They are seized and cast alive into the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, and their followers slain by the sword which proceeded from the mouth of the victor, who sat upon the white horse. The sword from his mouth seems to indicate his pronouncing sentence as judge, and the power with which it is executed (xix. 11—21).

Now, the antichristian power which had its centre in Jerusalem and in Rome having been completely subdued, there still remains the punishment of the instigator of all the opposition to Christ, namely, Satan. He is seized, bound, and cast into the abyss, the abode of evil spirits, there to remain a thousand years. During this thousand years' confinement of Satan, the true followers of Christ, with those who have suffered martyrdom in his cause, are to reign on earth with Christ. A judgment takes place, whose apparent design is to decide who are worthy of the first resurrection, and of living with Christ a thousand years on the earth. As to the judges who sat upon the thrones, and to whom the office of administering judgment was given, they may have been Christ and the twelve apostles (comp. Matt. xix. 28), or the four-and-twenty elders. That the reign of Christ and his followers, including those raised from the dead during the thousand years, though not of a worldly character, was to have its seat on the earth, seems plain from verses three, eight, and nine, and is confirmed by the well-

known Jewish conceptions concerning the reign of the Messiah (see also xix. 11). At the end of the thousand years' reign, Satan is again loosed, and goes forth to deceive the nations. He instigates the nations of the north, called Gog and Magog, to engage in battle with Christ and his followers at Jerusalem, "the beloved city," the seat or capital city of the kingdom of the Messiah on earth. But the issue of the conflict is, that these enemies are destroyed, and Satan himself cast into the burning lake, where the beast and the false prophet had been hurled (xx. 1—10).

In regard to the question which has been asked, Why Christ should reign with his people on the earth a thousand years and no more, without another crisis, or contest with his enemies—or why, at the expiration of that period, Satan must be loosed a short time from his prison—we know of no answer, except that the writer partook of the common Jewish belief of the times respecting the thousand years' reign of the Messiah,<sup>s</sup> which being finite must come to an end; and entertained the positive opinion, perhaps derived from the Old Testament, that Gog and Magog must come as enemies of Christ. The letting loose of Satan to stir them up is in conformity with other imaginations of the writer respecting the work of Satan.

And now, the opposition of all enemies ending with the destruction of Gog and Magog and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire, the second or general resurrection is represented as taking place, and that without any considerable interval of time. See xix. 5. Before the secure establishment of the final and absolute blessedness of the kingdom of God, it was necessary that all the dead, small and great, should stand before the throne and be judged. Now God the Creator, the ancient of days of Dan. vii. 9, he who makes all things new (Rev. xxi. 5), he who gained the last victory (xx. 9), is the judge. The dead are judged; they whose names are not written in the book of life are cast into the lake of fire, and then death and the underworld (Hades), represented as persons, are, as being the progeny of sin, cast into the burning lake; that is, their power is destroyed. There will be no more pain or death in the new creation which is to follow (xx. 11—15). There is now a new heaven and a new earth, and to this new earth the New Jerusalem descends from heaven; that is, the heavenly archetype of the new Christian theocracy is realized in the renovated earth (xxi.—xxii. 5). Then follows the conclusion, or epilogue (xxii. 6—21).

<sup>s</sup> See the Jewish opinions in Eisenmenger, ii. 811, and Wetstein on Apoc. xx. 2.

Such is the view of the meaning of the Apocalypse given by the most scientific expositors, who have discarded the allegorical or double sense, and who hold that an inspired man is one under the influence of the spirit of God, but yet not beyond the reach of all error. According to this view, it follows that when the Apocalyptic undertook to predict future contingent events, such as that the temple of Jerusalem would be spared when the city was assaulted, and that the destruction of the city itself would be only partial ; that the eighth Roman emperor, whom he probably supposed would be Nero risen from the dead, would be the last ; that in the time of this eighth emperor Rome would be reduced to a total ruin ; that immediately after this there would be a resurrection of the martyrs in the cause of Christ, who would rise from the dead, and with their Master enjoy a thousand years of uninterrupted blessedness ; that the time of the general resurrection would take place a thousand years from the reign of the eighth Roman emperor ;—he was in error, as all must be who undertake to predict contingent or historical events of the distant future. But the ground-ideas which underlie his representations—such as that Christian principles have a mighty power, and are destined in the end to prevail against all the strongholds of error and sin ; that progress is God's law ; that the world is not abandoned to the dominion of impious rulers, or persecuting priests ; that in consequence of the prevalence of the religion of Christ there will be a new and better state of society on earth, and a triumphant state of eternal blessedness for the righteous—are founded in truth, and expressed with such fulness, strength, and vividness, that they may well be said to come from an inspired man, that is, one having the aid of the Spirit of God. He was without doubt a Jewish Christian prophet, who had cast off subjection to the ritual law, but retained a considerable degree of the spirit of the old theocracy, and had not attained to the spirituality of John the Evangelist, or Paul. On this account Martin Luther asserted that "the book was neither apostolic nor prophetic ; and "that Christ was neither taught nor acknowledged in it." He must have meant that he found a Christ in the Apocalypse less spiritual, and less adapted to the heart burdened with sin, than the Christ of Paul and of the beloved disciple. Still it may be read with profit, as well calculated to inspire hope, trust, and confidence with respect to the progress of society, and to the eternal connexion between Christian righteousness and permanent blessedness.. It exhibits all the attributes of God as on the side of truth and right, and as pledges of their final triumph. In every age we have the return, with greater or less hideousness, of the beast which

cometh up from the sea, and the beast which cometh up from the land (Apoc. xiii.) ; the corrupt civil power, and its devoted servant, the false prophet or church. In every age it is the principles of Christian truth, zealously maintained by those who are not discouraged by the abuses of free inquiry on the one hand, nor attracted by the love of quiet in some old form of the Christian hierarchy on the other, that must gain the final victory. Only those who hold fast the true and the right against all the forces which may be arrayed against them, belong to the army of Him who is called "faithful and true," and who will finally sit on the white horse of victory (Apoc. xix. 11).

The Apocalypse is a highly interesting monument of the mode of thinking and feeling of no inconsiderable portion of the Christian Church at a very early period, and embodies their opinions and expectations. Though it may be less valuable in some respect than the writings of the Apostles, yet on account of its sustained and earnest spirit, and its sublime poetry, as well as of the fundamental religious principles which it embodies, it will no doubt be read with interest as long as books last.

What we have said on the character of the Apocalypse implies our entire agreement with those critics who believe it impossible that it should have come from the author of the fourth Gospel, and the Epistles ascribed to John. We should like, if we had space, to make some remarks on the opinion of F. C. Baur of Tübingen, who comes to the above conclusion, but ascribes the Apocalypse to John the Apostle, and the fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles to later writers. This is a subject of great extent, and having numerous relations, which forbid our entering upon it at this time. We will only say that the arguments of Baur have made little impression upon us.

But there is one subject, namely, the time in which the Apocalypse was written, which, as it determines the stand-point of the author in respect to his predictions, or the political horizon which bounded his view, has an important bearing on the interpretation of the book. On this account, we propose to state briefly one or two of the reasons which have led us to the conclusion that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem in the time of the Emperor Galba; or possibly in the beginning of the reign of Vespasian.

An opinion has been prevalent that it was written near the end of the reign of Domitian, about A.D. 95-96. A passage in Irenæus has given this opinion its principal support.<sup>4</sup> Some

<sup>4</sup> In *Hæres.*, v. 30. Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 18.

of the later fathers adopt this opinion merely on his authority. But he does not say whether his opinion was received from tradition, or formed from something contained in the book itself. Some of the early church writers ascribe the book to the reign of Nero; others, to that of Claudius. It appears to us that there is no reliable tradition which ought to have much weight against any internal evidence which may be found in the book itself. Internal evidence, in such a case, is the most conclusive evidence, when it can be found. Now it appears to us that there are in the Apocalypse indications of time, from which we may infer, with considerable confidence, the date of its composition.

In the first place, there are some marks of a later date for the Apocalypse than for most of the Epistles of Paul. The letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor seem to suppose them to be in a more mature state than when St. Paul wrote to the Ephesians and Colossians. They had forgotten their first love, and corruptions, both of opinion and practice, had crept in. Persecutions, not only from the Jews, but from the Romans, had prevailed. These circumstances seem to carry us beyond the period of most of the Epistles of Paul—those which he wrote during his first imprisonment at Rome. But we do not see why they should carry us more than five or six years beyond Paul's imprisonment, or about the year 68 or 69.

Some have supposed that, as persecution is said to have ceased for a time after the death of Nero, the reign of Galba or Vespasian does not suit the persecuted condition of Christians as represented in the book, so well as the reign of Nero or Domitian. But there are two considerations which diminish the force of this suggestion: one is, that, from the nature of the case, the persecution of Christians would be continued by the priests and people of the Roman empire, long after the edicts which enjoined it had been revoked.<sup>i</sup> The second is, that when Judæa was in a rebellious state against the Romans, it is extremely probable that Christians, who were at that time regarded by the Romans as a sect of Jews, would be persecuted in all parts of the empire. We see, therefore, nothing in the Apocalypse inconsistent with its having been written soon after the death of Nero, when the feelings excited by his persecution were fresh, and when the priests and people would continue it, even without an imperial edict, or in spite of one.

More definite indications of the date of the composition of

<sup>i</sup> "Whenever the jealousy of the state was awakened, no special edict was required to drag them before the altar of Jupiter, and invite them to sprinkle it with incense, and utter a vow to the genius of the Emperor."—Merivale, *History of the Romans*, vol. vi., p. 284.

the Apocalypse are found in chap. xi. and xvii. 8—11, together with xiii. 3. From chap. xi. it appears to us that a decisive argument is to be drawn that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, or at least before the writer had heard of the destruction of Jerusalem. In verses 1, 2, the Apocalypticist is commanded to measure the temple of God, the altar, etc., but to cast out and not measure the porch, etc., because it was given up to the Gentiles, who would tread the holy city under foot, etc. Here the trampling of the city under foot is predicted as a future event. Now whether the temple to be measured off or preserved is to be understood literally or symbolically—whether it denote the material temple at Jerusalem or the spiritual part of the Jewish religion, or the Christianized part of the Jewish nation—it appears to us that the natural implication is that the Jewish temple was standing in the time of the writer; for if the whole temple had been already in ruins, we should expect that different language would have been used; we should expect some allusion to have been made to so important an event, especially when it is said that the outer court should be given to the Gentiles.

Then in the third and following verses it is said, "I will give power to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy, and be put to death, and their dead bodies shall be in the streets of Jerusalem, the place," it is expressly added, "where our Lord was crucified." These two witnesses were subsequently to be brought to life, and to ascend to heaven, after having been overcome by the beast that should ascend from the bottomless pit; that is, the Roman persecuting power under Nero (comp. xvii. 8; xiii. 1). That the Roman persecuting power is indicated is evident from the phrase in verse two, "it shall be given to the *Gentiles*." Then it is said, there was a great earthquake, and a tenth part of the city fell, and seven thousand men perished, and the rest gave glory to the God of heaven.

Now that this is not a prediction *after the event*, appears evident from its want of conformity to the actual circumstances of the event. If the writer had known of the complete destruction of the city of Jerusalem, including the temple, and of the hundreds of thousands that were slain or carried into captivity, why should he represent only a tenth part of the city as fallen, and only seven thousand as slain, and the rest as giving glory to the God of heaven? If it were a prediction made after the event, why was it not made to correspond with the facts?

Nor is the difficulty removed, if we suppose that the whole representation is symbolical, and that the capture of Jerusalem was designed to be a mere emblem of the fall of Judaism. For

why should not the writer have made the emblem which he uses more conformable to the facts of the case? When we refer to the facts of history for illustration, we are not expected to misstate them, more than if we refer to them on their own account as plain history. But it appears to us that the supposition that Jerusalem is in this chapter a mere symbol, is contrary to the whole tenor of it. If the writer had so designed it, he would have made his purpose distinctly to appear. From this chapter then, we draw a very decisive argument that the Apocalypse was written before the fall of Jerusalem.

In chap. xvii. we have, unless we are mistaken in our interpretation of it, still more definite indications of the time of its composition; namely, before the destruction of Jerusalem and after the death of Nero; not during his life, as Mr. Stuart and a few others have maintained.

In ver. 3 we evidently have a symbolical representation of heathen Rome, under the image of a woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast having seven heads and ten horns. In ver. 7 there are also said to be seven mountains or hills on which the woman sitteth. But in verses 8—11 we read, “The beast which thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition; and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and shall come.<sup>k</sup> Here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth; and there are seven kings. Five have fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he is come, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.” Now, as the woman sitting on seven hills denotes heathen Rome, it appears to us there can be little doubt that the seven kings denote seven Roman Emperors. And one of these has such marked peculiarities in the enigmatical description of it, that, when we consider the opinions which prevailed after Nero’s death, it is extremely probable that it refers to the Emperor Nero. He is described as the beast which was, and is not, and will come; as the eighth, and yet one of the seven. No other solution of the enigma is so obvious as this.

For it appears from indisputable testimony, that after the death of Nero a wide-spread and long-continued opinion prevailed among men that he would rise from the dead, reappear as emperor, and put down his enemies. Thus Suetonius (Nero,

<sup>k</sup> See note to page 26.

cap. 57), after speaking of the joy on account of the tyrant's death, says : " And yet there were some who for a long time adorned his tomb with spring and summer flowers, and who would at one time set up in the rostrum images of him clothed with the *prætexta*, and at another time would proclaim edicts, as if he were living, and would shortly return to the ruin of his enemies." This was at Rome. It also appears that the same opinion extended to the most distant provinces of the empire. Thus, in the chapter referred to above, Suetonius says : " When I was a youth there arose a person of uncertain origin, who boasted that he was Nero; and so attractive was his name among the Parthians, that he received much aid from them, and was given up with great reluctance." Tacitus also (*Hist.*, i. 2) says : " The Parthians were near engaging in a war through the deception of a pretended Nero." And again (ii. 8) : " About the same time [that is, about A.D. 71], Achaia and Asia were terrified without cause, as if Nero were coming, reports being various respecting his death, and many on this account imagining and believing that he was still alive." Thus it appears that in Asia Minor, the very region in which the Apocalyptic lived, the people were filled with alarm about the coming of Nero, three years after his death. Dio Chrysostom says : " Those around Nero left him as it were to destroy himself; for even to the present time this is uncertain. Even now all desire him to live, and most even suppose that he is alive." Dio was a contemporary of Vespasian, and wrote the preceding sentence long after Nero's death. Dio Cassius (lxiv. 9) relates, that " in the time of Otho, who succeeded Galba, a person appeared at Rome who pretended to be Nero, but was speedily taken and executed." We might quote passages<sup>1</sup> in abundance from the Sibylline Oracles, and from several of the Church Fathers who lived centuries after the death of Nero, which prove the deeply-rooted and wide-spread expectation that he would rise from the dead, and reappear as emperor with irresistible power. Even before the death of Nero, some astrologers had predicted that he would be reduced to a state of great destitution, and afterward be restored to his former fortune (Suet. Nero, 40). This prediction, when found not to have been fulfilled during his life, may well have given rise to the popular belief that he would rise from the dead. It has been said—we know not with how much truth—that a belief that Napoleon Bonaparte would return to

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<sup>1</sup> Sulpitius Severus, lib. ii. 28; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, cap. xix.; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecut.*, cap. ii. See also, on the whole subject, Stuart on the *Apocalypse*, pp. 434—441.

France prevailed among the French peasants long after his death.

Now, whether the author of the Apocalypse received that form of the general belief concerning Nero which held that he was actually dead, but would be restored to life to the ruin of his enemies, or that form of it which supposed that his death was uncertain, and that he was still living in some hiding-place in the East, whence he would emerge and put down the emperor who had taken his place—in either case the language of chap. xvii. is satisfactorily explained. He was “the beast that was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;” “the beast that was, and is not, and will come;” “the beast that was one of the seven, and yet the eighth;” and the head which “was wounded to death, but whose deadly wound was healed” (xiii. 3).

We think that the phrase, “shall come up from the bottomless pit” (ver. 8), most naturally denotes coming up from Hades, the place of the dead. But if the writer only believed that Nero had ceased to be emperor, that he was hidden nobody knew where, and that another emperor, whether Galba or Vespasian, was reigning in his place, still the expected return of Nero, whether from his earthly hiding-place or from the regions of the dead, will best explain the enigmatical description above cited. In this explanation we have the support of Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Stuart, Bleek, and Baur. “Why, then,” we ask, with the late Professor Stuart, “should we hesitate to admit an explanation so easy, and so satisfactory, and grounded in the history of the times?”

Two objections have been made to it by Düsterdieck, who proposes a different explanation; the first a philological, the second a doctrinal one. In regard to the first, he maintains that the phrase in verse 11, *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά ἐστι*, cannot well mean, “and he is *one of the seven*;” but rather, “he is *sprung*, or *descended from*, the seven.” But this objection would not have been made if Düsterdieck had taken the trouble to consult his Greek concordance. For in Acts xxi. 8 we find the very same phrase used concerning Philip the Evangelist, *ὅντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά*, “being one of the seven.” A similar ellipsis is found in Apoc. ii. 10, where *εἰς ὑμᾶν* means “*some* of you.” See also Matt. xxiii. 34; Mark xiv. 69; Luke xxii. 58; Apoc. xi. 9. Even if the pronoun *εἰς*, “one,” should not be regarded as understood, the same meaning is obtained by translating, “and belongs to the seven.” This latter use of the preposition *ἐκ* in the New Testament is too common to need illustration. We conceive, therefore, that this first objection of Düsterdieck proceeded from pure carelessness and want of examination.

The second objection is a very singular one to proceed from him. It is that it would detract too much from the inspiration of the writer, to suppose that he believed that Nero would reappear as the eighth emperor. But Düsterdieck himself maintains that the Apocalypticist referred to heathen Rome in chap. xvii., and supposed that Domitian, the eighth king, proceeding from the seven, would be the last Roman emperor, and that with his destruction Rome and the Roman empire would wholly come to an end. It seems to us that this is ascribing to the Apocalypticist as great an error as the supposition that he shared the common belief of the times, that Nero would reappear as emperor. Düsterdieck also maintains that the Apocalypticist was in error in regard to his prediction concerning Jerusalem and the inner temple in chap. xi. It appears to us that, in regard to a wholly unknown writer, no one has a right to say how great a degree of error is consistent either with his inspiration or his intellectual powers.

We are confident, therefore, that the explanation we have given of chap. xvii. 8—11 ought to stand, until one is proposed which affords a better solution of the enigmatical language of the Apocalypticist.

Düsterdieck's exposition of the passage is as follows, as nearly as we can comprehend it :—

1. In chap. xvii. 8, he adopts, in his translation and exposition, the received text, *καὶ περ ἔστιν*, “and yet is,” instead of the reading universally adopted by critical editors of the New Testament, *καὶ πάρεσται*, “and shall come.” This is the more strange, as in the textual critical notes prefixed to this chapter, after having given the authorities for the reading *καὶ πάρεσται*, he says decidedly, “The Elzevir reading, *καὶ περ ἔστιν*, is false.” We know not how to account for this inconsistency in a man of so much learning, except on the supposition that he wrote with extreme haste, as if doing his work for Meyer by the job, and may have drawn his translation and exposition from one source, and his remarks on the textual reading from another. Adopting, then, the reading of verse eight, pronounced by himself “false,” and translating the latter part of it, “when they behold the beast that was, and is not, *and yet is*,” he applies it to Vespasian, whom he regards as the sixth head of the beast, and the reigning emperor in the time of the Apocalypticist. He thinks he solves the enigma of the verse by the explanation that the beast, the Roman empire, “*was*” under the five deceased emperors; that “*he was not*” in the time of Vespasian, inasmuch as he, though adopted as emperor by the Oriental legions and the decree of the Senate of Rome, was yet opposed by Vitellius at the head of

the German army, and thus his power was not undisputed and unshared ; and still that the Apocalyptic might say, “*and yet is*,” inasmuch as Vespasian was really emperor, and it was not doubtful what the issue of the conflict between him and Vitellius would be.

The decisive argument against this exposition of verse eight is,—

1. That it rests on a reading of the Greek text, which is now universally rejected as false. In particular Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and even Düsterdieck himself, have decided against it.

2. And even supposing that the received text might be adopted, who does not see that the exposition is forced and arbitrary, requiring too much knowledge and reflection on the part of the reader ? It is true the enigma is addressed to those “ who have wisdom.” But the solution of an enigma, when discovered, is expected to be so obvious as to strike all minds.

3. It is also a decisive objection to this explanation that it gives an application to the phrase, “*was and is not*,” of verse eight, different from that which must be given it in verse eleven.

Of verses ten and eleven, the explanation given by Düsterdieck is as follows. The five kings which have fallen are the deceased emperors :—1. Augustus ; 2. Tiberius ; 3. Caligula ; 4. Claudius ; 5. Nero. The sixth, who was emperor in the time of the Apocalyptic, is Vespasian ; the period between Nero and Vespasian, in which the three insurgent princes Galba, Otho, and Vitellius held their power, being regarded as an interregnum. The seventh, who had “*not yet come*” as emperor, and who should continue but a short time when he was come, is Titus. The eighth, who, according to Düsterdieck’s translation, was derived from the seven, *ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά*, is Domitian. This emperor, according to Düsterdieck, is not represented by an eighth head of the beast, because the writer designed to embody the whole beast in his person. He is that person in which the beast that “*was*” under the five deceased emperors, and “*is not*” under Vespasian and Titus, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and, having taken the place of Titus, shall, at the coming of the Lord, be given up to everlasting destruction, and with him the beast itself shall perish, or the Roman empire cease to exist. Düsterdieck thinks the enigma is, that Domitian, who, as a personification of the whole beast, represents all the seven, should yet have his human-personal origin *from* the seven.

If this explanation is confused and obscure, we cannot help

it. We are under no obligation to make what we regard an unfounded theory clearer than the author has made it. We will proceed to state briefly our objections to his exposition, so far as we understand it.

1. Domitian was a descendant of only *one* of the seven, namely, Vespasian, according to Düsterdieck's own theory.

2. We cannot see in the text or context any intimation that the eighth king or emperor represented or embodied the whole beast with the whole seven heads, more than each of the seven heads or emperors represented it. This is pure supposition on the part of the expositor. It is true that the eighth emperor is not typified by an eighth head of the beast; but this is well explained by the translation of the verse which we have before endeavoured to establish, that "he was *one* of the seven," namely, the fifth, emerging from his hiding-place, or risen from the dead, as the eighth.

3. It is harsh and inconceivable that the whole Roman empire should be represented as "not being," not only at the time when John wrote, but during the reign of Vespasian and his successor, merely because there was civil commotion at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. The representation that the whole beast, or Roman empire, should come out of the bottomless pit in the person of Domitian alone, is also very arbitrary and incongruous. The representation of the Apocalypse is that the whole Roman empire is the beast, as really so under each of the seven heads as under the eighth emperor. Each head, for the time being, of course represents the whole beast.

4. The explanation of Düsterdieck finds no support in the history of the time; that is, in the circumstances which, according to his own view, were present to the mind of the Apocalypticist. Düsterdieck himself maintains that there was nothing of "a magical or divinatory" character in the prophecy of John, but only a moral judgment in view of the circumstances actually present to his mind in the beginning of the reign of Vespasian. Now, Vespasian when he became emperor was only about sixty years old, in good health, at the head of a powerful army. His elder son, Titus, distinguished for genius and energy in civil and military affairs, was about thirty, and was engaged with his father in a fierce war against the country of the Apocalypticist, and was soon left alone to complete the conquest. His distinguished success and the glorious triumph which followed have been rendered memorable not only by the pages of history, but by monuments still existing. It is evident, therefore, that Vespasian and Titus gave promise of establishing the empire for some time to come. But Domitian at this time was distinguished

only for dissoluteness and cruelty. He was scarcely twenty years old, and had done nothing whatever to distinguish himself in civil or military affairs. Before his father's return from Judæa, he had, for about six months, nominally held the reins of power at Rome. "But," says Merivale, "he was indolent and dissolute, and abandoned himself to intrigue and debauchery. While this young prince's name was affixed to every edict and appointment, the real power in all essential matters remained in the hands of Mucianus."<sup>m</sup> It is inconceivable, therefore, that the author of the Apocalypse, living in Asia Minor, where the power and fame of Vespasian and Titus, to whom the attention of the world was then drawn, must be well known to him, and where he would be likely to know little, if anything, of the young prince at distant Rome, should represent the Roman empire as "not being" during the reign of Vespasian and his successor, Titus, and as emerging from the bottomless pit in the person of Domitian. Every one must have expected a more powerful Roman empire under Vespasian and Titus than under Domitian. Nor were they less likely to be persecutors of Christians than Domitian. According to Düsterdieck himself, they were regarded by the Apocalypticist as the sixth and seventh heads of the beast.

For all these reasons, we conceive that Düsterdieck's exposition of chap. xvii. 10, 11—according to which the beast *that was*, and *is not*, and is to come as the eighth, denotes that the Roman empire "*was*" under Nero, "*was not*" under Vespasian and Titus, and "*was to be*" in the person of Domitian, as the eighth emperor—is arbitrary and improbable in the highest degree. In regard to fulfilment, it stands on no better ground than the explanation which we have regarded as the most probable. It was not till after a reign of fifteen years that Domitian was assassinated, as other Roman emperors had been. But he was not overcome in a contest with "the Lamb" at the head of Christians, and he was succeeded by other heathen emperors nearly as bad as himself. The beast, or Roman empire, did not come to an end when he died; nor did Christ then appear in person to begin his millennial reign.

While we reject Düsterdieck's exposition of the verses under consideration, we admit that the sixth emperor, who was living in the time of the Apocalypticist, may possibly have been Vespasian rather than Galba, who reigned only about six months. But, as we have before intimated, we are more inclined to believe that John wrote under Galba, the sixth head or emperor,

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<sup>m</sup> Merivale's *History of the Romans*, vol. vi., p. 480.

who then was more than seventy years old. If this be so, the writer may have possibly believed that Vespasian would be the seventh; for Josephus, claiming Divine inspiration, but speaking no doubt from his view of what was probable, had promised him the imperial power, even before Nero's death.\* Why might not the same thing appear probable to the Apocalyptic? As to what he says about the seventh emperor's continuing but a short time, it may well be explained by the prevalent expectation of the reappearance of Nero from the dead, or from "the bottomless pit," as John expresses it, to the ruin of his enemies. He, in view of the Apocalyptic, was, as the eighth king, accompanied by "ten horns," or leaders of auxiliary forces from the East, to destroy and take the place of the seventh emperor, and then, at the personal coming of Christ to reign, was himself to "go to perdition," being overcome by the Lamb and his followers (ver. 14). Then the Roman empire itself was to be dissolved, and the thousand years' reign of Christ on the earth to begin.

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#### THE MORALITY OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

Few things have done so much to lessen the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in this country as the suspicion of her dishonesty. Whether that suspicion be deserved or not, it certainly exists; and there are very few Protestants who would trust even a Romanist history of England or scientific treatise. "The Church" seems to consider herself higher than *truth*, and not seldom hostile to truth; not unwilling, therefore, to sacrifice truth when that should to her wisdom seem to be necessary. In the best known instance, the infallibility of the Church was deemed more important than the motions of the heavenly bodies; and though they could not be stopped, they might be denied. In like manner books that cannot be answered can be burned, and all doubts, in both the speculative and practical region, can be reproved as "devil-born" and damning. Yet it is not given us to choose whether or not we will doubt. We cannot, by mere force of will, perceive or create the connexion between premises and conclusion; we cannot, even at the bidding of a Holy Father or to escape the peril of our souls, persuade ourselves that two and two are either three or five; and therefore in an enquiring and even incredulous age, a Church that will not answer questions will be judged unable to answer them, and must be

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\* Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, book iii., chap. viii.

content to be suspected, and, in consequence, to be stationary or retrogressive ; or, at best, to be recruited only by the offspring of a temporary reaction, by those who have been terrified out of scepticism into dogmatism, out of the noisy restlessness of an extravagant and destructive rationalism into the quiet *dungeon* of authority.

It is, however, assuredly no part of the object of this paper to cast stones at the Roman Church ; unhappily there is too much reason to fear that we are imitating her insincerity, her dogmatism, her airs of infallibility. It is also unhappily indisputable that we are inheriting the *suspicion* which has been the punishment of her arrogance and unfairness. "Revivals" may recruit the *numbers* of the more enthusiastic sections of the orthodox Church, while they conceal their weakness and increase their dangers ; but *education*, excepting among the clergy, if not even there, is holding aloof. Science does not expect to be *fairly* treated by religion, and is becoming strong enough to despise where it once feared injustice. Young men take up our controversies, especially in the lower and more vulgar organs of the "religious world," for the fun of seeing how angry, and how impudent, and how imbecile professing Christians can become. Pious disputants have so effectually bemired each other's characters, denied each other's assertions, demolished each other's arguments, even given each other so often the lie direct, that the world is really beginning to take them at their word, and to believe that they *are* all knaves and fools together. And yet the worst of these unfortunate disputants, trying to convert the world by "biting and devouring each other," is better than his evil reputation. He doubtless began his course with noble intentions, and still holds precious truths, for which no other truths whatever can be a substitute ; but he has forgotten, as thousands have forgotten before and will forget again, the moral law of all religious controversy, "**No LIE IS OF THE TRUTH.**" He has imagined that *some* lies *are* beneficial ; are better, at any rate than a suspension of judgment or the breaking up of old prejudices. He has forgotten that if Christianity is to escape contempt, all her discussions must be perfectly free ; that she must not dictate beforehand the conclusion of an argument, but trust to the impartial examination of the premises ; that she must not pervert speculative justice by bribes, by the infliction of social inconveniences here or the threat of damnation hereafter for a mistaken opinion ; that she must frankly give up positions, if any such should be, which are no longer tenable, as, in fact, every great Reformer has been compelled to do ; that she must abstain from the impertinence of imputing base motives to an

opponent, and from the folly of confounding the moral and the intellectual. Without such conditions, all controversy must damage Christianity—must damage Christianity *most* by what will seem controversial triumph; for every triumph will deepen *suspicion*, and produce that indifference of contempt which is so far harder to overcome than the energy of hatred.

It will scarcely be disputed that this is, in theology, a controversial age. Controversy is deep or shallow, according to the stratum of society we may be examining; but, shallow or deep, it exists everywhere, from the Mansel controversy to the pugnacious trumpery of some of the religious papers. “Every sermon I preach,” said an energetic divine, “is a *challenge to anybody and everybody to deny God’s love.*” Assuredly we are unquiet enough when even the assertion of God’s love takes instinctively the form of a denial of its absence. Indeed, the prevailingly negative form of the current theology (especially of Evangelicalism as distinguished from Orthodoxy) is at once a proof and a consequence of prevailing controversy. Eschatology, the nature of the Atonement, ecclesiastical organization, and above all the authority of Holy Scripture, are fiercely discussed: not to mention the yet deeper question, “What is Revelation?” The advance of Popery and of what is called Tractarianism is only a temporary reaction; and in this age even authority must be militant, doing battle with freedom.

It were sheer insanity to fight against the tendency of an age; it is, and in the main ought to be, irresistible. Every age has its own work to do, and they are needed who remove obstructions, no less than those who carry on the building. Tradition must give place to firm conviction and a conscious appropriation of truth; for, “Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.” The Mosaic cosmogony cannot afford to be *silent* in presence of geology, and “the sweet influences of Pleiades and the bands of Orion” evaporate before astronomy into metaphor. The infallibility of every jot and tittle of the letter of Scripture must at least reconstruct its arguments, as various readings and more accurate texts emerge. Truer canons of interpretation exhibit truer analogies between Corinth and London,—St. Paul’s days and our own, though far different from those perceived by older expositors. We cannot stem the current of enquiry, and we ought not to try; but then when once controversy has begun, it is the highest interest of truth that examination should be honest and *thorough*. Half a lie may resemble truth, half a truth may look like a lie. Lies, therefore, always gain, and truth always loses, by concealment and evasion. “The healthy know not of their health, but only the sick.” Nevertheless,

when the healthy become sick and know that they "have a system," they who know that system best are nearest to a cure.

Let it be admitted to the fullest extent that religious controversy is inevitable and beneficial ; it should be for that reason all the more carefully watched, lest we should be imposed upon by a mere counterfeit neither necessary nor useful. All *dishonest* controversy is counterfeit ; and it cannot be denied that there is often the utmost recklessness of discussion—a most multiform dishonesty.

There is above all, and including many most fatal mistakes, the *dishonesty of ignorance*, general and special ; the dishonesty, that is, of discussing and dogmatising on subjects of which the disputant has no sufficient or accurate knowledge, and knows that he has none. For it is obvious that a large portion of religious controversy is concerned chiefly, not with the ultimate facts of theology or human experience, which are perhaps more plain and clear to the simple and unprejudiced, than to the scholar or divine ; but with the best modes of expressing them, and the actual meaning of those terms which have already been used for this purpose, and the logical consequences which are included in them. The fact, for example, even of the existence of God and of the Trinity can never be proved ; it is *given to us*, and is itself the foundation upon which all demonstration and theory must ultimately rest. It is not even revealed to us primarily in the Bible ; but, on the contrary, the Bible itself assumes that we already in part know God, and can recognize Him ; and it, in fact, consists of the record of revelations of God to men who had no Bibles. In like manner the fact of free will could never be proved to one who had not experienced it, and would never need to be proved to one who had. So again the fact that "we are reconciled to God by the death of his Son" remains to us a mere mystery, until we realize that we are reconciled in our own experience. Of these and of all other theological facts (as, indeed, of all facts whatever), the simple and only alternative is that they are perceived or not perceived. They do not depend for their existence upon arguments—their existence cannot be even proved by argument, or by any theory or science founded upon them : they are proved simply by our perception of them—or, if in any other way, by the testimony of others that they have perceived them. In every case, after no matter how much elaboration and complication, we come at length, as the foundation, to some outward fact, independent of ourselves, and the inward perception of it. And it is the very characteristic of all theological facts that they can be perceived by every *human* being ; that they are among the objects of that

faculty which is the distinctively human faculty, viz., the Reason, as distinguished from the senses or the understanding. "There is a *spirit* in *man*, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." "The things of God are *spiritually* discerned."

Of these ultimate facts, scholarship or priesthood can have no monopoly; they are the common heritage and birthright of man. And, moreover, this is the very noblest and most blessed region in which a human spirit can dwell. It is at once our first duty and our highest reward with a single eye to behold God, to be actually reconciled to him, to perceive that he is governing us, and submit to his rule. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only very God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." This is far higher than all learned research and accurate scholarship, and subtlety of intellect; and while these are the distinctions of the few, that is the glory and blessing within the reach of all.

But the moment we leave this region, and descend to the lower ground of verbal expression, logical consequence, and scientific theory (which is also the region of religious controversy), the equality of men instantly and utterly vanishes. For men are by no means on a level in their power of describing what they have seen, and expressing what they know; much less are they on a level in their knowledge of the way in which others have described what they have seen and expressed what they knew. In this department, command of language, logical subtlety, minute and careful observation, a knowledge of the history of doctrines, a familiarity with the writings of divines, the decrees of councils, and church formularies—these and similar faculties and acquirements are absolutely necessary, and possess an exclusive monopoly. Almost every word that occurs in religious controversy is a technical term, sometimes borrowed from the Scriptures, and quite as frequently not to be found in the Bible at all. Many of these technical terms are of very great antiquity, have undergone great modifications of meaning, have changed their signification with the change of dominant parties in the Church, and especially with the changes of the dominant philosophy. The meaning or meanings of such words can obviously be ascertained not by intuition or piety, but by study. For example: to know God is the privilege within the reach of every man, the special reward of the pure in heart: it requires no scholarship, no knowledge of antiquity, no familiarity with rival systems of philosophy. But does every Christian man, therefore, understand that confession of our Christian faith commonly called "The Creed of St. Athanasius"? It is not too

much to say, highly as we ourselves value this creed, that, viewed from the philosophy of Locke, it is absolutely unintelligible—nay, even a series of palpable absurdities. Almost every principal word in it has a history which may be almost called romantic. The words trinity, unity, person, substance, godhead, begotten, proceeding, are all technical terms; intended to express some fact of which, perhaps, the very simplest may be in possession, but expressing that fact as seen from some particular point of view, and expressing it in a way unintelligible, or only dimly intelligible to us, unless we ourselves can occupy the same point of view. In like manner, though a man may be in the possession of a knowledge of all the *facts* which such expressions are intended to convey, he may be to the last degree ignorant of the meaning of the *words* predestination, grace, nature, original sin, regeneration, free will, necessity, merit, justification, satisfaction, sacrifice, atonement, sacrament, and indeed every word that holds a principal place in all theological controversies. “We are by nature,” says St. Paul, “the children of anger;” “We are by nature the children of benevolence,” says Bishop Butler; and both are right: but they use the word *nature* with different and opposite meanings. The meaning of a technical term in theology cannot be divined by a pious instinct, but only discovered by very careful and accurate examination. The relation which the Bishop of Hereford has shewn to exist between Christian theology and the scholastic philosophy might be shewn to exist between that same theology and the philosophies which preceded and followed the scholastic.

Now, the dishonesty of ignorance in religious controversy arises partly from utterly ignoring these very obvious facts and distinctions. Men will argue about the Trinity and anathematize Unitarians, though they acknowledge the whole subject in dispute to be an incomprehensible mystery, and know perfectly well that they have never given either to the doctrine or to its history any long continued and patient study, and are utterly unable clearly to express even what they themselves mean by Trinitarianism or Unitarianism. In like manner the Protestant controversy against Rome, and the Puritan controversy against the Anglo-Catholic Church, and the Anglican controversy against Puritanism (so far as these have been made *popular* and have become *widely prevalent* controversies), are often carried on with most unblushing impudence and unscrupulous disregard of truth by those who know perfectly well that they have never fairly examined the real merits of the questions in dispute, and are utterly unfamiliar with the higher literature of their opponents, and most frequently also with the higher literature of their own

party. And when you demur altogether to the judgment of such people, when you cannot persuade yourself that it is worth your while even to notice what their judgment is, except by way of pity and astonishment, they will ask you whether you mean to affirm that "the Gospel" is no longer to be preached to the poor, that what is essential to every Christian man is now within the reach only of the learned. They seem to have become incapable of perceiving, that though it is possible and necessary for every man to know God, and to receive in some form or other the good news of the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, it is neither possible nor necessary for every Christian man to know all the ins and outs of a controversy that has, perhaps, lasted for more than eighteen centuries, and how it has been affected by the peculiarities of subtle Greeks and law-making, government-loving Latins, and practical profit-and-loss Englishmen, by Platonism and Neoplatonism, scholasticism and sensationalism. And they seem equally incapable of comprehending, on the other hand, that it is both possible and necessary, being, in fact, required by the commonest every-day honesty, that men who do not know this should not pretend that they do, and should not act in a way which could be justified only by such knowledge.

This dishonesty of ignorance has resulted, in a very great degree, from the fact, obvious enough though not sufficiently regarded, that for now a long period the area of religious controversy has been continually widening. Time was when disputes on subtle and mysterious doctrines were confined to scholars and divines : they are now, by "religious" newspapers, brought into every family and cottage. Perplexed parents discover that their little children have suddenly ripened to such theological maturity, that they can pronounce an unhesitating sentence on the orthodoxy of some learned professor, or perhaps even of the minister to whose congregation they belong. Even their very servants, though, perhaps, barely able to read and write, have learned from *The Union*, or *The Record*, or *The Earthen Vessel*, or the *Argumentative Series* of the Religious Tract Society, to solve those mysteries which St. Clement of Alexandria, or St. Athanasius, or St. Augustine would have approached only with profoundest meditation and most childlike prayer to the Father of Lights. And to one whose earliest childhood and youth have been poisoned by the bitter waters of a rash and ignorant controversy, who has acquired a habit of suspicion and contradiction, whose attention has been diverted from the facts of theology to mere forms of expression, who has, in a word, come to regard truth as residing only in

words or propositions, it is difficult to see how the most honest and exact and learned religious teaching can be of the slightest advantage. Such a person is incapable of learning. What he means by an instructive ministry is a ministry from which he does not receive anything which he did not himself possess before. By an instructive book he means a book all of whose excellences can be summed up in the commentary, "I have thought the very same thing myself a thousand times." He always occupies the position of a judge, and every teacher or author the position in relation to him of a defendant, or even a convict. On the whole, he is much more inclined to patronize even the Bible, than to acknowledge there is any necessity for the Bible to patronize him. He is never a receiver, always a giver. He is always ready to defend. He *defends* the Church, defends Protestantism, defends "our principles"—nay, he will even go so far in his benevolence as to defend the Trinity. It never occurs to a person who has been born and bred in the atmosphere of the religious newspapers, that truth is altogether above him and independent of him, not one whit lessened though all the world should be deniers of it, not one jot or tittle strengthened though the whole world should vote and perorate in its favour. And while such a person has been encouraged to cultivate a habit of argumentation and contradiction, regarding everything that he considers truth chiefly as being the opposite of something he considers error, he has been taught also to argue and contradict with the most inadequate materials. He has been beguiled from the happy region of fact and experience, reality and knowledge, where his own inheritance lies, to the far colder and less fruitful region of speculation, and theory, and logic, where he is and ever will be a mere stranger.

The increase of lay agency, especially in Sunday schools, however otherwise beneficial, has done much to increase the area and lessen the depth of religious discussion. Sunday schools are necessarily affected by the ecclesiastical system with which they happen to be connected, but they are everywhere and essentially, for good and for evil, anti-clerical. The Sunday School Union, which represents very faithfully democratic tendencies, seems to encourage separate services for children, which are now becoming very general. In these, the prayers, hymns, lessons, "sermons," are all in the hands not only of very young men, but young men who have had no special theological training, and often a very inconsiderable religious experience. It is surely no libel to say that very many Sunday school teachers have had no education at all. Their lessons and "addresses" are extremely meagre, even though produced with much difficulty to

themselves ; and their preparation occupies time that can be ill spared from self-culture. Nevertheless, they are people of no small importance. Apart from the good nature and many very excellent qualities which they frequently possess, they are little popes to their respective classes. They imagine that they are obliged to have an opinion on the most difficult theological problems, and they cling to it with all the tenacity of ignorance and prejudice. Sunday schools, moreover, furnish the demand for that kind of religious literature in which simplicity often degenerates into irreverence, nearly always into twaddle—the half-penny and penny magazines, Friends, Records, Messengers, Witnesses, and such small fry of religious periodicals. Such literature may possibly be useful. Sunday schools are undoubtedly in the highest degree beneficial. But in this world tares and wheat grow together; and Sunday schools have assuredly, as at present managed, increased the number of theological disputants far more surely and rapidly than their ability or knowledge, and have thus given occasion to a great increase of the dishonesty of ignorance. The profoundest piety, the deepest humility, the best intentions, the most amiable disposition, the most untiring zeal, the ripest age—none of these, nor all of them put together, are sufficient to justify participation in by far the greater number of religious controversies, because those controversies require, *in addition* to common honesty and piety, a *special knowledge*, which can only be acquired by special study. To argue without that special knowledge is at once impudent and dishonest.

And while many, from knowing nothing whatever of theology, are incapacitated altogether for every kind of theological controversy, a far greater number have, from choice or necessity, confined their studies to some one department only—evidences, dogmas, ecclesiastical polity, and the like. Those who have done this from choice have generally so acted because they knew the value of a division of labour, and they are not at all likely to affect an intimate knowledge of the region which lies beyond their selected boundaries. But those who have been able to learn *a little* only, and that at great cost to themselves, naturally exaggerate the worth of that little, and forget that their knowledge of it, however accurate, cannot in the least entitle them to express, or even to have an opinion about what *they have never studied at all*. Yet nothing is more common than the practical denial of this most obvious fact, especially in the lower departments of controversial literature. For example : The great majority of our religious disputants confine themselves, from choice or necessity, to the *interpretation* of Holy Scripture. They *assume* the infallibility of the Bible, the

inspiration of its different authors, the authenticity and genuineness of its several parts. To justify that assumption requires a special study; a study the less necessary, because what the *contents* of the Bible actually are, what its doctrines and its practical rules are, is not affected by any hypothesis about its *origin*. Setting out, then, with the Bible, we may investigate its meaning with great care and success; we may become qualified to pass an opinion really valuable on the meaning of difficult texts, and yet we may not have touched the question of the origin, or even the truth of what we can so well explain. A good knowledge of Hebrew is all that is necessary to the interpretation of the Pentateuch; that will enable us to discover what the writer or writers, compiler or compilers, thought about the creation of the world, the dispersion of the human race and especially of some particular families, the origin of the Jews, their laws, their sacrifices, and many other things of a similar kind. Modern discoveries in science or history may seriously affect the *value* of the Old Testament cosmogony and ethnology, but they do not affect the *meaning* of the Pentateuch. He who wrote the first chapter of Genesis may or may not be in harmony with the most accomplished of modern geologists; but his words have a definite and unalterable meaning, whether that meaning be true or false. Not Sir Charles Lyell and Mr. Darwin, but Hebrew lexicon and grammar unveil to us the Pentateuch, and no newly discovered fossils can either insert or expunge a single letter of the Hebrew Bible. In like manner, what is the origin of species? and what information does Genesis give us about the origin of species? are two totally distinct questions, even if the answer of both should be the same. And yet, how many who confessedly confine their *study* to the interpretation of Scripture allow their *opinions* and their dogmatism to roam at large over the whole field of science, and history, and philosophy. Scores of people who know neither the author, nor the date, nor the independent grounds for the credibility of the Pentateuch, and who have never devoted five minutes to the study of geology or ancient history, express themselves with the utmost confidence on questions they know nothing about. What they say may be true enough, but they cannot know it to be true. The moment a disputant denies the *authority* of Scripture, his *only* honest course would be to retire from the argument. He should say, however humiliating the confession, "The authority of Scripture is with me a *hypothesis* which I have not had the opportunity of verifying. It is a very useful hypothesis—I have never had occasion to regret acting upon it. I believe that it could be verified, because

pure mistakes do not generally bear the test of a practical application. Nevertheless, I shall not attempt the verification until I feel able to carry it out thoroughly; and meanwhile I cannot condemn those who either suspend their judgment or adopt the hypotheses opposed to my own. My limited knowledge is a misfortune, but I would not lessen that misfortune by pretending to know more than I really do." And after all nobody need be ashamed of such a confession. We all act upon hypotheses in every department of life which we have never verified. It is only in theology and politics that we seem to think it advantageous to pretend that we have done what we know perfectly well we have not done.

We act, for instance, in medicine on unverified hypotheses, which, moreover, we never expect to be able to verify: not by any means all, perhaps not a majority, even of the ordinary practitioners have verified them. When we are ill and want a doctor, we choose an allopathist or a homœopathist. We have *some* reason for our choice, just as those who without examination *assume* the infallibility of Holy Scripture have some reason, and often a very good one, for their assumption; and as a knowledge of dogmatic theology is not confined to the clergy, so a knowledge of medicine, pathology, anatomy, physiology is not confined to the medical profession. But in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, our choice of a doctor is not in the least determined by any pretence of medical knowledge. All systems of medicine and all quackeries profess to have effected cures. Everybody has a friend who has recovered from some ailment or other *while taking* globules, or massive doses, or Morrison's pills. We choose a doctor because he cured our friend, or because he lives in the next street, or indeed we cannot tell why. And yet if we really *need* a physician and get a quack, it is at the peril of our lives.

As interpretation of Scripture is very different from the study of "evidences," so in like manner a knowledge of the meaning of Scripture is a very different thing from a knowledge of what is orthodox. Orthodox and scriptural are by no means convertible terms. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is unquestionably orthodox. It can be traced back to the very earliest interpreters of Scripture; it runs all through the writings of the Fathers; it is implied (perhaps) in the Nicene Creed; it is held by the Greek Church, the Roman Church, the Anglican Church, by some sects (*e.g.* those commonly called Irvingites), and by many individuals in almost all the sects. It is not the object of this paper either to deny or affirm that the doctrine is scriptural; but very many of those whose studies have been

confined exclusively to interpretation, deny that it is—many even of the Anglican clergy. A similar distinction might be noticed (though somewhat less strongly marked) between the orthodox and what many believe to be the Scriptural doctrine of the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Sacrament. Orthodoxy implies an *authorized interpretation* of Scripture, whether that happens to be the true interpretation or not. We may think such an interpretation highly inexpedient. We may refuse to be bound by it. We may repudiate the use of the term “orthodox” altogether, as belonging to a combined dogmatism and superstition now obsolete. But if we use the word at all, we must take it with its real meaning, not with a fancy meaning of our own. It can never mean *our* “doxy.” It must be determined not by what *we* think true, but by what recognized authority has decreed to be true. It cannot be determined even by the Bible; for the Bible contains no history of its own interpretations. To know whether a doctrine is orthodox implies a knowledge of the *history* of doctrines, a knowledge of creeds, or decrees of councils, or church assemblies. To be able to accuse a man honestly of heresy, we must know with the minutest accuracy what his doctrines are, and with equal accuracy what the authorized creeds of his church are, and thirdly, that the two are irreconcilable *even by himself*. When through lapse of time church formularies themselves cease to have a fixed meaning, the charge of *heresy* becomes impertinent and unmeaning.

It is one of the very greatest misfortunes of our time, that while creeds and formularies are more and more repudiated, their place has been supplied not by freedom and charity, but by an utterly undetermined public opinion in each church or sect. The charge of heresy is more frequent than ever, and in the absence of all recognized standards can neither be proved nor disproved. And it is urged over and over again by people who know nothing whatever about authorized standards, and who merely assume that their own interpretation of Scripture must have commended itself to every age of the universal Church.

Not only do many engage in theological controversy without any sufficient knowledge of the subjects in dispute, but there is a far larger number of persons still who, though eminently pugnacious, think it right to be *ill-informed*, and even *wrong* to be well-informed, about what they consider the wrong side of the question at issue. How many, for instance, of those who patronize Dr. Cumming’s beasts and vials, scarlet ladies and great tribulations, know anything whatever about the Romanist

side of the controversy, in which that gentleman's name has been for years conspicuous? The great majority of good Protestants would think it sinful to read a Popish book, while of course such books are the principal sources of information as to what Popery itself is. In the same way, a Trinitarian would think it wrong to read Socinian books. How many well-meaning people, who in everything but religion are tolerably honest, have over and over again uttered sanctimonious warnings against the *perusal* of the writings of such men as Mr. Maurice and Professor Jowett? Anxious parents whose children are in all likelihood *hearing* every day of their lives some scraps of infidelity or scepticism, are forbidden to read the books of Professor Newman or Theodore Parker, though in their books all is comparatively calm and dignified, and has at any rate a fixed meaning. The question here is not whether controversy is in itself desirable, it may be said without irreverence that God has long ago settled that question for us. Do what we will, we cannot help hearing what we believe true denied, and what we believe sacred derided. It is perfectly certain, that we shall be asked over and over again for our opinion on endless subjects, about which not only infidels and Christians, but all the Christian sects also, are fighting each other, without any room as yet even for a plausible guess which will win. In such circumstances, there is for any of us just *one* honest alternative. We may honestly be silent, not in fact, having anything to say worth anybody's hearing; or, we may thoroughly and impartially investigate any subject which may be in dispute, and then talk to our heart's content to anybody who has time to listen to us. Now in a garrulous age like ours, when stump orators and numerical majorities bear sway, to be *silent* is certainly difficult. On the other hand also, patient study and thorough and impartial investigation are also difficult.

It seems easier to call ill names than either to say nothing or to get something worth saying. Mr. Maurice, for instance, has written about a score of volumes. How much less easy to *read* them than to call him a heretic *without* reading them? It would be a very liberal estimate to allow that one Protestant out of every thousand knows what the doctrine of transubstantiation is; but every child three years old, from one end of the world to the other, whose organs of speech are perfect, could learn to call it nonsense in less than five minutes. And it really is pleasant to express your mind with a good amount of boldness. One looks so small in argument, hesitating, modifying, suspending judgment, refusing to call names. Cannot every pert young gentleman, who has learned to use a razor, come from the other

side of a shop counter, or get down from his office stool, and do twenty times as much as that?

If, indeed, religious controversies were confined to books, the mischief, though not inconsiderable, might be left to cure itself; though in fact very cheap and abundant literature has some of the advantages and most of the disadvantages of conversation. But to people living outside of narrow religious communities, it is almost incredible how much suffering is produced by the dishonesties of religious discussion. Even private families are again and again divided. "The liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely" has yet to be acquired. It has been wrested by slow degrees from the state, it is still refused by society. A difference of opinion is held to be a crime, and punished far more severely than backbiting, and slander, and ill-temper. At the same time, the religious creed of the great majority of Christians is *to them* a hypothesis—very useful, perhaps, and continually being justified by its fruits—but still *a hypothesis*, which therefore they may act upon, but may never enforce upon others; the *truth* of which in strictness they can neither affirm nor deny.

And this suggests one of the many reasons why, when controversy begins, it should be thorough. Men will not live by an unverified hypothesis if they can help it, when they perceive it to be such. Doubts are being scattered thickly on all sides. A merely traditional creed is becoming every day less tenable; we may add a merely traditional Bible is becoming every day less sacred. Men will make many mistakes in seeking for foundations, but none the less for that will they go on seeking. They will reject much which hereafter they will discover to be necessary; they will often come upon harder layers of sand which for awhile they will believe to be the eternal rock. There may be temporary and local reactions, but never again shall we believe *because* our fathers believed. We may, and assuredly we often shall, believe *what* they believed; but we shall stand together in a common recognition of the grounds and reasons of our faith, not in the mere verbal confession of it. Our duty, and especially the duty of the clergy, in this age will far oftener be to promote and encourage enquiry than to check it: to urge men not to cease digging, but to dig *deeper* and *wider*. It has been observed that in many departments of knowledge mankind has passed from truth to falsehood and back again to the same truth, better known, firmlier, and more wisely held. We may hope that, and it is the utmost that we can hope, for the creed of Christendom. Meanwhile, to hasten the process, to diminish the intervening falsehood which we can scarcely expect alto-

gether to escape, is our duty and our reward. The ship in which we sail in search of truth can never turn back. She may sink in mid ocean, she may be wrecked on any of the numberless rocks which threaten her; or she may sail, forward ever, all round the world to the haven from which she set out. So with widened experience and deeper insight, we may find the heaven that "was about us in our infancy." The same, and yet how changed. "Not in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit." "Not with the spirit of bondage again to fear, but with the spirit of adoption, crying, Abba, Father."

The morality of religious controversy is a wide subject, which this paper has only slightly touched; yet after all, the moral law is simple enough. Concerning books or men, concerning the present or the past, concerning either side of a controversy, concerning believers and infidels, orthodox and heretics, never affirm what you know *to be false*; never affirm what you *do not know* to be true; never deny what you know *to be true*; never deny what you *do not know* to be false; never refuse to affirm what you know is true; never neglect the opportunity of denying what you know to be false.

W. K.

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#### EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

MATTHEW III. 15.

*Οὗτῳ γὰρ πρέπον ἐστιν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.*

*Why was our Lord baptized?* The reason is contained in the words which stand at the head of this article; yet it has not proved easy to find a satisfactory explanation of them, simple and straightforward as they appear. Dean Alford does not make the slightest attempt at interpreting them, and Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson rather hint at than develope what seems to us the real interpretation. This we partially gave in 1852, in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, of "Specimens of Annotations in the New Testament," when we treated the question much as the two latter commentators did in 1855. We think, therefore, we need not apologize for entering upon preoccupied ground, in laying our view, in an amended form, before the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*.

It is commonly said that *δικαιοσύνη* here signifies the *δικαιώματα*, or requirements of the law. But baptism was in no sense a requirement of the *law*, though it is said that proselytes were baptized by the Jewish authorities. But the bap-

tism of John was NOT announced as a divine institution, and was so only indirectly, inasmuch as John acted under inspiration. We think that the real interpretation is, to consider that "it became" our Lord to fulfil all *δικαιώματα*, or methods of more or less obtaining forensic or symbolical *δικαιοσύνη*, which an ordinary person of that age and nation would have done, whether they were of human or divine institution. As the representative of our race, "it became" him to do all that such a person would have done, just as he was willing to pay tribute to Cæsar. And as regards the nature of the particular dominant usage to which he submitted in being baptized by John, though he had no need of repentance himself, yet as the representative of sinful man it was necessary for him to go through a symbolical purification.

It is argued in Hebrews ix. 9, that the Levitical ceremonies could not make the worshipper perfect, *κατὰ συνείδησιν*, in point of conscience. This feeling of the deficiency of the Mosaic law, which is again insisted upon in Hebrews x. 1—4, was expressed by the baptism of John, and its justice acknowledged by our Lord, in that he took advantage of that *extra-legal* mode of obtaining *δικαιοσύνη*.

### 1 CORINTHIANS VIII. 12.

*Οὕτως δὲ ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ τύπτοντες αὐτῶν τὴν συνείδησιν ἀσθενοῦσαν, εἰς Χριστὸν ἀμαρτάνετε.*

The Authorized Version translates *τύπτοντες* by "wound," and Dean Alford by "smiting;" and the latter also quotes Chrysostom on the cruelty of smiting a sick person : *τί γὰρ ἀπηνέστερον ἀνθρώπου γένοιτο* ἀν τὸν νοσοῦντα *τύπτοντος*; whereby it appears to us that the entire force of St. Paul's argument and illustration is destroyed. We think a good reason can be given why Bengel's explanation, "*verberantes*, sicut jumentum lassum verberibus argetur," is preferable. That reason is contained in the two verses immediately preceding. It is there suggested that the conscience of a weak brother would be, by the sight of a person of superior intelligence feasting in an idol temple, "built up," *οἰκοδομηθήσεται*, to eat things offered in sacrifice to idols; and by thus doing what he believed wrong, the weak brother would stumble and perish. Now, "smiting," or otherwise acting *ἀπηνῶς*, towards a sick person, would certainly not result in his *οἰκοδομὴ* for evil. It would *pull him down* rather than *build him up*. It would tend to his *καθαρεύειν* (2 Cor. x. 8), rather than to his *οἰκοδομή*. But if, taking Bengel's hint, we translate *τύπτοντες*, GOADING, the whole passage is logically coherent. "But by thus sinning against your brethren and GOADING their

conscience, when in a weakly state, ye sin against Christ.” Horses at the present day are sometimes forced in steeple-chases, by whip and spur, to take leaps beyond their power, and the result is not unfrequently death to either horse or rider, or both. This would be a case in point.

### 1 CORINTHIANS IX. 24—27.

*Οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες, πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος, πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται· ἔκεινοι μὲν οὖν, ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἄφθαρτον. Ἐγὼ τοινυν οὗτω τρέχω, ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως· οὗτω πυκτεύω, ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων. Ἄλλ’ ὑπωπάξω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ, μήπως, ἀλλοι κηρύξεις, αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.*

Few passages are more celebrated or more frequently quoted than St. Paul's double comparison of a Christian's life to a race and a pugilistic combat. Yet in explaining and developing the reasoning of the apostle in detail, every commentator that we have seen has, to our mind, spoilt and defaced the imagery of the apostle by his interpretation of verse 26: ‘*Ἐγὼ τοινυν οὗτω τρέχω, ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως· οὗτω πυκτεύω, ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων.*

Everybody, with the exception of Grotius, whose interpretation is inadmissible on other grounds, appears to have taken a kind of subjective view of this passage, instead of endeavouring to complete, to the mind's eye, the visual image which the words, *ἐν σταδίῳ*, would present to the Corinthians, the first recipients and readers of this epistle. The Corinthians would naturally call to mind, not merely the competitors in the Isthmian games, but also the judges, *βραβεῖς*, as suggested by the word *βραβεῖον*, and, moreover, the vast *corona* of spectators assembled to see the contests. And it is a needless thing to tell a person who is running *ἐν σταδίῳ* for a *βραβεῖον*, that he is not to run “vaguely,” or “without definite aim or object,” which are the significations usually assigned to *ἀδήλως*. So too it is a curious thing to interpret *ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων* as implying that the combatant is to be sure and strike his adversary, instead of wasting his strength upon the empty air. Any person conversant with fistic lore would tell the commentators that success in planting heavy blows is a matter of *skill*, not of *will*: yet surely the *skill* of the Christian athlete is not the matter in question here.

We know that passages can be cited in favour of the above interpretation of *ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων*—as, for instance, Virgil *Æn.* v. 446, where Entellus misses his opponent, and “*vires in ventum effundit*.” But more and stronger passages can be quoted on the other side. For instance, Mr. Peile cites Lucian

to shew that such a phrase belongs to the *προάσκησις*, or previous practice, and not to the actual contest at all. So, too, he quotes Virgil, *AEn.* v. 376, 377:

“Ostenditque humeros latos alternaque jactat  
Brachia protendens et verberat ictibus auras :”

where Dares is represented as *ἀέρα δέρων*, in order by such a display to deter any opponent from venturing into the ring against him.

But let us consider for a moment in what the Christian race differs from that of the Isthmian games. Is it not in the fact that both the *βραβεῖς* and spectators are *invisible*? And who are they? Surely those whom we are elsewhere bidden to make our friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may eventually receive us into the everlasting habitations. Now, have we not here a meaning of *ἀδήλως* suggested, which is far more simple and more vivid than any of those which commonly pass current? “I run like them, as not OBSCURELY; i.e., as not running with no eyes upon me.” And a corresponding sense for *ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων* is found at once from Lucian and Virgil in the patristic *σκιαμαχία*, or sham fight against an imaginary adversary. For the Greek candidate for pugilistic honours does not appear to have practised upon a stuffed dummy hung up in his room, but upon the empty air, dealing his blows at an imaginary adversary. Grotius translates *ἀδήλως* as we have done, but supposes the allusion to be to the glory of the victor and the obscurity of the conquered competitors.

And perhaps the language of the modern boxer will also assist us in further investigating the latter part of the passage under consideration. It is well known that *ἰππωπιάζω* is a term taken from the Greek prize ring, and thus corresponds in origin to our own word “bore,” which is now so fashionable. Surely *δουλαγωγῶ* must be a similar word, and must express some mode or other of overpowering an adversary in a pugilistic combat. We cannot but think that it must, more or less, correspond to the English expression, “to get the head into chancery,” when the worsted party can be dragged backwards and forwards in a state of helpless slavery (*δουλεία*), and fibbed at the will of his victorious adversary. The supposed allusion to the victor’s leading his conquered adversary away as a slave, which is adopted by many commentators, has no foundation whatever, as is justly remarked by Dean Alford. Taking, then, *ἀδήλως* in an *objective* instead of a *subjective* sense, the whole passage will run as follows:

“Know ye not that those who run in a race-course all run, but one only obtains the prize. Thus run, in order that ye may

obtain. And everyone who contends in public games practises self-restraint in all respects. They then do it in order to obtain a perishable, but we an imperishable garland. I, then, run like them, as not running IN OBSCURITY [with no eyes upon me] ; I box like them, as not beating air [in private practice by myself] ; but I bruise and overpower my body, lest anyhow, after making proclamation to others, I should become myself a rejected person."

We beg to submit the above remarks and interpretation to our readers, in the hope that they will be found to contain a clearer and more logical account of the celebrated twofold parallel of Paul, than is elsewhere to be obtained.

### 2 CORINTHIANS II. 3.

*Καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῦτο αὐτὸ, ἵνα μὴ ἐλθῶν λύπην ἔχω, ἀφ' ὃν ἔδει με χαίρειν.*

The difficulty of explaining *τοῦτο αὐτὸ* as the direct object of *ἔγραψα* has caused several commentators (De Wette, Erasmus, Rückert, etc.) to render *τοῦτο αὐτὸ*, *on this account*, or more properly, *for this very reason*, comparing one of the passages of Plato, which we quoted in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, in proposing a similar interpretation for *αὐτὸ τοῦτο*, in Gal. ii. 10. To this Meyer replies, that this idiom is foreign to the style of St. Paul. That answer might be considered weighty, if only *one* passage from St. Paul could be adduced in favour of the idiom; but when *two* from St. Paul and *one* from St. Peter can be brought forward, the idiom cannot be rejected in this off-hand manner. In Eph. vi. 22, we have *eis αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα, κ.τ.λ.*, which indicates the tendency of a relative clause beginning with *ἵνα*, to draw its antecedent into its immediate neighbourhood. We translate with great confidence, "And I wrote *for this very reason*, that on coming I might not have sorrow from those from whom I ought to have had joy."

### 2 CORINTHIANS IV. 4.

*'Ο Θεός τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων, εἰς τὸ μὴ αἴγασαι [αὐτοῖς] τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.*

In this passage the *textus receptus* introduces *αὐτοῖς* immediately after *αἴγασαι*, and this is favoured by Origen, who quotes the passage with *αὐτοῖς*. Both De Wette and Dean Alford reject *αὐτοῖς* from their text, and yet declare it to be a good gloss. De Wette translates *αἴγασαι* by *strahlen*, "to beam," an intransitive verb, which would properly require a dative; so that in his sense *αὐτοῖς* *might* possibly be a good gloss. Dean Alford translates *αἴγασαι* by "illuminate [them]," a transitive verb,

which would correspond to the German *bestrahlen*, rather than *strahlen*, and would require an *accusative* of the direct object, so that in his sense the dative, *av̄tōis*, can *not* be a good gloss. De Wette declares that the rendering of Grotius and others “*to see*” is wrong ; and Dean Alford, who appears to have copied directly from him, with the exception of the terrible confusion between *strahlen* and *bestrahlen*, that it is inadmissible. Neither give any reason for their view, and certainly the word “*inadmissible*” is rather too strong to have been used by any commentator without giving a reason. Let us examine the question.

And, first, we admit at once that if *av̄tōis* be the correct reading, we have no choice but to take Origen’s view of the passage, and translate with the Authorized Version, *av̄yáσται av̄tōis*, “*to shine unto them*.” We have, therefore, to consider the question upon the supposition that *av̄tōis* is to be rejected from the text with A, B, C, D<sup>1</sup>, F, G, etc., and is only a gloss.

In Liddell and Scott’s lexicon we find only *two* senses of *av̄yáσω* given ; one classical, *to see clearly* ; the other Hellenistic, *to shine*. Palm and Rost add the sense *to irradiate* ; and it is worthy of notice that the *only* passage that they quote in favour of the sense *to shine*, is the one under consideration. Suidas has simply *Av̄yáσω, αἰτιατικῆ*. Æmilius Portus, the Latin translator of Suidas, gives us a little more : “*Av̄yáσω, accusativo gaudet. illustro, illumino, splendeo vel radiis illustro*,” omitting what we shall find to be the *most common* sense of *av̄yáσω* in good Greek authors.

For our own part, we find no less than *six* senses of *av̄yáσω* : (1) transitive, *illustro* or *irradio*, to irradiate or illuminate ; (2) transitive and common to both active and middle, *video*, to see ; (3) transitive, *oculis quero*, to look for ; (4) intransitive, *video*, to possess the power of vision ; (5) intransitive, *specto*, to look or gaze ; (6) intransitive, *splendeo*, to shine.

(1.) *Irradio*.—This we only find *once* in a fragment of the Tyro of Sophocles, No. 587, in Dindorf’s *Poetae Scenici*. Sophocles is describing the horror of a mare that has had her mane cut off, at seeing her shadow, *av̄yασθεῖσα*, when she is in the sun, or rather, when suddenly irradiated by a gleam of sunlight :—

“*Ιδη σκιᾶς εἴδωλον αὐγασθεῖς’ ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
Κούραις ἀτίμως διατειλμένης φόβησ.*”

To find another instance of this, we must go to Gregory of Nazianzus, quoted by Scapula ; *οὐρανὸς κόσμου δλον αὐγάζων*.

(2.) *Video*.—Hom., *Il. ψ 458*, *ολος ἐγώ ιππους αὐγάζομαι  
ηὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς* ; this passage is coolly cited by Wahl as an instance

of the sense "illstro," which simply proves that, wherever he got his reference, he never took the trouble to verify it. Soph. *Philoc.*, 217, *ναὸς ἄξενον αὐγάζων δρμον*. Eurip., *Hec.*, 637, *τὰν καλλίσταν ὁ ἄλιος αὐγάζει*. This *might* belong to the sense *irradio*. Eurip., *Bacchae*, 597:—

“Πῦρ οὐ λεύσσεις οὐδὲ αὐγάζει  
Σεμέλας ιερὸν ἀμφὶ τάφον;”

(3.) *Oculis quero*.—[Eurip.] *Rhesus*, 793,—

“Καὶ μὲν γχοις αὐγάζοντα καὶ θηρώμενον  
Παιει παραστάς μειάτην πλευράν ξίφει  
Ανήρ ἀκμάζων.”—(“Looking for a spear and hunting for it.”)

(4.) *Video. intrans*.—Apoll., *Rhod.* i. 1233, *ρηδίως καὶ νέρθε κατὰ χθονὸς αὐγάζεσθαι*, said of Lynceus, as possessing the power of vision even under the earth.

(5.) *Specto*.—Hesiod. Op., 478,—

“Εὐοχθέων δὲ οἶει πολιον ἔπειρον οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀλλον·  
Αὐγάσσει.”—“You will not look to others [for aid.]”

Eurip., *Hel.*, 1338:—

“Αὐγάζων ἐξ οὐρανίων  
Ἄλλαν μοῖραν ἔκραινε.”

This *seems* to mean "looking or gazing from heaven," but the passage is defective. Apoll., *Rhod.*, ii. 682, *αὐτοιν αὐγάσσεσθαι ἐς δύματα καλὰ θεοῖο*.

(6.) *Splendeo*.—Leviticus xiii. 24 (LXX.), *Καὶ σὰρξ ἐὰν γένηται ἐν τῷ δέρματι αὐτοῦ κατακαίμα πυρὸς, καὶ γένηται ἐν τῷ δέρματι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑγασθὲν τοῦ κατακαύματος αὐγάζου τηλανγεῖ λευκόν*. The three last words appear to be a periphrasis of the Hebrew *תְּמִימָה*, a whitish spot. So too, Apoll. *Rhod.* i. 1233, *πρὸς γάρ οἱ διχόμονις ἀπ' αἰθέρος αὐγάζουσα βάλλε Σεληναίη*, or this may mean "looking" or "gazing." These are all the passages in which *aὐγάζω* occurs, that with our limited supply of books we have been able to find. Even this little is, however, a great advance beyond the ordinary lexicons.

Let us now proceed to consider which of these significations are applicable to the passage under consideration. Reading *αὐτοῖς*, the last meaning "to shine," is the only one admissible, as we said above; but assuming the *αὐτοῖς* to be only a gloss, we may dismiss (4) *video. intrans.*, (5) *specto*, and (3) *oculis quero*, as inconsistent with the context. Let us try (1) Dean Alford's *irradio*, to *illuminate* or *irradiate*. If *αὐτοῖς* were in the text, this would do excellently, but without it, we have: "That the illumination of the Gospel of Christ might not illuminate." Illuminate whom or what? To *illuminate* without a direct object is reduced to the intransitive sense *to shine*. Let us then

take (5) *to shine*. “The God of this world hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving, that the illumination of the Gospel of Christ might not shine.” To whom? To them. But it is a harsh and roundabout way of speaking, to say that a person is blinded, that the sun may not shine to him, and what becomes of it when the “*to him*” is omitted, which is the case in this passage. The idiom is a poetical one with the “*to him*” inserted, and without it it surely amounts to a mis-statement, especially in plain prose. The sun shines, whether he sees it or not. Let us try meaning (2) *to see*. “The God of this world hath blinded the eyes of the unbelieving, that they might not *see* the illumination of the Gospel of Christ.” Surely this is but plain and simple sense. And it is easy to bring forward plenty of similar uses of *eis τὸ* and *eis τὸ μῆ*, followed by an infinitive. Heb. xii. 10, we have: *Oι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ὀλίγας ημέρας, κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπαλδενον ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον eis τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῆς ἀγνότητος αὐτοῦ*, “that we might be partakers of his holiness.” 1 Thess. iii. 2: *ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον. . . . eis τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμᾶς*; “we sent Timothy, that *he* might establish you.” And *we* and *Timothy* are subjects of the verbs following *eis τὸ μῆ* and *eis τὸ*, just as *τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων*, or, if you will, *τοὺς ἀπίστους* implied therein, is the subject of *airyáσαι* with the rendering *to see*.

Yet the simple rendering *to see* is scarcely satisfactory. Why should St. Paul use so out of the way and indeed poetical a word? Surely it should rather be translated by a stronger expression than *to see*, such as *to DESCRY*, which is not a common word in prose with ourselves, and exactly gives the forcible sense required here.

“The God of this world hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving, that they might not *DESCRY* the illumination of the Gospel of Christ.”

A brief etymological enquiry into the origin and connexion of the senses of *airyáσω* may, perhaps, not be thought out of place here. *Airyā* appears to mean originally any *bright beam* or *radiance*. It is thus applied constantly in Homer to the beams of the sun, and later writers use *airyā* alone for the light of day. But the *eye* was considered to “beam” as well as the sun, and hence we have *ὅμματων airyā* and *airyā* alone of the eyes, like the Latin *lumina*. *Airyáσω* would properly mean to *be-beam*, and would be applicable either to the sun or the eye; so that we have at once the senses to *irradiate*, and to *see* or *descrie*. To *endeavour to be-beam* would be to *look for*, and to perform the action of be-beaming without any *definite* object expressed would be simply *to look*, or *to shine*. But the sense *to shine* appears

to have the latest and weakest authority of any ; and the passage in which the participle *αἰρύάζον* occurs is so singular, that it is difficult to suppose the word to have been in common use in that sense, when it is unsupported by any other authority than a passage of Apollonius Rhodius, where too it is capable of another meaning. If *αὐτοῖς* be rejected as a reading, we think it must also be rejected as an *incorrect gloss*. Were it a question of scholarship and not of reading in which we found the authority of Origen against us, we should think twice before we decided against his view ; but he clearly *read αὐτοῖς*, as we find by examining the passage—*Commentary on St. Matthew*, tom. xi. 14.

## 1 TIMOTHY v. 18.

*"Αμα δὲ καὶ ἀργαὶ μανθάνοντι περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκλας.*

No commentator has as yet produced more than one passage in support of the construction *μανθάνοντιν ἀργαὶ*, “they learn [to be] idle ;” and Dean Alford is not unreasonably somewhat dissatisfied with this single prop, as the reading of the passage in which it occurs (*Plato's Euthydemus*, 276 B.) is doubtful. The older editions of Plato read, *οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ἄρα μανθάνοντιν, ὁ Κλεινία, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ σοφοὶ, ὡς σὺ οἴει.* Winckelmann, from a few of the best MSS., introduced *σοφοὶ* before *μανθάνοντιν* ; so that the amended text adopted by Stalbaum runs, *οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ἄρα σοφοὶ μανθάνοντι, “the ignorant then learn [to be] wise.”* It must be admitted that this is weak authority. We are, however, happily in a position to strengthen it ; to which end it is only requisite to copy a portion of Stalbaum's note on this very passage of Plato: “Aptè Winckelmannus Contulit Dion. Chrysost. t. ii. p. 283, ed. Reisk : ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ὅτι μὲν παῖς ἀν ΕΜΑΝΘΑΝΕ ΛΙΘΟΞΕΟΟΣ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνην. “Socrates when a boy used to learn [to be] a sculptor, his father's art.”

## HEBREWS vi. 5.

*Καλὸν γενομένους Θεοῦ ρῆμα.*

In the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, we endeavoured to shew that *καλὸν* was a predicate, and not an epithet of *Θεοῦ ρῆμα*, and that thus the accusative was the proper case, and *εἰναι*, if anything, was to be supplied. We cannot but remark upon the extraordinary similarity of the construction of the 1 aor. participle act. of the same word in *Herod. vii. 46.*, where Artabanus is represented as saying, *ὁ Θεὸς, γλυκὺν γένος τὸν αἰώνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἔων.* “God, after making us taste that life is sweet, is found to be envious therein.” The collocation of the words in the two passages is identical, and we think this passage of Herodotus must remove all doubt of the

correctness of our explanation of *καλὸν γενομένους Θεοῦ ρῆμα*, which does away with the awkwardness of supposing that the author made *γενόμαι* govern two different cases in the same sentence without any difference of meaning. The position of *Θεοῦ* before *ρῆμα*, in the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews, compensates for the absence of the article. We should, otherwise, have had *τὸ ρῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

A. H. W.

*Bury St. Edmund's.*

### THE GENEALOGIES OF OUR LORD.

(1.) THE genealogies of our Lord, as given by the evangelists Matthew and Luke, have ever formed a portion of those apparent discrepancies of Scripture, which its defenders have laboured to remove. It would not be possible, in a paper of this kind, to enter into every circumstance connected with this important question ; but an endeavour will be made to place the matter in its chief features before the reader, and to shew that it is capable of satisfactory solution.

(2.) It has been pretty generally acquiesced in by commentators that St. Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, our Lord's legal father, and that St. Luke gives that of Mary, of whom he was born : that both father and mother being of the house of David, Jesus was thus, by legal claim and natural descent, the Son of David. No doubt this theory is a plausible one, and, if it could be proved, a satisfactory one. It is, however, open to fatal objections. Both evangelists profess to give Joseph's genealogy, and not that of Mary. Neither evangelist rests any part of his argument upon Mary's being of the house of David, and that she was so is merely a gratuitous assumption, for which there is no ground beyond conjecture.

(3.) A far more satisfactory solution has been ably maintained by Lord Arthur Hervey, in a work published by him a few years since. The leading point in his argument is that both evangelists give the genealogy of Joseph, connecting him with David by two different branches—one sprung from Solomon, the other from Nathan—generally divergent, but meeting upon two occasions—the first in Salathiel and Zorobabel, the second in Joseph and in Christ. An admirable review of this important work of Lord Hervey's appeared in the *Clerical Journal*, of January 9th, 1854.

(4.) With this leading part of the above work, the writer of this article fully agrees. On no satisfactory grounds can it be

maintained that Luke intended to give the genealogy of Mary. If we are to take his own words as evidence of his intention, we must conclude that he did not. Taking in general Lord Hervey's view upon this question as established, it is our object to refer to some particulars in which we differ from it, and to shew that the view thus presented satisfies every reasonable enquiry that may be made about it.

(5.) There is, however, one argument put forward by those who maintain that Luke gives the genealogy of Mary, to which we will refer. It was put forward first in a number of the *Jewish Messenger*, for 1833, and has been inserted by Mr. Horne in his *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures* as conclusive. It is meant to shew that it is agreeable to the language of the Old Testament to call a man the son of him whose daughter he had married. For this purpose, Neh. vii., 63, is quoted : "And of the priests : the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, *the children of Barzillai*, which took one of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite to wife, *and was called after their name.*" It is contended that it is in this instance the son-in-law of Barzillai is called his son. Now, nothing of the kind is here said. It is merely said that a certain priest, marrying a daughter of Barzillai, also took his name, and was henceforth called Barzillai. The "children of Barzillai" are not here called the children of the Gileadite of that name, but of the priest who took that name; and consequently here is no instance of a son-in-law being called the son of his father-in-law, and we look in vain for any instance of the kind in the pages of the Bible.

(6.) Lord Arthur Hervey supposes that Luke gives the natural descent of Joseph from Nathan, the son of David ; while Matthew gives us the succession of the heirs of David's and Solomon's throne, the younger branch of the family of David, in the person of Joseph, succeeding to the rights of the elder branch, from the failure of direct heirs to the latter. We think it is the opposite way. In our opinion Matthew gives the direct unbroken descent of Joseph from Solomon, and Luke gives the succession from Nathan to Joseph, which was not in a direct unbroken line, but which, being broken in several places, was supplied by adoption, or other means in use among the Jews, to keep up the succession of a family. So much depending on the succession from David, the younger branch, deriving from Nathan, carefully supplied its succession when it was endangered by want of direct heirs. We will now proceed to give our reasons for differing in this respect from Lord Hervey.

(7.) Our principal reason is the difference of the terms used by the two evangelists in their genealogies. Matthew always

uses the term “beget” (*γέννησε*) in his succession, while Luke calls each “the son” (*υἱός*) of his predecessor. We think it will be found that Matthew’s term is a much more confined one than that of Luke: that while the phrase used by the latter is descriptive not merely of a son by natural descent, but of a son by adoption or other ways, that Matthew’s term can be only properly understood of a son by natural descent.

(8.) The only way satisfactorily to arrive at the meaning of a word is to consider its use. Now, if we examine every place in the New Testament where the verb *γέννω* occurs, we shall not find a single place where we can understand it in any other sense than a description of the natural descent of a child, either from his father or mother. Where it is not used in a spiritual sense of regeneration, we maintain that it is thus invariably used in the New Testament. It signifies either the act of procreation by the father, or of conception or parturition by the mother. Let any one bring forward, if he can, an instance of a different kind. If none can be brought, though the word occurs very frequently, we consider that Matthew’s genealogy must be taken, as intended by him, to describe the direct unbroken descent of Joseph from Solomon.

(9.) But it is said that St. Matthew does supply us with proof that he did not use the word always in this sense. Let us attend to these supposed exceptions, and we imagine that we shall not find them to be exceptions. The first is drawn from i. 8, where we read that “Joram begat Ozias.” Now, it is said, and truly; that between Joram and Ozias three generations intervened, Ozias being the great great grandson of Joram. (2 Chron. xxii., xxvi.) But surely this is not a real exception. Ozias was the direct natural descendant of Joram; from the issue of Joram’s body Ozias sprung. Of Levi, separated yet farther from his progenitor Abraham than Ozias was from Joram, St. Paul tells us that “he was in the loins of his father” Abraham. (Heb. vii. 10.) And so in Matthew i. 8, we have not any exception to the sense in which we maintain that *γέννω* is invariably used in the New Testament, namely, as descriptive of direct natural descent of a child from its parent.

(10.) But we have another alleged exception, and one which at first sight appears much more like a real exception than the last. In Matthew i. 12, we read that “Jechonias begat Salathiel.” Now, in Jeremiah xxiii. 30, we read of this very Jechonias—there (ver. 28) called Coniah—that he was to be “childless;” and consequently Salathiel could not be his son by natural descent, but must have been his son by adoption, or otherwise; and here, therefore, it is contended that there is an undoubted

instance where ἀγένητος, in Matthew, cannot mean direct natural descent.

(11.) A little inquiry will, however, shew us that this is not really an exception. The Hebrew word (Jer. xxii. 30), וְאֵינוֹ, translated "childless," means "empty," or "desolate," from any cause. This desolation may arise, as in Genesis xv. 2, from want of children: but it may also arise from some other reason, such as misfortune and calamity falling upon one's children. This is its sense in Jeremiah xxii. 30. It only requires us to look closely into the passage, in order to see that such is evidently its sense here. "Write ye this man desolate, a man that shall not prosper in his days." Why? "*For no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Israel.*" It is here evidently implied that he had children, but that none of these should succeed him on the throne. Children he was to have, and children's children, but the diadem of David was not to sit upon any of their brows. Herein plainly, according to the text, was to consist his desolation. He was to be the father of children, but not the father of kings. Jehu's prosperity was to consist in this—that he, the first king of his line, was to have children of the fourth generation to sit upon the throne of Israel (2 Kings x. 30). Jechonias' desolation was to consist in this—that he, the descendant of a long line of kings, should transmit the honours of his house to none of his posterity. From being the rulers of the land they descended into a private station, until we find the last of them, Joseph, working at the carpenter's trade. He who was to resume the sceptre of David, our blessed Lord, was not descended from Jechonias by natural descent, but was only the son of Joseph as being the son of Joseph's wife. No man of Jechonias' seed ever assumed royalty. Generation after generation of them lived and died, but not one of them ruled in Judah. The prediction of Jeremiah was literally fulfilled.

(12.) That such is the real sense of the passage in Jeremiah is also evident from 1 Chron. iii. 19, 20. Here we find that this Jeconiah, whom our translation erroneously makes "childless," was *the father of eight sons*. There they are, their names all given; there can be no mistake about the matter: and herein lies the force of Jeremiah's prophecy. Jeconiah could look upon his numerous offspring, and the thought would rise in his mind that, though he might be deprived of his kingdom, yet that one of his numerous sons, or one again of their sons, or surely one of a later generation, should resume the honours of his line. What were they sent for, these "young children," these "arrows in the hand of a giant," but that from them

should arise again a ruler in Judah? So man thought: but the word of prophecy interposed. Jeconiah had many children, and these again had theirs, and at no time was there wanting a man known as the direct natural descendant of Judah's ancient kings; but no change of times or circumstances, no revolution from within or from without, could raise again the seed of Jeconiah to the throne. And so we find the last of them, Joseph, living and dying in utter political obscurity.

(13.) There is another instance alleged, which has, however, no even seeming force. Matthew tell us that "Salathiel begat Zorobabel;" while, according to 1 Chron. iii. 19, "Zerubbabel was the son of Pedaiah." It certainly appears from this that Pedaiah has a son of this name, but this does not hinder Salathiel from also having had a son so called. Matthew tells us he had, and Luke also says so; for this is one of the few places in the later part of the genealogies where the two evangelists concur (Luke iii. 27.) It is sufficient answer, therefore, to say to this objection, that Zerubbabel the son of Pedaiah was a different man from Zorobabel the son of Salathiel.

(14.) No instance, therefore, can be brought forward in Scripture in which *yēvaw* has any other than its usual and proper sense. It is the term expressive of natural paternity, not of paternity derived from adoption, or marriage, or any other way by which one, not naturally the son of another, became thus that person's son.

(15.) But St. Matthew himself supplies us with a very strong proof that he uses *yēvaw* in this strict sense. According to Lord A. Hervey he used it in a loose sense, and it had frequently been expressive of a sonship which was not by a natural descent. How comes it then that when we come to the last link, where we know there was not this natural descent, Matthew *drops the word as applicable to Joseph's relation to Jesus, and applies it to the relation of Mary to our Lord.* "Jacob begat Joseph," he tells us (iii. 16); but he does not go on and say, "Joseph begat Jesus;" but he simply calls "Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom (viz., Mary) was born (*ἐγένετο*) Jesus, who is called *Christ*." Now why is this? It was not that it was necessary to inform us here of the mystery in the birth of Jesus, for in the next verses of the chapter he enters into an account of this mystery with a fulness and a circumstantiality nowhere else found (i. 18—25). Jesus was, in a true sense, the son of Joseph (according to Lord Hervey several of the preceding generations had been relations of this kind): why then does Matthew drop the *yēvaw*, as applicable to Joseph's relation to Jesus, and apply it solely to the maternal relationship? It can only be because

he had used it invariably of the direct natural descent of father and son, and here refused to use it where such a descent did not exist.

(16.) But when we come to St Luke's phrase, *vivos*, we come to a phrase of a far looser kind. It readily signifies a son either by natural descent, or by adoption, or by any other way. This is a matter which it would be a waste of time to enter upon. It will be sufficient to point out that Luke, in the first verse of the genealogy, affords us proof that he uses the word in this way, for he there calls Jesus "the son of Joseph," though he was not his son by natural descent, nor by adoption, but only as the son of one to whom Joseph was affianced at the time of conception, and whom he had taken as his wife at the time of birth.

(17.) Our natural conclusion, then, from the preceding paragraphs is that St. Matthew gives the direct, unbroken, natural descent of our Lord's legal father, Joseph, from Solomon, the son of David; while St. Luke gives the descent from Nathan, the younger son of David, to Joseph, a descent which was interrupted in various places, and supplied by the means used in those times to prevent the failure of a line. The descent from Solomon, instead of being supplied from the younger branch, supplied sons to that younger branch. Joseph, our Lord's father, was sprung directly from Jacob; while Heli, having no child of his own, either adopted Joseph, or in some other way acquired a title to be called his father; and both lines thus united in Joseph, the legal father of Jesus, constituted the latter the descendant of the kings of Judah—"the Son of David."

(18.) But if we are to take the two genealogies as those of Joseph, and to consider that neither of them gives the genealogy of Mary, are we not at least to suppose that Mary, the sole human parent of Jesus, was herself not only of the tribe of Judah, but also of the royal family of David? Is not this requisite in order to make our Lord to be truly "of the seed of David according to the flesh?"

(19.) To this we say that it is not at all necessary. We do not affirm that Mary was not of the tribe of Judah and the family of David, but we say that the probability is that she was not of the royal house, perhaps not of the tribe at all, and that we must determine this whole question without any reference as to whether she was or was not; must, in fact, go upon the supposition that she was not. Neither of the evangelists rests any part of their proof that Jesus was the son of David upon the descent of his mother. Writing for the Jew and for the Gentile, neither of them rests one iota of their argument upon the fact as to what family, or what tribe, Mary was of. They both suppose

the proof perfect without it : it did not enter at all into their calculations. Whether it be true or not that Mary was descended from David, we must therefore argue the matter as though she were not. The prophecies of our Lord's descent from David do not prove it, for they are supposed both by Matthew and Luke to be fulfilled without taking this idea into account. The declarations of the Apostles (as Acts ii. 30, xiii. 23 ; Rom. i. 3) do not prove it, for they are in no particular stronger than the prophetical sayings, and are in fact mere repetitions of them. And when the whole stress of the writers whose purpose it is to shew us the descent of Jesus from David is laid on Joseph's descent, and when neither there nor anywhere else is one word hinted of Mary's being of the family of David, to suppose that she was so is simply a gratuitous assumption.

(20.) Without asserting that it is untrue, we may safely say that it is very improbable. The great likelihood is, that if Mary were of David's house we would have been told so. Joseph's descent from David is repeatedly urged, and in such connexion with Mary as would naturally lead the evangelists to tell of the latter's similar descent, if she were so descended (Luke i. 27 ; ii. 4, 5). The only relative of Mary whose family is told us was Elizabeth, and she was of the tribe of Levi (Luke i. 5, 36). Mary and her family were probably inhabitants of Galilean Nazareth, where, as elsewhere, were Levites, but in which were very few of the tribe of Judah (Luke i. 26). So that the probabilities in the case are that Mary was a Levite.

(21.) But however this be, we must put out of mind altogether the question of Mary's descent. The evangelists treat the point without her, and we must do the same. In deciding the truth of the prophecies concerning our Lord's descent from David and their sense, we must argue as though, through his mother, he derived no portion whatsoever of his claim. And this at once brings us to the view which the New Testament writers take of our Lord's human descent. According to them he was not "Son of David" by direct natural descent, but in some other way. A Jew undoubtedly, he may not have had, according to their statement, one drop of David's blood in his veins. Their view is that he was David's son by such means as *legal descent*, or *adoption*. Matthew gives us certainly the first as his view. Luke gives this too as our Lord's connecting link with Joseph, and probably relies on adoption as connecting Joseph with Heli.

(22.) This may appear startling, but it is certainly the aspect of our Lord's descent from David that is presented in the Gospels. Direct natural descent is put out of view altogether. Between Jesus and David there appears from them to have been no nearer

tie of blood than that both were of the same nation. To Joseph our Lord had no other than a *legal tie*, and *Mary's descent from David is ignored*.

(23.) But it may be said, "If this be so, how are the prophecies relative to our Lord's descent from David fulfilled? If he was not descended from David by what we call natural descent, how is the prophecy, 'Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne,' a true prophecy; or the apostle's declaration, 'Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus,' a true declaration?" Certainly if we choose to think that these Scriptures can have but that sense which is with us commonly attached to them, we cannot believe them true. If we take this as their only proper sense, and also believe the Scriptures, we must call in the supposed royal descent of Mary to bear them out; but if we leave Mary's descent as an unknown point on which we cannot build, then certainly we must suppose the above prophecy not to have been fulfilled. But let us ask, is it not possible that there may be other true and proper senses in which the words of Scripture may be taken? We are not the only judges of their sense. If others as much interested in the question for or against Christianity as we are, and perhaps much better able to judge, were satisfied that the words had another proper sense, why should we insist that such a sense is non-natural, and require another to be attached to them?

(24.) The Jew of the apostles' time, whether a believer in Christ or an infidel, was as interested as we can be in this question, and better able to judge the meaning of the words of the Old Testament. Yet to this Jew St. Matthew calmly gives the view as a satisfactory one, which we refuse as sufficient. He opens his genealogy with "The Book of the generation of *Jesus Christ, the Son of David*." He goes on to give a very accurate account of father and son down to Joseph; but there, he plainly intimates, was a stop in natural descent. Joseph was not, he tells us, the natural father of Jesus: with his conception he had nothing to do; it was a supernatural thing. The only human parent in the way of nature was a virgin of unknown pedigree; but to this virgin, ere she conceived, Joseph was affianced, and this virgin Joseph had taken to his home as his wife ere she brought forth. Born in wedlock, Jesus was, in Jewish law, the legal son of Joseph, the lineal descendant of David, and so Jesus was in Jewish eyes, "the fruit of David's body." The nation to whom the promise was made, in whose language it was written, with whose hopes, and pride, and prejudices, it was ultimately bound up, accepted this as sufficient. The believing Jew hailed Joseph's legal son as

David's seed, and required no better connecting link. The un-believing Jew allowed the force of the connexion, and never denied our Lord's descent from David to be valid because Joseph was nothing more to him than his mother's husband. What right have we to require, as the only true sense of the words, a sense which the Jewish nation did not require?

(25.) Luke wrote for Gentiles, acquainted with the laws regulating family descents through the world of that and preceding times. He wrote for men who knew nothing of Mary beyond what he told them, and of her descent he told them not a word. He, too, wished to shew Gentile believers and unbelievers, the descent of Jesus from Adam through David. He gives them a line often broken, in which the father and the son of natural descent were often wanting, and where the failure of a direct heir was supplied by adoption or otherwise from another family of the same royal house. Thus he brings down his long line, sometimes linked by natural descent, sometimes by law supplying the failure of natural descent, until he, too, comes to Joseph. As Matthew had told the Jew, so Luke tells the Gentile, that Joseph had no natural relationship whatsoever with Jesus. But the gap of nature he fills up with a legal connexion, and the husband of the virgin mother is the father of her son. This satisfied Luke that Jesus was the son of David, though from his account any idea of consanguinity between Jesus and David is excluded. This satisfied the world of Gentile believers: why should we refuse to take it as a satisfactory solution?

(26.) We do not refuse to take it as a satisfactory solution. We behold in it the true and sufficient fulfilment of prophecy, the justification of apostolic teaching of the human descent of Jesus from David. We accept it simply because it is the view, the only view, which the inspired Gospels give us any notion of. With their view we are satisfied; we require nothing more; we wish for nothing more. We care not about Mary's descent. That she was descended from David is not part of God's revelation, and is therefore no part of our faith. We treat it as a thing which has no existence except in human conceit.

(27.) But we think that when we come, in opposition to general opinion and our own earlier prejudices, to acquiesce in the view of the Bible, that we find in it a beauty, a force, a harmony with God's other dealings which we cannot find in the common opinion.

(28.) God loves to shew his power in many instances by accomplishing his purpose where, on human calculation, his purpose must fail. To Abraham and Sarah was promised in their old age a posterity as numerous as the sand of the sea. According to man this could not be: Sarah's age and barren-

ness and Abraham's age all forbade it. But still at the set time Sarah had a son, and from this son was sprung the people of Israel, filling the land of Palestine with a crowded population. To David, God promised a son who should sit upon his throne for ever. We trace accordingly in St. Matthew one unbroken line of natural descent through Solomon to Joseph; and in St. Luke a descent broken in many places, and repaired by adoption or otherwise, to this same Joseph. Joseph is heir to David by nature and by law; but who is to be heir to Joseph? The two lines meet in one man, the last hope of a long line. How is prophecy to be fulfilled? If one prediction said that Messiah was to be the son of David, another said he was to be son of a virgin (Isa. vii. 14). Viewing the matter prior to accomplishment, we should have pronounced it impossible. Joseph was to be childless, yet to have a son: a virgin must bear a child, and yet be Joseph's wife. But God's providence brings all to pass. Joseph—just, devout, and chaste—loves a young girl of his nation, and she is betrothed to him. In her state of betrothal the divine communication is made to her that she should, though a virgin, bear a son, and she conceives. Then rises up in Joseph's mind horror at her supposed unchastity; and to prevent his putting her away, God tells him in a vision of the supernatural conception. Overcoming his natural repugnance by a living faith, Joseph takes Mary to his house, and acknowledges her before the world as his lawful wife, and thus, a maid unstained, she becomes at the same time a wife and a mother. "From things that are not, God has brought to pass things that are." To a virgin he gives a child. To childless Joseph this virgin gives a son to inherit David's throne. Nature had failed, and confessed her inability to fulfil prophecy; God steps in, and brings it to pass. And then as though to shew that it was his doing, to this married couple living as man and wife for a period probably approaching to thirty years, as we think, no other child is born. Jesus is the last legal descendant of David's royal line, and reigns over his house for ever.

(29.) We have supposed that St. Luke gives a genealogy of our Lord, supplied in different places by *adoption*. Jesus was, according to him, the son of David; not by any direct natural descent, but by an adoption which more than once supplied the failure of natural descent. *Luke wrote for Gentiles*. The claim of the Gentiles to be the sons of God was *by adoption too*. As Jesus was the Son of David through adoption, and so succeeded to his father's throne, so are we the sons of God through adoption and grace.

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H. C.

## EPIPHANIUS ON THE DAY OF THE CRUCIFIXION PASSOVER.

[Adv. Hær. l. ii., t. i., De Alogis, §§ 26, 27.]

The celebrated passage of Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.*) indicated by this reference, in which he treats of the day on which the crucifixion passover was kept, presents so many difficulties, that Petavius has remarked concerning it, *Nulla Sibyllæ folia, neque Sphingis Enigmata cum eorum quæ sequuntur obscuritate conferri possunt.* That Petavius himself has not succeeded in removing the difficulties and making the meaning clear is manifest enough. Perhaps therefore we need some apology in submitting the following attempt to interpret the passage. We have none to offer but such measure of success as may seem to have attended the effort, in making which we have ventured on very few emendations of the text, and these only where it seems evidently corrupt, and such as the meaning seems plainly to require. Whether the present solution be more worthy of a Davus or an Oedipus, must be decided by the reader who will take the trouble of giving the subject the needful attention. If he is not already well acquainted with the passage, we beg that he will carefully read the entire of the text which we have copied from the edition of Petavius, as reprinted at Cologne, 1682, so as to get a general view of the drift of it, and of the difficulties which it presents, before he troubles himself with the notes which we have subjoined. The only other prefatory remark we think it needful to make is, that we by no means advocate the correctness of the statement of facts presented by Epiphanius, but merely endeavour to make his meaning intelligible. We now proceed with our attempt, first giving the text in full.

*ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ, Adv. Hær., l. ii., t. i., De Alogis, §§ 26, 27.*

§ 26. (1.) Πάσχει δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸ δεκατριῶν Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλῶν, (2.) ὑπερβεβηκότων αὐτῶν μλαν ἐσπέραν, τοῦτεστι ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῆς σελήνης νυκτερινῇ μέση. (3.) Προέλαθον γὰρ καὶ ἔφαγον τὸ πάσχα, ὡς φησι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλάκις εἴπομεν. Ἐφαγον οὖν τὸ πάσχα πρὸ δύο ἡμέρων τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτεστι (4.) τῇ τρίτῃ ἐσπέρας, ὅπερ ἔδει τῇ πέμπτῃ ἐσπέρας. (5.) Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη γὰρ οὗτως ἦν ἡ πέμπτη. (6.) Συλλαμβάνεται δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ὄψε, (7.) ἥτις ἦν ἐνδεκάτη τῆς σελήνης νυκτερινὴ, πρὸ δεκάεξ Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλῶν. Τετράς δωδεκάτη νυκτερινὴ, πρὸ δεκάπεντε Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλῶν. Πέμπτη τρισκαιδεκάτη ἡμερινὴ, νυκτερινὴ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλῶν. Προσάββατον τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη νυκτερινὴ, πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων (plainly should be

δεκατριῶν) Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων. Σάββατον πεντεκαιδεκάτη ἡμερινὴ, πρὸ δεκάδυο Καλλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων. Ἐπιφώσκουσα κυριάκη πεντεκαιδεκάτη νυκτερινὴ, (8.) ὅπερ ἦν φωτισμὸς ὅδου καὶ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡμέρας διὰ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην σελήνης καὶ τὸν ἥλιον δρόμου, καὶ ὅτι ἀνάστασις καὶ ἵσημερια πρὸ ἔνδεκα Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων. (9.) Δι᾽ ἦν πλανηθέντες, ὑπερβατὸν μίαν ἡμέραν ἐποίησαν, ὡς προείπον. (10.) "Εχει δὲ ὥρας τινας ἡ ψῆφος τῆς λεπτολογίας, ητις ἐμπίπτει διὰ ἐτῶν τριῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διαφωνουμένη ἡ μία ἡμέρα. Προστιθέασι γάρ τῷ σεληνιακῷ δρόμῳ μετὰ τὰς τριακοσίας πεντηκοντατέσσαρας ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀλλας κατ' ἔτος τέσσαρας ὥρας, ὡς εἶναι εἰς τὰ τρία ἔτη ἡμέραν μίαν. (11.) Διὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς πέντε μῆνες τελοῦνται ἐμβόλιμοι εἰς ἔτη δεκατέσσαρα, (12.) διὰ τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιακου δρόμου τῶν τριακοσίων ἔξηκοντάπεντε ἡμερῶν καὶ ὥρῶν τριῶν τὴν μίαν ὥραν. (13.) Προστιθεμένων γάρ τῶν ὥρων, λοιπὸν γίνονται τέξει ἡμέραι παρὰ ὥραν μίαν. (14.) Οθεν αὐτοῖς ἔξακις πολυπλασιάσαντες τὰ δεκατέσσαρα ἔτη τοῦ ὄγδοηκοστοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους, ἐν τῷ ὄγδοηκοστῷ πέμπτῳ τιθέασιν ἐμβόλιμον ἕνα μῆνα· εἰς τὸ εἶναι πριάκοντα καὶ ἔνα μῆνα εἰς τὰ ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη, (15.) οἵτινες ὥφειλον εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ακρίβειαν τριακονταεῖς μῆν καὶ εἰκοσιτέσσαρες ἡμέραι καὶ ὥραι τρεῖς.

§ 27. (16.) "Ενεκεν τούννυ τούτου τότε σφαλέντες οὐ μόνον προέλαβον θορυβούμενοι τὰς δύο ἡμέρας βεβρωκότες τὸ πάσχα, (17.) ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπερβατὸν, προθέντες μίαν ἡμέραν, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον αὐτοὶ σφαλέντες. Ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβέστατα τὰ πάντα ἡμὲν σωτηριαδῶς εἰργάσατο. "Οθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτῆρ τὸ πάσχα τελειώσας, ἔξηλθεν εἰς τὸ δρός μετὰ τὸ βεβρωκέναι ἐπιθυμιᾳ ἐπιθυμήσας. (18.) Καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ πάσχα τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν, οὐκ ἀλλως ποιήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ποιούντων ἴσως ποιήσας, ἵνα μὴ καταλύσῃ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ πληρώσῃ.

#### NOTES.

(1.) *Πάσχει, κ.τ.λ.*—It will appear to have been the design of Epiphanius in this passage to shew that our blessed Lord suffered at the true time of sacrificing the passover, and that he rose from the dead at the equinox. With a view to the former he mentions the days of the moon's age, and to shew the latter he specifies the days of the month according to the Roman calendar. Perhaps in using the word *πάσχει* instead of *ἔσταυρώθη*, he intended some allusion to the passover, several of the fathers having imagined that there existed a connexion between *πάσχα* and *πάσχω*. One instance will suffice: *πάσχα λέγεται, ὅτι*

*τότε ἐπαθεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπέρ ημῶν*, Chrysost. *Hom.* v. in 1 Tim., apud Suicer, *Thes., Theol.*, s.v., *πάσχα*.

(2.) *Τπερβεβηκότων, κ.τ.λ.*—The Jews having passed over one evening, scil., in the reckoning of the days of the moon, as will appear *infra*. The evening they omitted to reckon was the first or nightly half of the fourteenth day of the moon, each day of the moon having its nightly and its daily half or meridian, *μέση*.

(3.) *Προέλαβον γὰρ . . . ὡς φῆσι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. . . . πρὸ δύο ημέρων, κ.τ.λ.*—The reference to the Gospel seems to shew that Epiphanius does not make this statement as a tradition, but as his own interpretation of the Gospel history. He must have understood St. Matt. xxvi. 2, *οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ημέρων τὸ πάσχα γίνεται*, as indicating the true time for celebrating the passover, and not the actual time about to be observed on this occasion. Then he understood *καὶ ὁ ὥιδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι* as intimating that the day then present was that on which he was to be betrayed to be crucified, while the crucifixion itself was to take place *μετὰ δύο ημέρων*. To that same day on which the Saviour thus spoke, he refers the assembling of the priests and elders to consult how they might take Jesus, ver. 3; supposing of course that their design was to keep him in prison until the feast should be over, so as not to put him to death *ἐν τῷ ἑορτῇ*. Regarding, as it would appear, the supper in Bethany, ver. 6, to have taken place then also, that is, on the commencing evening *τῆς τρίτης* (Tuesday), the dislocation in the order of time in respect to that supper being thus attributed to St. John and not to St. Matthew, he must have supposed that Judas went out offended from the same supper to the assembled council, ver. 14, and that the *πρώτη τῶν ἀξύμων* of ver. 17, denoting here the passover day, was the *ἐπαύριον* of that same evening, the daily part of the third day of the week; for the days of the week, following the Sabbath, were reckoned from evening to evening. This was not the true *πρώτη τῶν ἀξύμων*, but that which the Jews were now about to observe by the anticipation just mentioned, an anticipation with which he afterwards tells us our Lord complied. He mentions two days in addition to the evening, which he says they did not reckon when they came afterwards, as it would appear, to rectify their mistake. For it was practically, as we shall see, not two but three days; but about one of these he says there existed a difference of opinion, and therefore he mentions them separately, no doubt having existed in regard to the two days.

(4.) *Τῇ τρίτῃ ἐσπέρας*.—On the third day at evening..

(5.) *Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ γὰρ οὕτως, κ.τ.λ.*—The Bishop of

Cork has suggested that perhaps we should read ὅντως for οὔτως, *q.d.*, the fifth day of the week was really the fourteenth day of the moon; or else that οὔτως may be used here pleonastically. Such an expletive use of οὔτως is instanced by Schleusner in St. John iv. 6, ἐκαθέζετο οὔτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. In this pleonastic use there must exist some obscure meaning. In St. John iv. 6, if indeed οὔτως is not there equivalent to οὔτω πως, *temere*, casually, just as he was, there might be a reference to the preceding κεκοπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας. And so here there may be an indistinct reference to the ὅτερ ἔδει of the preceding sentence. Perhaps however in both these instances οὔτως has a qualifying force which might be explained by an ellipsis of εἰπεῖν, as if it were οὔτως εἰπεῖν=ώς εἰπεῖν, so to say, in a certain sense. Whether or not this is the right explanation of the use of οὔτως with a qualifying effect, the fact that it is so used seems unquestionable. Thus we see in Pausanias 10, 5, καλύβης δ' ἀν σχῆμα οὔτως γε ἀν εἴη, παρεσχηματισμένος ὁ ναὸς. Here οὔτως translated *quasi* in Kuhn's edition, seems plainly used to qualify the assertion—οὔτως γε, somewhat at least in the form of a hut. In St. John iv. 6, it would denote that he sat in a sort of way on the well, as it were partly sitting. And in this passage of Epiphanius, such a qualification of the assertion would seem needful, as it was only in a certain sense that the fourteenth of the moon could be assigned to the fifth day of the week, commencing only at its close, ὁψὲ πέμπτης. And this qualification would be the more needed if, as is shewn further on, the true calculation of the moon's age made the fourteenth of the moon not to commence until the next day. For an evening had to be passed over in their reckoning, and the supposed commencing νυκτερινὴ μέσην of the fourteenth day was on this account assigned with the two halves of the thirteenth to the fifth day of the week, while the true fourteenth in its daily and nightly halves came then to be assigned to the προσάββατον.

(6.) Συλλαμβάνεται δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ὁψὲ.—Scil. on the same third day of the week on which the passover was eaten by anticipation, ὁψὲ, namely at the close of it, when the fourth day was commencing, according to the manner of speaking in St. Matt. xxviii. 1, ὁψέ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μελαν σαββάτων. That this was the time intended is evident, for in another passage of Epiphanius quoted by Grabe, *Spicileg.* i., p. 53, he says, ἐπιφωσκούσῃ τῇ τετράδι συνελήφθη ὁ κυρός, *Compendaria Fidei Expositio* § 22. It is to be observed that ὁψὲ and ὁψία are akin to ὅπισω, and signify late and the latter part. Hence, though the Jews commenced their day at sunset, yet these words when used in reference to any specified day, as in such an

expression as ὁψὲ σαββάτῳ, must necessarily denote the evening by which it is closed, not that with which it commences. The same seems to be the case with the Hebrew *רַבָּת*. The older lexicographers indeed confounded the *רַבָּת* from which this is derived with that which signifies to mix, and supposed that the word denoted the evening from the mixing of light and darkness, or the blending of day and night. But a reference to the Arabic cognates will shew that the roots are quite distinct. The Hebrew *רַבָּת* representing both εξ and ξ, the Arabic word which stands for evening commences with the latter, and is from the root غرب, to remove, pass away. The evening of a day would therefore be its passing away, though that same evening as a space of time would be the commencement of the following day, according to the Jewish reckoning of the days of the week.

(7.) Ἡτις ἦν ἐνδεκάτη τῆς σελήνης, κ.τ.λ.—To understand what follows we must have recourse to a sort of diagram or σχῆμα, first observing that while the days of the week, as determined by the Sabbath, commenced at sunset, the days of the Roman calendar did not commence until the ensuing midnight; for though the Romans reckoned their hours from sunset and sunrise, they reckoned their calendar or civil day from midnight. Hence between the commencement of the Jewish day of the week and of the corresponding Roman day of the month there was an interval of six hours, varying in length according to the season of the year, but now six of our hours, it being the time of equinox. This interval, or at least the earlier part of it, might be assigned indiscriminately to either the past or the coming day in a looser way of speaking, but was appropriated to one or other according to the circumstances when there was occasion to speak more strictly. This interval was the ὥψια of the foregoing day, the ἐπιφωσκούσα of that which was just beginning. We may also observe preparatory to the subjoined figure, that while each day of the moon had its nightly and its daily μέση, it did not seem necessary to the author always to mention both, as either implied the other. The nightly μέση also, as was the case with regard to the days of the week, should regularly precede the daily; but when one evening came to be passed over in the reckoning of the moon's age, then the daily μέση comes before the nightly in this enumeration by Epiphanius.

[October,

Now in reference to this scale we observe that up to the fifth day he mentions only the nightly or commencing half of the moon. On the fifth he mentions not the nightly half, which however is implied, but only the daily half of the thirteenth, in order to connect this day with the nightly half of the fourteenth, which would at any rate have been assigned to the evening of it, with respect to the passover, if in correcting the previous error, the passover had then been celebrated; for the lamb would in that case have been slain just before the close of the fifth day, and would have been eaten after the fourteenth of the moon had commenced ὥψε πέμπτης, ἐπιφωσκούσῃ προσαββάτου. Three halves of the moon are thus virtually assigned to the fifth day, since, for a reason to be presently stated, this fourteenth of the moon νυκτερινὴ was, as already mentioned, to be ὑπερβατὸς, not taken into account in reckoning the days of the moon; and the fourteenth was thus made to commence with the succeeding daily half and to conclude with the nightly half following. And then of course the daily half of the fifteenth precedes the nightly, which thus reaches to the ὥψια σάββατου, and the ἐπιφώσκουσα κυριάκη. Hence supposing the correction rightly made, the Saviour's death takes place just at the time for slaying the passover, while the resurrection takes place more than a day after the full moon and at the equinox, πρὸ ἔνδεκα Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλιῶν, that is on the 22nd of March.

(8.) "Οπερ ἦν φωτισμὸς ἄδον, κ.τ.λ.—Here the moral and physical illumination seem curiously combined. The notion appears to have been that the resurrection having taken place when the moon had now passed its fifteenth day and was waning, and when by reason of the equinox the days were becoming longer than the nights, this waning of the moon and lengthening of the days was symbolical of the fading light of the Old Testament, and the brighter illumination introduced by the Gospel. Compare l. ii., t. i., De Quatuordecimanis, 2; and in particular, ἔδει γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ θύεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, δπως λίξῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ φωτίζον αὐτοὺς φῶς κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατελλάντος καὶ σκεπάσαντος τῆς σελήνης τὸ σέλας. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης καὶ κάτω φθίνει τὸ φαεινὸν τῆς σελήνης. And this he compares to the ceasing of the manna on the third day after the passover at Gilgal.

(9.) Δι' ἣν, πλανηθέντες, ὑπερβατὸν—ἐποίησαν, κ.τ.λ.—Here ἣν can perhaps refer only to ἰσημερίᾳ as its antecedent, but then in the writer's mind the fifteenth day of the moon is connected with it. When they had found that they had gone astray in their reckoning, πλανηθέντες, and that the fifteenth day would not be

until the equinox, it was then perceived that in order to bring the paschal celebration to its right time, it was necessary not only to allow for the two days, but also in addition to pass over one nightly half of the moon. This virtually made an entire day as regards the passover, for having passed one evening they must of necessity wait for the next. Hence he says here, *ὑπερβατὸν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐποίησαν*, whereas he had previously said *ὑπερβεβηκότων μὲν ἐσπέραν*. And from this it appears that they passed over this evening in their reckoning of the moon's age with a view to the repetition of the paschal solemnities, as it could only have been in reference to something to be done at a fixed hour of the day, that the passing over an evening would make a difference of an entire day. Of course Epiphanius having stated that they had already eaten the passover by the anticipation of which we have been speaking, would find evidence of such a repetition in the words of St. John, xviii. 28, *ἴνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα.*

(10.) *Ἐχει δὲ ὥρας τίνας ἡ ψῆφος τῆς λεπτολογίας, κ.τ.λ.*—Their calculation, by way of subtlety or minute accuracy, has certain hours—namely the one day about which they are not agreed, that occurs every three years. In estimating the lunar year, they added to the 354 days four hours, which Epiphanius did not think ought to be added, or which at any rate be thought an unnecessary *λεπτολογία*. That he probably considered the lunar year to be completed by the 354 clear days may be gathered from l. iii., t. i., *De Audianis*, 13, where he says, *τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἥλακον δρόμον πληρουμένου ἐν τριακοσίαις ἔξηκοντα πέντε ἡμέραις καὶ ὥραις τρισὶ, συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ τὴν σελήνην ποιεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμέραις τ'. πεντήκοντα τέταρσι, λείπεσθαι τῷ μὲν κατὰ τὴν σελήνην δρόμῳ ἑνδεκα ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας γ'.* For surely if he thought that extreme accuracy would give the odd hours to the lunar year, it was not a greater instance of *λεπτολογία* to add them to it, than to add the three hours that he gives himself to the solar year. These four hours, added by the Jews *τῆς λεπτολογίας χάριν*, made a day, that is one of twelve hours, in three years, which twelve hours would so far diminish the period by which the lunar reckoning anticipated that of the sun. If we take the 354 days 4 hours of the lunar year from the 365 days 3 hours of the solar, the difference amounts to 10 days 23 hours, which would in three years make a deficiency of 30 days and 69 hours. The 30 days they brought up by the intercalary month Ve-adar, but there still remained a deficiency of 69 hours, or 2 days and 21 hours. The 2 days were those for which he says that on this occasion they had neglected to make allowance, anticipating the celebration of the

passover by these days for which it was not disputed that they should have allowed. The 21 hours made what he describes as *παρ' αὐτοῖς διαφωνούμενη ἡ μία ἡμέρα*. The difference of opinion probably arose from this portion of time being three hours less than a full day, so that even if no allowance were made for it, the fourteenth day of the moon, or at least its commencement, would still fall within the 24 hours assumed to be the fourteenth day of the moon, so that some would consider this the fourteenth sufficiently to satisfy the requirements of the law, while others would think another day should be allowed. If they had not added the four hours to the lunar year, they would have had a deficiency of 3 days and 9 hours, and no dispute could in such case have arisen about the third day. As it was, the deficiency of 21 hours was provided for by passing over one evening in addition to the two days, an allowance which practically made a difference in the celebration of a full day.

(11.) *Διὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.*—He now proceeds to explain the provision they made for supplying the deficiency when it should accumulate in longer periods. Ordinarily, the month Ve-adar was intercalated every third year; but after four periods of three years the next was only two years. Thus they intercalated 5 months in 14 years. The difference of 10 days 23 hours between their lunar and solar years would make in 14 years 5 months, 3 days and 10 hours. This intercalation of 5 months in 14 years would therefore still leave a deficiency for which it was requisite to make a further provision, as we shall presently see they did.

(12.) *Διὰ τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.*—The one hour, by which the odd hours of their lunar year exceeded the odd hours of their solar year, had on subtraction to be taken from the period of the sun's course.

(13.) *Προστιθεμένων γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.*—When the odd hours are added to the number of days in each year, 1 hour less is added to the 365 days of the solar year than to the 354 of the lunar, and thus the 365 days become deficient by 1 hour as compared with the 354, while the subtraction of 354 days 4 hours from 365 days 3 hours is equivalent to the subtraction of 354 days clear from 365 days less 1 hour; and thus in the subtraction also, by taking the odd hours into calculation, the 365 days become deficient by 1 hour; *λοιπὰ* (not *λοιπὸν*, which is evidently an error) *γίνονται τέξε ἡμέραι παρὰ ὥραν μίαν*.

(14.) *"Οθεν αὐτοῖς ἔξακις, κ.τ.λ.*—To make up for the deficiency of 3 days 10 hours, which we have seen was produced at the end of the 14 years, he says that, when at the end of the 84th year they had multiplied this deficiency 6 times, so that it

had then accumulated to 20 days 12 hours, then in the 85th year they intercalated another month. For to this deficiency of 20 days 12 hours thus accumulated, it was necessary to add the deficiency of 10 days 23 hours which accrued in the 85th year itself, which thus made 30 days and 35 hours. The 30 days were supplied by the intercalated month, which thus made 31 months in 85 years—namely, the 5 months of each 14 years, which were multiplied 6 times in 84, and the 1 additional month supplied in the 85th. For the 35 days no provision seems to have been made.

(15.) *Oίτινες ὥφειλον, κ.τ.λ.*—These 31 months, he says, should *κατ' ἀκρίβειαν* have been 31 months, 24 days and 3 hours. In making this calculation, he reckoned the lunar year, as we have seen, only 354 days clear, though it was well known at the time that it exceeded 354 days. Hipparchus had calculated the lunation to be 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 3½ seconds, which would make the lunar year over 354 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes; while he had made the solar year to be 365 days, 5 hours, and 53 minutes. Thus Epiphanius, with all his anxiety to speak *κατ' ἀκρίβειαν*, betrays a little forgetfulness.

(16.) *"Ενεκεν τοίνυν τοῦτο. . . θορυβούμενοι, κ.τ.λ.*—On account of this system of intercalation they fell into a mistake on this occasion, being puzzled, so that in their confusion of mind they thought the intercalations sufficient. It is evident that Epiphanius considered this one of the years of intercalation. In the intervening years they would be guided by the observation of the moon in the celebration of the passoyer. This year they were satisfied with intercalating the month, but forgot to make any allowance for the 2 days and 21 hours by which this month was deficient, and by which the numbering of its days anticipated the real days of the moon's age.

(17.) *'Αλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπερβατόν.*—Connect this with *τὰς δύο ἡμέρας* as governed by *προέλαθον*. They anticipated the two days about which there was no dispute, and also *τὴν ὑπερβατὸν* (*ἐσπέραν*). He adds, *προθέντες μίαν ἡμέραν*, putting one day too soon on this account, the anticipation of an evening making an anticipation of an entire day as regards the passover, which could only be celebrated at evening. For it is no doubt *ἐσπέραν* we should supply as the substantive, with which *ὑπερβατόν* agrees, as *supra ὑπερβεβηκότων μίαν ἐσπέραν*; and it is not improbable that in reference to this subject *ἡ ὑπερβατὸς* had come to stand for *ἡ ὑπερβατὸς ἐσπέρα*. Hence it was that he added *προθέντες μίαν ἡμέραν*, to intimate that the anticipation of the *ὑπερβατὸς ἐσπέρα* made in fact an anticipation of one day. If *ἡμέραν* was the substantive understood with *ὑπερβατὸν*, the

addition of *προθέντες μίαν ἡμέραν* would be an unmeaning repetition.

(18.) *Kαὶ ἐκεῖ*.—This reading must be wrong. How could the Saviour have eaten the passover *there*, i.e., on the mount, to which alone *ἐκεῖ* could refer? Read *ἐκεῖνος*; “even He” in fulfilling the law did exactly as the Jews did in this respect. With the example of our Lord thus presented by Epiphanius, agrees the direction of the *Διάταξις* as quoted by him, *Hær.* lxx. 10;—*Ορίζουσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ διατάξει οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὴ ψηφίζητε ἀλλὰ ποιῆτε ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς μετ' αὐτῶν ἄμα ποιεῖτε, . . . καὶ τε πλανηθῶσι, μήδε ὑμῖν μελέτω.* Quite different however is the precept of the Apostolical Constitutions as we now possess them, though they agree with this quotation of Epiphanius so far as to indicate a prevailing notion that the Jewish manner of calculating the time for celebrating the passover was erroneous. *Διαταγαὶ* v. 17, 1, (ed. Ultzen), *Μηκέτι δὲ παραπτηρούμενοι μετὰ ιούδαιών ἔορτάζειν. Οὐδέμια γὰρ κοινωνία ἡμῖν νῦν πρὸς αὐτούς πεπλάνηται γὰρ καὶ αὐτήν τὴν ψῆφον, ἣν νομίζουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν, ὅπως πανταχόθεν ὡσι πεπλανημένοι καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπεσχοιωσιμένοι.*

J. Q.

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### PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON, etc.,

WITH STRICTURES ON DEAN ALFORD'S COMMENTARY.

WE were much pleased to see the second part of Dean Alford's fourth and concluding volume of his *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* announced as being in the press. We heartily congratulate the Dean that health and strength have been given to him to bring his lengthened labours so near to a close, and beg to express our gratitude for the very complete and valuable commentary with which he has furnished the Biblical student on the New Testament. The work altogether is a monument of patient research and acute thought, and cannot fail to have a most beneficial effect in promoting the critical study of this portion of God's Holy Word.

But in proportion to the high estimation in which the work is, and will be held, it seems all the more necessary, in consequence of the extensive influence which it is calculated to exert in forming the critical judgment of the rising generation of theological students, to point out what in it seems to be erroneous and calculated to mislead. We regret to observe occa-

sionally indications of that Germanizing tendency become so prevalent of late, but which we trust the sound common sense of Englishmen will quickly shake off. We must protest strongly against the undue prominence given to what is styled the *grammatical* commentary above the *logical*; or, in other words, against what seems now laid down as an almost incontrovertible canon, that the *first* business of an interpreter is to ascertain what is called the grammatical meaning of his author, and to adhere to this, when once ascertained, at all hazards, all arguments arising from common sense, logic, and consistency of the writer with himself and the rest of the Holy Scripture, notwithstanding. This we consider to be an extreme as dangerous as that from which it is a recoil, the neglect too common in former times of grammatical principles, and the unwarrantable recourse had to *enallages* of moods and tenses, interchange of prepositions, etc. We are very far from desiring to undervalue the immense importance to the interpreter of Scripture of an accurate knowledge of the Old and New Testament grammar and diction, and strict adherence to their principles. No interpretation is for a moment to be admitted which is at variance with these. Still every philologist must confess how imperfect an instrument language is at best, and how manifold frequently are the meanings which may legitimately be deduced from a sentence or passage, each in exact accordance with the rules of grammar. As etymology for ascertaining the meaning of *words*, so for ascertaining the meaning of *sentences*, grammar is a most valuable assistant; but when elevated to the rank of principal guide, it will often lead as far astray as etymology does its votaries. Grammar must be the handmaid, not the mistress, of common sense. How often have a Luther or Calvin for example, by their close attention to the scope and spirit of the Scriptural writer, caught the true sense, where our modern commentators, with all their acknowledged superiority in critical acquirements, have failed!

The *first* and paramount business of an interpreter, as Locke has well remarked in his Essay for the understanding of St. Paul's Epistles by consulting St. Paul himself, is to "observe by careful and frequent perusal (at one sitting, if possible), what is the main drift and design of the writer, and thus by a close attention to the tenor of the discourse, to find the coherence of what is obscure and abstruse. Wherever we have got a view of his design, and the aim he proposed to himself in writing, we may be sure that such or such an interpretation does not give us his genuine sense, it being nothing at all to his present purpose. Nay, among various meanings given to a text, it fails not to

direct us to the best, and very often to assure us of the true. For it is no presumption when one sees a man arguing for this or that proposition, if he be *a sober man, master of reason or common sense, and takes any care of what he says*, to pronounce with confidence, in several cases, that he could not talk thus or thus.”<sup>a</sup>

It is surely an extravagant reliance on mere grammatical considerations, and an unwarrantable neglect of this *common sense* rule of Locke’s, that could lead to attribute to such a man as St. Paul (not to speak of his inspiration), a belief in one of the silliest of the Rabbinical fables, that the rock which was struck by Moses literally “followed the Israelites in the wilderness, and gave forth water all the way;”<sup>b</sup> and this in an epistle addressed to Greeks whom he is twitting at every turn on their fancied *wisdom*; or to father on St. Stephen and St. Luke, as a “demonstrable historical mistake,” a blunder so gross, that none but the most ignorant of St. Stephen’s hearers could fail to detect it.<sup>c</sup>

It is with sincere regret that we feel ourselves constrained in the interests of sound Biblical interpretation to draw attention to blemishes such as these which disfigure a work in many respects so excellent as Dean Alford’s *Commentary on the New Testament*; but his continued persistence in exaggerating the confidence to be placed, for investigating the meaning of any difficult passage, in the mere grammatical interpretation, to the neglect of the higher exigencies of the scope, and consistency of the writer with himself and with the rest of Scripture, forbids us to be silent.

A striking instance of this error has again been exhibited in the first part of vol. iv. of his commentary published last year. Dean Alford has not scrupled to interpret 1 Peter. iii. 18, 19 in connexion with iv. 6, as teaching that Christ descended into Hades, into that very region of it assigned as “a prison”<sup>d</sup> to the

<sup>a</sup> Essay prefixed to Locke’s Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul.

<sup>b</sup> “We have the plain assertion, representing matter of physical fact, ‘they drank from the miraculous rock which followed them;’ and I cannot consent to depart from what appears to me the only admissible sense of these words.”—Alford’s Commentary on 1 Cor. x. 4.

<sup>c</sup> See Alford’s Commentary on Acts vii. 16, and Prolegomena to vol. i., chap. i., § vi. 15; and remarks on both errors in Forbes’s *Symmetrical Structure of Scripture* (pp. 335—341).

<sup>d</sup> He seems quite aware that Bishop Horsley’s interpretation of φυλακή as simply denoting *a place of “safe keeping”* is untenable. Φυλακή, it seems now generally admitted, always refers to a place of *forcible and penal detention*; and when relating to Hades, denotes the place of detention of the wicked (see Matt. v. 25; Luke xii. 58), the “prison” where Satan is to be bound for a thousand years (Rev. xx. 7).

spirits of those who were formerly disobedient in the days of Noah, and there *preached the Gospel to them*—“*even to the dead.*”

Now whatever may be the meaning of this difficult passage, or however inadequate we may be to give a satisfactory solution of it, we think it, with Mr. Locke, “no presumption to pronounce with confidence” that Dean Alford’s interpretation cannot be right. *Common sense* forbids it. (1.) It is inconsistent with the clear doctrine of Scripture in other passages. (2.) It is inconsistent with the scope of St. Peter’s argument.

(1.) It is inconsistent with the clear doctrine of Scripture in other passages.

That this earth is the sole place of trial, and that death fixes irreversibly the doom of all, results among other proofs from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 22—26). Between the place where Lazarus was carried, and that part of Hades where the rich man was detained, “a great gulf,” our Saviour assures us, “is fixed,” which none can pass. But some of those spirits who were disobedient in the days of Noah, succeeded, it would seem, in crossing the impassable gulf, unless this “preaching to the dead” of Christ was utterly vain, and only served to tantalize, and to enhance the condemnation of, the hearers. Nay the dead, it appears, in certain cases at least, are more easily converted than the living; for of the latter Christ affirms, that if they listen not to other means used for their conversion, neither would they believe though one rose from the dead. But according to the interpretation now under consideration, some of the ungodly sinners of Noah’s time believed at the preaching of Christ before even he rose from the dead, on his merely descending into Hades.

This argument is not to be set aside by the objection that “dogmatical considerations” must have no part in ascertaining the meaning of any passage in Scripture. This is one of those unfounded assumptions which seem now to be accepted as indisputable canons of Scripture interpretation. But it cannot bear investigation. The same rule must hold good in judging of Scripture that we would apply to any common writer. Now in interpreting an obscure passage in any judicious author, it is a recognized principle that no opinion ought to be attributed to him which directly contradicts his known sentiments clearly expressed in other passages. No more are we entitled to make Scripture contradict Scripture, or to set St. Peter at variance with the explicit teaching of his Master.

(2.) Dean Alford’s interpretation is inconsistent with the scope of St. Peter’s argument.

He considers chap. iii. 18, 19, Christ was “put to death *in the flesh*, but quickened *in the Spirit*, by which also he went and *preached unto the spirits in prison*,” to be parallel to chap. iv. 6. “For for this cause was the Gospel *preached* also to *them that are dead*, that they may be judged according to men *in the flesh*, but live according to God *in the Spirit*.”

That there is a close connexion between the two passages can scarce be doubted. We have the *preaching* in both passages, and in both the *death of the flesh*, and the *quickenings of the Spirit*. But when the Dean goes on to identify “the dead” to whom the Gospel was preached with “the spirits in prison,” we are constrained to ask where are his proofs; and still more when he asserts that “the dead” here mentioned (iv. 6) were dead *at the time when the Gospel was preached to them*, we demur to this not only as having no bearing on the Apostle’s argument, but as being in direct opposition to it. If there is a close resemblance between the two passages, there is a marked distinction in one respect which he has failed to observe between them. The *death of the flesh* and *quickenings of the Spirit* in chap. iii. 18, relate to *Christ*, who was “put to death in the flesh and quickened in the Spirit,” whereas in chap. iv. 6, they relate to *those to whom the Gospel was preached*, “that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but might live according to God in the Spirit.” A parallel therefore is drawn between Christ and those to whom he is an example. The argument of the Apostle clearly is this: Be not afraid of “suffering for well doing” (chap. iii. 17) in the flesh even unto death, for *death in the flesh* leads to *life in the Spirit*. This was exemplified in Christ, to whom you must become assimilated in all things. “Being put to death in the flesh,” he was thereby “quickened in the Spirit,” and became a “quickenings Spirit” to every spirit of man brought into union with Him. “Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind” (iv. 1), viz., to suffer if necessary even unto death, “so as no longer to live the rest of your time in the flesh to the lusts of men” (ver. 2), however much your former associates may deride you for “not running with them to the same excess of riot” (ver. 4), and for exposing your lives to risk for the Gospel, ever remembering “Him that is ready to judge the living and the dead” (ver. 5). Fear not therefore the reproach of the *living*, who shall soon have to give account of themselves to Christ; fear not to suffer in the flesh with Christ, and to be numbered among the *dead*, should such be your fate; “for for this cause even to the dead [in the cause of Christ] was the Gospel preached,” viz., to those of your brethren who have

already been persecuted to death, "that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the Spirit" (ver. 6).

It is, therefore, to a *voluntary* dying in the flesh like Christ's, that "a quickening," or "living according to God in the Spirit," is promised; not to *the dead generally*. "The dead" in chap. iv. 6, consequently, cannot denote those who were dead already, previously to the preaching of the Gospel, otherwise the parallel is made void, and the apostle's exhortation founded on the example of Christ, divested of meaning. Those that are already dead have no "flesh in which they could be judged according to men," and be "put to death in the flesh," and since the being quickened and "living according to God in the Spirit" is dependent on their arming themselves with the same mind as Christ to suffer even unto death, *common sense* decides that those here intended cannot have been *already dead* at the time when the Gospel was preached to them.

But here will be urged the strength of the *grammatical* argument, as proving indisputably that whatever may be the meaning of chap. iv. 6, the preaching of Christ in chap. iii. 10 to "the spirits in prison" could not have been to the antediluvians previous to the flood through the medium of Noah, but must have been a preaching *in his own person, and subsequent to his death*, and consequently a preaching to those that were at the time dead, and had been now long "spirits in prison." The inexorable rules of grammar, it is argued by all the later German commentators and now by Dr. Alford, admit of no escape from this conclusion. "The rendering of the English version here ['being put to death *in the flesh*, but quickened] *by* the Spirit' is wrong both *grammatically* and *theologically* (Alford *in loc.*) ; and the latter dative must be rendered like the former by *in*— 'made alive [again] *in the Spirit*" (Alford). Thus, then, as "put to death *in the flesh*" means in *Christ's own flesh*, "made alive in the Spirit" must mean in *Christ's own Spirit* [not the *Holy Spirit*] ; and as his death was the cause of his being quickened in his Spirit, and as it is immediately added, "in which [Spirit] he went and preached unto the spirits in prison," it is beyond all question that the preaching here referred to must have been *subsequent to his death*, and consequently *personal* —a preaching in his Spirit now quickened and endowed with greater power by his voluntary submission to death.

Formidable though this argument appears, we have no hesitation in pronouncing, with equal decision as Dr. Alford, that it is "wrong both grammatically and theologically."

1. *Theologically* wrong we pronounce it, on the principle of

the *ducens ad absurdum* argument, as landing us in a false conclusion, diametrically opposed to the clear teaching of Scripture. And here we see the true and legitimate use of "dogmatical considerations." Not that we are to force grammar in order to bring out some meaning in consonance with them ; but when they distinctly condemn a meaning which the words may seem at first sight obviously to bear, it becomes the duty of the interpreter not surely to make Scripture contradict Scripture, but to suspend his judgment and confess his ignorance—or, better, to suspect the accuracy of his premises, and to search till he discover wherein the fallacy lies. Had Dr. Alford been thus led to enquire, he would probably soon have discovered that his error lay in the mode in which he had apprehended the antithesis between "*the flesh*" and "*the Spirit*." This is not, as he supposes that each is regarded as "*a subject, recipient, vehicle*," the flesh of evil, the spirit of good ; but, on the contrary, they are regarded as *active principles*, prompting the one to evil, the other to good (compare Gal. v. 17) : "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh." The flesh denotes the fleshly nature which must not be listened to, but must be wholly mortified and put to death ; the Spirit denotes the Spirit of God, as the counteracting and quickening principle opposed to the principle of the flesh, as in Rom. viii. 9 : "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that *the Spirit of God* dwell in you." It is indeed *man's spirit* (in opposition to his *flesh* or *body*) that is rendered spiritual by the indwelling and renewing of God's Spirit. Still, instead of contrasting *man's spirit* with his flesh, the Scripture, in order to ascribe the glory of the change to the true source, brings into prominence *the Agent* by whom the spirit of man is quickened and spiritualized. This is strikingly illustrated in Romans viii. 10 :—

"If Christ be in you,  
The body is *dead*, because of sin ;  
But the spirit is *life*, because of righteousness."

Here antithetical accuracy would have required—

"The body is *dead* because of sin ;  
But the spirit is *quickened* because of righteousness."

But there is a marked departure from the strict requisitions of parallelism, in order to indicate the source from whence the new life and nature are derived, and for the *quickened spirit of man* is substituted the *quickening Spirit of God*.

The same rule holds good even in the case of Christ, when, with respect to him, the *Spirit* is opposed to the *flesh* ; as might

have been expected from the usual representations of Scripture with regard to the God-man, that "in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren," that he might be an example and encouragement to all that are his. As *man*, it was through the *Spirit of God*, asked and received from his Father, that he did all things. Through "the Spirit descending and remaining on him" (John i. 33)—so that thenceforth he was "full of the Holy Ghost" (Luke iv. 1)—he wrought "miracles, wonders, and signs" (Acts ii. 22). Being "anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power, he healed all that were oppressed with the devil" (Acts x. 38). He "cast out devils by the Spirit of God" (Matt. xii. 28). "Through the Eternal Spirit he offered himself without spot to God" (Heb. ix. 14). And finally, he was "raised up from the dead" by the same Spirit (Rom. viii. 11), and so "made a quickening Spirit" unto others (1 Cor. xv. 45), having "received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost," that he might "shed it forth" abundantly upon all.

Had Dr. Alford observed this analogy, he would probably not have so entirely misapprehended Romans i. 3, 4 (where the same antithesis of the flesh and Spirit with reference to Christ occurs, as in 1 Peter iii. 18, "concerning his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David *according to the flesh*, and constituted the Son of God with power, *according to the Spirit of holiness*, by the resurrection of the dead"), but might have seen that as, according to his own correct statement, in the last words, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, "by the resurrection [not from the dead, but] of the dead," procured and involved in the resurrection of Christ, "lies wrapped up the argument of ch. vi. 4 ff.", where believers are represented, in consequence of the closeness of their union with Christ, from their having died with him in his death to sin, to have been quickened and risen again with him in his resurrection,—so in the antithesis of "*according to the flesh*," "*according to the Spirit of holiness*," we have wrapped up the argument of chap. viii., in which believers are represented as being enabled to "walk no longer *according to the flesh*, but *according to the Spirit*" (viii. 4), because by their union with Christ, the Son of God, they are now "*sons of God*," as being "*led by the Spirit of God*" (viii. 14). He would thus have been led to perceive that τοῦ ὄρισθέντος νιοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει "constituted [not 'declared']—a meaning of the word unexampled] the Son of God with power" [i.e., invested with power—not "with power (or powerfully) declared," which would have been τοῦ ἐν δυνάμει ὄρισθέντος], referred not to the *eternal Sonship* of the Word which is incommunicable, as in it he stands alone as "the *only-begotten Son of God*;" but to that Sonship in

which, as having assumed human nature, he is “the *first-born* among many brethren” (Rom. viii. 29), “the *first-begotten* of the dead” (Rev. i. 5), and which Sonship he can communicate to all that are in union with him.

In short, in these two verses (Rom. i. 3, 4) we have in brief, epitomized form the foundation of the doctrines laid, on which the rest of the epistle enlarges, and that view of the Saviour presented by which, as the Head of the Church, he himself was made all which he communicates to his members, being “constituted the Son of God with *power*” to assimilate them to himself, and his “gospel” rendered “the *power* of God unto salvation” (Rom. i. 16). In Christ’s dying to sin the Christian becomes “dead to sin” (Rom. vi. 2, 10, 11), and is justified, δεδικαλωται (vi. 7): in Christ’s resurrection he is “raised up” to “newness of life” (vi. 4), and progressively sanctified.

It was on his resurrection that Christ was constituted “the Son of God with *power*.” On this Sonship as man, it may indeed be objected, that he previously entered when he first “became flesh,” according to the words of the angel to his mother: “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called *the Son of God*” (Luke i. 35). But it was “the likeness of sinful flesh,” of our fallen nature with all its *weakness*, and liability to temptation and death, that he then assumed. Then only he became “the Son of God with *power*,” when he rose as “the first-born from the dead” (Colos. i. 18).

The correctness of this view is confirmed by the beautiful analogy thus seen to exist between the Head and the members. Christ’s initiatory Sonship has its parallel in that still imperfect sonship to which believers are born while here in the flesh. “Beloved, *now are* we the sons of God,” but “it doth not yet appear what we *shall be*; but we know that when he appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is” (1 John iii. 2). “He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies by his Spirit” (Rom. viii. 11), bestowing on us the full “adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body” (viii. 23). Then only, on our resurrection, shall we become in the full sense “sons of God,” exactly as to our Head, the decree of Psalm ii. 7, “Thou art my Son; *this day* have I begotten thee,” was fulfilled (*see* Acts xiii. 33) on that morning that God quickened him and raised him up from the grave as “the first-begotten of the dead,” and “the first-born among many brethren.”

It was necessary thus fully to examine this passage of the

*Epistle to the Romans.* Had Dr. Alford's interpretation been correct, that "the Spirit of holiness," as contrasted with Christ's "flesh," here referred not to the Holy Spirit, but to Christ's own divine nature, the presumption would have been that the same interpretation must hold good in 1 Pet. iii. 18. The presumption, we now see, is all the other way. Not only does Scripture represent Christ as doing all things, in his mediatorial capacity, through the same Holy Spirit on whom he bids his followers depend, but in him, as in them, *the Spirit*, when opposed to *the flesh*, denotes, according to Scripture usage, not *the quickened spirit*, but *the Holy Spirit the Quickener*. The *weakness* of the flesh is contrasted with the *power* of the Spirit.

We conclude, therefore, that "the Spirit" in 1 Pet. iii. 18 denotes *the Holy Spirit*; and that, so far as the antithesis of the *flesh* and the *spirit* is concerned, the whole expression "being put to death in the flesh and quickened in the Spirit" is equivalent to 2 Cor. xiii. 4: "He was crucified through *weakness* [of the flesh], ἐξ ἀσθετείας, yet he liveth through the *power of God*," ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ.

2. Neither is Dr. A. more successful in his grammatical than in his theological argument: "Being put to death *in* the flesh, but quickened *by* the Spirit." "The rendering of the English version here, '*by the Spirit*' (he objects), is wrong grammatically."

True, the datives, *σαρκὶ πνεύματι*, must both be explained in the same way; but the objection from the change of preposition in English is more apparent than real, and arises from the difficulty of always finding an expression that has the same latitude of meaning in one language that it has in another. The dative in Greek here expresses the mode,<sup>e</sup> and answers to the question, How? How was he put to death? How quickened? The answer might be rendered, "in the flesh," "in the Spirit;" being almost equivalent to the adverbs of manner,<sup>f</sup> "carnally," "spiritually;" or, *as to* the flesh, *in as far as relates to* the flesh [as an actuating principle] he was put to death; *as to* the Spirit, *in as far as relates to* the Spirit, he was quickened.<sup>g</sup>

We seem thus to be shut up to the common interpretation

<sup>e</sup> See Jelf's *Greek Grammar*, vol. ii. p. 252, § 603, "The mode or manner, or wherein anything takes place, is in the dative."

<sup>f</sup> In some cases "the use of the dative is little different from that of the adverb of manner"—Dr. Donaldson's smaller *Greek Grammar*, § 457.

<sup>g</sup> Since Dr. Alford lays so much stress on the grammatical argument (which we blame only in its excess, when made to overrule higher considerations), we wonder that the words immediately following *πνεύματι* in iii. 19, *ἐν φ. sc. πνεύματι*, did not remind him that *ἐν πνεύματi* almost uniformly in the New Testament refers to *the Holy Spirit*.

of this passage, according to which, just as in Eph. ii. 17, it is said of Christ that he "came and preached [not by himself, but by his apostles] to you which were afar off and to them that were nigh," so here it is said that he "went and preached [by the instrumentality of Noah] to the spirits [now] in prison, formerly disobedient, ἀπειθησατ ποτε, in the days of Noah."<sup>4</sup>

This view seems alone consistent with the argument of the apostle. He is concerned to shew that the quickening in the Spirit is commensurate with the voluntary dying in the flesh. So was it with Christ; so it is with those to whom he preaches. In that Spirit before, possessed in part by anticipation, he "went, προενθέεται, and preached" through Noah to the antediluvians, but with how little success!<sup>5</sup> "few, that is, eight souls being saved" thereby in the ark. In that Spirit now he "is gone, προενθέεται, into heaven" (ver. 22), but with mightily increased influence, acquired "by the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (ver. 21), all power being given unto him in heaven and in earth, now that he "is on the right hand of God—angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject unto him" (ver. 22), so that he can shed forth the Spirit abundantly on his followers, and endow them with power from on high. But for the successful accomplishment of this, their experience must correspond. If their spirits are to be quickened by the Spirit of God, they must be ready to suffer voluntarily with Christ even unto death, lest, if separated involuntarily from their bodies, their spirits become, too, "spirits in prison," "delivered into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment."

St. Peter's argument accordingly appears to be: "You have a double motive not to fear suffering voluntarily unto death in the flesh. The Spirit acquired by Christ is now more powerful than formerly to save, and the example of Christ instructs you in the blessed effects of such suffering."

There are two remarkable ideas which this view attributes to St. Peter. Its correctness is confirmed by our finding both familiar to the apostle, and combined in another passage. These two ideas are—

1. That the Spirit, though purchased by Christ's sufferings

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\* That in Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison the apostle had in view his *preaching* not personally, but by his Spirit through *Noah* as his servant, to whom so little heed was given, that but "eight souls were saved" in the ark, seems evident by his distinct allusion to the same fact in his second epistle, "God saved Noah, the eighth person, a *preacher* of righteousness" (2 Pet. ii. 5).

<sup>5</sup> His spirit not having power to quicken the Spirits of that corrupt generation and emancipate them from the bondage of the flesh, so that they are now "spirits in prison," awaiting the judgment of the great day, the flesh then overpowering the Spirit, as he himself complained, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh" (Gen. vi. 3).

and death, was yet his before, by anticipation, to confer on his servants.

2. That, nevertheless, this Spirit was then comparatively powerless to what it now is, since he rose from the dead.

Both ideas are found combined in 1 Pet. i. 11, 12, and have reference to the same subject, "the sufferings of Christ," and the beneficial results that should follow from these sufferings. "Of which salvation the prophets have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you, searching what, or what manner of time *the Spirit of Christ which was in them* did signify, when it testified beforehand *the sufferings of Christ*, and the glories *that should follow*. Unto whom it was revealed, that *not unto themselves*, but *unto us*, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you, with *the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven*."

1. It was "the Spirit of Christ which was in" the prophets of old, and by which they spake; just as here, in iii. 19, it was the Spirit of Christ that spake in Noah.

2. So dimly and imperfectly, nevertheless, did the Spirit then enlighten the prophets, that, though they "enquired and searched diligently what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glories that should follow," they understood neither the nature nor the end of these sufferings. It was revealed unto them only "*that not unto themselves*, but unto us, they did minister" these things. But now the design of these sufferings *relating to Christ*, *τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν* (both those which he should endure in himself and in his members), and *the glorious results* that should accrue from their endurance in quickening him and those that are his, lie clearly open to us by the greater enlightenment and influence of the Spirit acquired by Christ, by which he has inspired them that have preached the Gospel unto you, by "*the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven*."

Before concluding, we would add a few words of caution to Biblical students against another faulty practice of German commentators and their followers in this country, of laying undue stress on mere æsthetic considerations, such as difference of style, peculiarities of expression, arrangement, etc., in judging of the authorship, date, or originality of writings. All such judgments at best are so dependent upon individuality of taste and feeling, that but little reliance can be placed upon them.

We have a striking instance of their fallaciousness in the erroneous conclusion (as we think it can clearly be proved to be) at which Dean Alford, in common with almost all the latest

commentators, has arrived in determining the question of the priority of the epistles of 2 Peter and Jude. So great is the similarity between the two epistles, that there can be no doubt that the one writer saw and used the text of the other. Dr. Alford conceives that he can "ascertain by inspection which text bears the air of being the free outflow of the first thought, which the working up of the other;" and pronounces with undoubting confidence, from comparison of several parallel passages, that St. Peter's must be the borrowed, St. Jude's the original composition. The conclusion of his argumentation is rather amusing. Instead of treating at length every separate verse, he says, "I shall only remark, that as we pass on through 2 Pet. ii. 12 ff., while this view of the priority of St. Jude is at every step confirmed, we derive some interesting notices of the way in which the passage in our epistle [2 Peter] has been composed, viz., by the apostle having in his thoughts the passage in St. Jude, and adapting such portions of it as the Spirit guided him to see fit, taking sometimes the mere sound of St. Jude's words to express a different thought; sometimes, as we saw above, contracting and omitting, sometimes expanding and inserting, as suited his purpose." Why, if St. Peter sometimes *contracts* and sometimes *expands* what had been said by St. Jude, sometimes *omits* and sometimes *inserts*, and any inference whatever as to the priority of either is deduced from such cases, who does not see that the argument in each instance may be reversed, and that the converse to Dr. Alford's inference may, with equal force and justice, be maintained? Thus he says, "In verse 11, St. Jude, fervidly borne along in his impassioned invective, collects together three instances of Old Testament transgressors, to all of whom he compares those whom he is stigmatizing. They were murderers like Cain, covetous like Balaam, rebellious like Korah. But out of these, St. Peter, dealing with *false teachers*, whom he is comparing with the *false prophets* of old, selects Balaam only, and goes at length (verses 15, 16) into his sin and his rebuke. Can any one persuade us that in the impetuous whirlwind of Jude's invective, he adopted and abridged the example furnished by St. Peter, prefixing and adding those of Cain and Korah?"

Why not? we ask. What more natural in "impassioned invective" than terseness and condensation of expression, or heaping instance upon instance of odious comparisons, when desiring to "stigmatize" and overwhelm an adversary?

But even supposing we could, by such precarious arguments, succeed in deciding to general satisfaction to which epistle the palm of originality is due, still we feel constrained to inquire,

*Cui bono?* What real light have we thereby gained for the elucidation of either writing? We have wasted our energies in trying to resolve a question of mere curiosity; but the deeper and more important question has not been touched, which we had expected, from the heading of Dr. Alford's section, to find discussed: What is the *real* "relation between this epistle [of 2 Peter] and that of Jude?" What so urgent reason induced the later writer, instead of communicating any new instruction of his own, merely to repeat with slight modifications, and to enforce at so great length, what had already been equally well said by his brother apostle? Surely the occasion which called for so singular a proceeding must lie upon the very surface. Accordingly a comparison of the two epistles, instituted with this end in view, discovers to us, we think, at once with certainty, which epistle preceded, and which followed up the exhortations of the other. Reading the epistles in the order adopted by the Church, we find first, in 2 Peter, warnings addressed by him to the converts, to guard against the perils to their faith soon *about to arise*: "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be (ἔσονται) false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even *denying the Master that bought them*," καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτῶν δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι. Turning, then, to the opening words of St. Jude, we find the reason which he assigns for his writing and exhorting "earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints" (ver. 3) to be (ver. 4), "For there are certain men *crept in unawares* (παρεισέδυσαν γάρ), who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and *denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ*," καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι. Can we fail to see that the danger against which St. Peter had raised his warning voice has now actually arrived, and forms the inciting cause which forces St. Jude to take up the pen? "The false teachers of whom my brother Peter warned you that they 'shall be,'" is St. Jude's exhortation, "*have [now] crept in unawares.*" "While, therefore, long cherishing a strong desire to write to you (πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν ὑμῖν—observe the tenses of *incomplete* or *continuing action*) concerning the common faith, I felt it a necessity (ἀνάγκην ἔσχον), now that they have appeared, to write unto you (γράψαι), and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints (ver. 3). Now you have doubly need of caution to guard against being ensnared and carried away by their impious delusions." And then, in a fervid strain of "impassioned invec-

tive," borrowing, and enforcing by repetition, the very descriptions and often words of St. Peter, that his readers might compare and mark their striking correspondence to these deceivers, he denounces their errors of doctrine and practice, and the fearful judgments that must overtake them, and all that gave them heed.

Finally, as if to mark out to the future ages of the Church the true order of both epistles, and to prevent the very mistake into which so many commentators have fallen, St. Jude refers, in the most distinct terms, to St. Peter, in ver. 17 : " But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ (alluding also, along with St. Peter, to 'our beloved brother Paul,' in such passages as 1 Tim. iv. 1 ; 2 Tim. iii. 1 ; 2 Thess. ii. 3—12; Acts xx. 29, 30), how that they told you there should be scoffers in the last time (*ἐμπαῖκται*, the same word as that used by St. Peter, though our translators have injudiciously changed the rendering into 'mockers' in St. Jude), who should walk after their own ungodly lusts" (*κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι τῶν ἀσεβειῶν*). The reference is to 2 Pet. iii. 3 : " Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts" (*ἐμπαῖκται κατὰ τὰς ἰδιὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι*). It seems impossible to doubt which of these two passages was written first, which subsequently. St. Peter speaks of what *shall be*, St. Jude of what *now is*; for he immediately adds, "These are they who separate themselves (*οἱ ἀποδιοιησούτες*, 'these are the men who [now] are exciting separation and causing schism' —Bloomfield), sensual, having not the Spirit" (ver. 19).

Let us advert to one of the instructive results that flow from establishing the true relation between the two epistles.

"*The last days*" spoken of by St. Peter (2 Pet. iii. 3) had, according to St. Jude (verses 4, 18) arrived, at least in the proximate fulfilment of the prophecy—"the last days" in which there should come "scoffers walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming?" "The day of the Lord" was at hand, which would "come as a thief in the night" (2 Pet. iii. 10), "even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you" (ii. 15. Compare 1 Thess. v. 2 : "For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night," viz., from Christ's own words of warning, Matt. xxiv. 43, where "the last days" of the Jewish dispensation and the Lord's *coming* in judgment on Jerusalem form in like manner the foreground and type of the more distant fulfilment of the prophecy), "in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise,

and the elements shall melt with fervent heat ; the earth, also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up ” (2 Pet. iii. 10).

Strong as these expressions are, and only to be exhausted in their full meaning by the final coming of the Lord, they were still, according to St. Jude, now on the very eve of being verified, as a first instalment of the prophecy, in the day of judgment coming on the Jewish world, when its “ sun should be darkened, and its moon no longer give her light,” and all the ruling powers of its firmament in Church and State should be shaken. This was in strict accordance with what our Lord himself had said : “ Verily I say unto you, *This generation shall not pass*, till all these things be fulfilled ” (Matt. xxiv. 34) ; that is, on a first and lower stage.

The last knell of the Jewish State had rung. St. Jude referred his readers back to the words “ spoken before of the *apostles* of our Lord Jesus Christ ” (ver. 17), alluding, along with St. Peter’s, to other passages, such as those of “ our beloved brother Paul,” 1 Tim. iv. 1 ; 2 Tim. iii. 1 ; 2 Thess. ii. 3—12 ; Acts xx. 29, 30. St. Peter again refers his readers back to “ the words which were spoken before by the holy *prophets* ” (2 Pet. iii. 2), referring specially to Malachi, as will be evident on comparison. Malachi had reproached the unbelievers of his day with wearying the Lord by asking, “ *Where* is the God of judgment ? ” (ii. 17,) and assured them that, notwithstanding, “ the Lord shall suddenly *come* to his temple : behold, he shall *come*, saith the Lord of hosts ” (Mal. iii. 1). So St. Peter warns his readers “ that there shall come in the last days scoffers, saying, *Where* is the promise of his *coming* ? ” (2 Pet. iii. 4.) The effects of his coming are then described by Malachi as penetrating and searching as fire : “ But who may abide the day of his coming ? and who shall stand when he appeareth ? for he is like a refiner’s fire ” (iii. 2). “ For, behold, the day cometh that shall burn as an oven ; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall be as stubble ; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch ” (iv. 1). In terms borrowed from the same figure, St. Peter describes the effects of the Lord’s coming as purifying all things by fire. “ The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat ; the earth, also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up ” (2 Pet. ii. 10).

We see here how pregnant and comprehensive is the figurative language of Scripture, and how admirably adapted to describe all the successive cycles of development of God’s great

scheme of providence; and much light is thus thrown on the nature of prophecy, as involving progressive and "germinating" fulfilments, each succeeding fulfilment ever rising in grandeur and completeness above the preceding. "The coming of the Lord," as described by St. Peter, points evidently, by the magnificence of the terms selected, to the final advent and consummation of all things, so much so that this coming alone has been attended to by the majority of commentators; but as we see by comparison with St. Jude, was intended to include also "the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" (Matt. xxiv. 30) in judgment upon his unbelieving countrymen, before that generation "should pass" away (ver. 34) which had rejected his offers of mercy.

There is a designed obscurity and generality of description in the language of prophecy, calculated to preserve the Church always in an attitude of constant watching and waiting for the development of God's purposes. Every prophecy embodies some great principle which finds its fulfilment and exemplification on every recurring combination of the same circumstances to which it refers. Thus at each successive stage of the Church's progress, while the final advent of the Lord is kept in view when "the mystery of God shall be finished" (Rev. x. 7), still each generation has a more immediate coming of the Lord to judgment held up before it, for which it must watch and wait. To the contemporaries of Malachi, this coming would appear to be nearer than it really was, and would be identified in their minds with the Lord's first coming in the flesh, since the human "messenger" (John the Baptist) is represented as first coming, and then "the Lord" himself "suddenly comes to his temple," and "sits as a refiner and purifier of silver" (Mal. iii. 1—3): "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (iv. 5). But when the Lord appeared, the time is again prolonged, and a short respite granted for repentance, not more distant, however, than was sufficient to keep all in apprehension of the great crisis. "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled" (Matt. xxiv. 34). "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. xvi. 28). "If I will that he [John the Evangelist] tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" (John xxi. 22) This consideration gives a point and pertinency to many of the exhortations contained in the epistles which they want otherwise. "Exhorting one another: and so much the more, *as ye see the day approaching*" (Heb. x. 25). "Let your moderation be known unto all men. *The*

*Lord is at hand*" (Phil. iv. 5). "Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord" (James v. 7). "Stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh" (James v. 8). "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time" (1 John ii. 18).

Is then the necessity for this watching for the coming of the Lord as nigh at hand now changed, since the judgment on the Jewish Church for their unbelief? and a whole millennium, as usually interpreted, to be interposed between us and the next coming of our Lord? We cannot think so. The attitude in which the Lord would still, as ever, have his Church to be, is one of constant expectation, "looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God" (2 Pet. iii. 12). "The mystery of iniquity" had already begun to work even in St. Paul's day. "And now ye know," says he, "what withholdeth that he ['the man of sin,' 'the son of perdition,' ver. 3] might be revealed in his time;" but "he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way: and then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (2 Thess. ii. 6—8). This "wicked" or lawless one, ὁ ἀρνητής, is, we believe, by almost all commentators identified with Antichrist, and his destruction regarded as contemporaneous with that of "the beast" out of the sea, and "the false prophet" (Rev. xii. 1, 11, and xvi. 13). But these last are to be destroyed before the millennium. All the adversaries of the Lamb are *previously* to be gathered together to "the battle of the great day of God Almighty" (Rev. xvi. 14), the doom of Babylon to be sealed (chap. xviii.), and the beast and the false prophet taken and "cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone" (chap. xix. 20, compared with xx. 4); Christ's *coming*, therefore, to execute these judgment on the enemies of his kingdom, must be prior to the millennium. It may be disputed whether this coming is to be a personal one, or only providential, like the Lord's coming in judgment on Jerusalem. But that a coming of the Lord, and a bright and glorious one, is to precede the millennium, seems to be by these Scriptures placed beyond question.

The events to which we have referred are not coincident with the final day of judgment; they precede it by a long period of time. They are the precursors of the grand and glorious period of the Church to which all the prophets have taught us to look forward, when "they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain," but "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. xi. 9), when the

Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, “ which shall be left from Assyria and from Egypt, and from the islands of the sea ” (ver. 11), when “ all Israel shall be saved ; ” and as the casting away of them was “ the reconciling of the world,” so “ shall the receiving of them be life from the dead,” quickening and renewing all who come in contact with them (Rom. xi. 15).

To this coming, therefore, let us have our minds and hearts ever directed, giving all diligence, that we may be found “ blameless *in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ,*” seeing that we “ come behind in no gift, waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ ” (1 Cor. i. 7, 8).

*Edinburgh.*

J. F.

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## ON THE PARABLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

### CHAPTER I.—ON THE PARABLES IN GENERAL.

THE parables of the New Testament, like everything excellent, have sometimes been perverted by erroneous interpretations, to authorize opinions the very reverse of those intended to be expressed by their Divine Author. They have also been made a frequent subject of infidel attack, both by cavillings as to the expediency of the general plan of parabolical instruction, and in cases where erroneous interpretation has afforded a pretence for such attacks, not contained in the veritable sense of the Scriptures.

The infidel objection to the general system is founded on a basis as plausible as it is shallow. The Evangelist informs us that Jesus “ spake to the people in parables, and without a parable spake he not unto them ; and when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.” To this the sceptic objects, that if the disciples themselves needed that the parables should be explained to them, to the people (the uninstructed multitudes) they must have been totally unprofitable. Their fancy might be excited, their ears amused, their time occupied, in an agreeable manner (as when multitudes assembled in the early days of Methodism to listen to the suspected doctrines, and high-flown enthusiasm of Whitefield and his followers), but of solid instruction they could derive no particle.

“ So much (exclaim the pupils of Voltaire and Diderot, of Hume and of Gibbon) for the parables as a system ; when we come to examine particular parables, the matter, far from improving, becomes more inextricably perplexed. From the

parable of the unjust steward, the Christian school of moralists has deduced two propositions; which have each acquired the currency of a proverb, and yet each of them is directly opposed to the other. ‘Make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness,’ says the Christian when he courts the friendship of a wealthy but unjust man: ‘Ye cannot serve God and Mammon,’ says the same Christian, when (his advances towards the worldly rich man having been repelled) he wishes to cover his defeat under the shelter of a proverb.” How ill-grounded these sceptical objections are will appear in the sequel. To understand the parables, we must take a general view of the origin of this peculiar mode of instruction. It is essentially Asiatic, and could scarcely, under any ordinary circumstances, have had its birth in Europe. A Greek or Roman, if he had wished to strengthen precept by example, would in *public* matters have deduced his examples from history; in *private*, from the faults or virtues of his friends and acquaintance. We set aside altogether the example of Menenius and his “Fable of the Belly,” because at that time Phrygia had taught both Greece and Latium to amuse their infancy with its instructive apologetics. Neither, in private life, do we attach any importance to Horace’s story of “The Town and the Country Mouse,” because this was merely an European adoption of an Asiatic mode of expression; and the same Horace informs us that when his father anxiously instructed his infant years, he had recourse, not to fable, but to the living examples of the people around them:

“Insuevit pater optimus hoc me,  
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando.”

“Sic me  
Formabat puerum dictis: et sive jubebat  
Ut facerem quid, Habes aucto rem quo facias hoc;  
Unum ex judicibus selectis objiciebat:  
Sive vetebat, An hoc dishonestum et inutile factu,  
Nec ne sit, addubites, flagret rumore malo cum,  
Hic atque ille?”

This is the genuine mode in which Europe naturally teaches both its children and its men.

It is not therefore in Europe that the parable could have originated; but in Asia its birth was almost inevitable. The Orientals (like the rest of the world) wished to give ethical lessons; but they could neither appeal for examples to history nor to biography, nor to ordinary life. A good history does not exist in any language of any part of Asia, west of China. Besides, it is rarely indeed in oriental history that we can depend

on the veracity of the historian. No one dares to write the *authentic* history of any Eastern monarch till the dynasty to which he belonged has crumbled to the dust. If a history is cotemporary, its facts are coloured and perverted. If it is written after the dynasty is overthrown, the truth is no longer recollectcd, and the very origin of that dynasty is a mystery. It is not to history then that the ethical Oriental could refer for instruction. As to biography, let any one read the life of Hafiz, in the pages of Daulet Shah, and he will find the best part of it a dull jest of the poet in reply to a fierce expostulation of Timur. Nor was it possible for an eastern father to instruct his son from living examples like the father of Horace. He needed only to make free with the character of persons in power to repent his imprudence under the sword of the executioner; nor could he point out the bad life of a criminal inferior to himself in worldly station, without incurring the risk of an assassination. Thus curbed in from all free and open expression of their thoughts, the eastern sages had recourse to types, instead of direct examples, and veiled their instructions in dark sayings and recondite allegories. Driven from the haunts of men when they sought for moral examples, they had recourse to the woods and the plains. They compelled the savage inhabitants of the wilderness to read moral lessons to the youth of Asia. The dens of wild beasts became the Stoa of the East, the forests its Academy, the fountain-gushing rock its Lyceum. The groves were peopled at the will of philosophy with *animali parlanti*; and a fabulous world arose, in which the lion represented the Sultan; the ox, the jackal, or the bear, his vizier (according as it might be necessary to portray the monarch, as mild and benevolent, crafty and treacherous, or cruel and tyrannical); while the court of the sovereign of the wealds was filled with the inferior animals, whose intrigues or sufferings formed the basis of the story.

The fable seems first to have originated in India, the mother-seat of all eastern philosophy and science. It was probably thence borrowed by the Assyrians, and spread by them over every part of the East. The Asiatic Greeks found it in Phrygia, and it quickly spread over Hellenic land. The Doric colonies carried it to Magna Græcia, the Pelasgic to Etruria. At a later period, long after the Christian era, we find it a second time emerging from India, whence the fables known as those of Bidpay were borrowed by the Persians, and from them by the Arabians; as they are still preserved, with Arabic plainness in the *Kalilah-wa-Dimnah*, and, with the most beautiful flowers of Persian diction, in the *Anwāri-Soheili* of Hussein Vaez. With

this latter importation we have no concern except so far as it may induce us to attach credit to the earlier obligation of western Asia to India in the old Assyrian times for its knowledge of the mythic sciences.

The Chamo-Semitic nations, or that part of the population of western Asia (partly the offspring of Cham, or partly of Shem) who spoke the “language of trilateral roots” in its various dialects, were at an earlier period familiar with the apologue to which they gave the name of similitude; *Mashal* in Hebrew, and *Mathla* in the Aramaean dialects—words of the same meaning as the Greek παραβολή, or parable.

We find, from the apologue of Jotham to the people of Shechem, that the Israelites used the parable on important occasions as familiarly as Menenius with the insurgents of Rome; and we may collect from this that it has, in all ages, and among all people, been deemed one of the best modes of appealing to the passions and even to the understanding of men, even in their most turbulent moods. When it would be hopeless to induce them to listen to argument, their reason may still be touched through their fancy, by means of an ingenious and picturesque fable. With equal felicity was it made the medium of grave rebuke and severe irony by the Abrahamic nations. For this purpose kings did not disdain to use it. When the vile Amaziah, King of Judah, had obtained a victory over Edom—in which he used the most execrable cruelty to the conquered—the unbelieving idolatrous king sent messengers to Jehoash, King of Israel, to request that they might “look one another in the face”—a Hebraism for meeting at the head of their armies in a field of battle. The king of the *ten* tribes, incensed at this challenge from the king of *two*, replied, with trenchant severity, in the well-known *Mashal*:

*Μύθος*.—“The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, ‘Give thy daughter to my son for wife;’ and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trod down the thistle.”

*Ἐπιμύθιον*.—“Thou has indeed smitten Edom, and thy heart hath lifted thee up; glory in this and tarry at home; for why shouldst thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldst fall, even thou, and Judah with thee?”

Such was the honoured condition of the parable among the descendants of Abraham before the time of the Babylonian captivity, and the Talmud will bear evidence that the Jewish traditionists had not lost but had rather refined this agreeable mode of composition during their residence in Babylon.

In the time of our Saviour, the avidity with which the

people of Galilee and Judæa listened to his incomparable parables, will shew us how familiar the *Mathla* must then have been to the Jewish mind. And thus we come to the sceptical objection, "Why did Jesus, if he were really the Messiah, address the people in parables which amused them, but which it is admitted they did not understand?" To reply to this, we must thoroughly comprehend the condition of the Jews at the time when the Messiah first commenced his brief course of public instruction. They were then divided into three principal sects; one philosophic, that of the Essenes; and two religious, those of the Sadducees and Pharisees. The latter are usually treated as the orthodox, and the former as the heterodox sect. This is, we think, a grave mistake, and a complete inversion of their proper positions as followers of the Mosaic law. The Pharisees (as we have endeavoured to shew in a previous number<sup>2</sup>) were no more followers of Moses than the modern Mohammedans are followers of that prophet; nor are any of the modern Talmudic Jews (probably nine-tenths of the whole Jewish race) any more followers of Moses than they are followers of Mohammed. The predecessors of the Pharisees had invented a religion of their own, under the name of the "Traditions," which they openly preferred to the written law of Moses, on which it professed to be an oral comment; and the whole object of which was (as our Saviour testifies that its certain result was) to render the law of Moses "of no effect." Yet the opinions of a sect (whose doctrines abrogated the law of Moses) are too hastily treated by many Christian divines as the orthodox Judaism of the times immediately antecedent to Christ.

The Sadducees, whose modern descendants are the Karaite Jews, adhered to the written law of Moses and rejected the traditions. But, it is said, they disbelieved in a future state and rejected the angels. As to the *former* objection, we have already replied to it in the number of this Journal alluded to; and as to the latter, there appears to be a misapprehension on that point. Believing in the law, it is impossible that they could have denied the ministration of angels which is openly asserted by the law. They denied only, and were justified in denying, and bound to deny, the apocryphal hierarchy of angels whom the Jews had brought with them from Babylon; the earth-born progeny of the traditions, an angelic choir as fabulous as the gods of heathendom, with whose names and offices the Rabbins pretended to be perfectly acquainted, but who were as much the children

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<sup>2</sup> See "A Critical Enquiry into the Course of the Exodus"—*Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. XXI., p. 8.

- as the Rabbins themselves were the fathers of imposture. It appears therefore a very dangerous error to assert that the *Pharisees*, or their predecessors, the *Chasidim*, were the orthodox sect of the Jews; nor is it wise or prudent to contend that the *Sadducees* (though we, as Christians, *know* that they held very erroneous opinions in points on which the Mosaic law had not enlightened them) were properly an heterodox sect, so long as the law subsisted, or till John, the Precursor, commenced his mission at the Jordan; at which great era the Law terminated and the Gospel commenced.

The *Pharisees* then were unquestionably heretics; but they, the *Chasidim* (their predecessors), and the *Rabbins*, the doctors of both, had completely reorganized and revolutionized the whole Jewish people. The traditions delighted the Jews as much as the outward austerity of the *Pharisees* captivated them. When the new prophet, Jesus of Nazareth, a native of a place from which they thought it absurd that any prophet should arise, made his appearance at the age of thirty as a public teacher of religion in Galilee, and the people began to turn to Him as the expected *Messiah*, the *Pharisees* were naturally the first to view his advent with eager curiosity. Was he of their sect? Did he aspire to excel *Gamaliel* as a teacher of the traditions? If so, they might possibly have encouraged him; but they knew this to be impossible. A doctor of the traditions could only be formed from the oral teaching of a doctor of the traditions. At that time it was deemed blasphemous to commit the traditions to writing, though the Jewish doctors afterwards broke through the fundamental rule and vital principle of the traditions when it suited their convenience. They knew that Jesus of Nazareth had studied under no oracle of the traditional law; they could not trace out by inquiry how he ever acquired the ordinary accomplishments of reading and writing. Their only course, therefore, was to watch him closely, and discover what were his pretensions and the doctrines by which they were inculcated, and the learning by which they were supported. Their first enquiries filled them at once with rage and horror. The new prophet openly trampled on the traditions. Jesus and his disciples sat down to meat with unwashed hands, and they observed the Sabbath according to the law, but not according to the traditions of the *Rabbins*. The whole influence of the *Pharisees* with the people, their very existence as a sect, were here threatened. There needed no more to induce the *Pharisees* to vow the destruction of the "carpenter's son," which they afterwards (humanly speaking) accomplished, little deeming that, in this, they were merely the unconscious instruments of a higher power.

They now watched every step of the Prophet of Nazareth with the strictest attention. They laid ambushes for him wherever he directed his steps ; they hypocritically applied to him with insidious questions when he taught the multitudes of Galilee ; and their great object was to convince the people that he systematically violated the Sabbath and the *Law*, as they interpreted it, and to make him avow that he was the Messiah or expected King of the Jews, in order that they might denounce him to the Romans as guilty of treason towards the majesty of the purple.

But never was sectarian venom more completely baffled than that of the Pharisees for a considerable period. When they presented themselves before Jesus of Nazareth, they were received with a scorn which the Roman Emperor would scarcely have displayed to them, for the Jews, the oldest allies of the Romans in the East, had not as yet become perfectly obnoxious to them. They were taunted with their gross hypocrisy, with their secret violations of the spirit of the law, with their avarice, with their cruelty, with all the crimes of which their secret consciences told them they were guilty. They were termed a "generation of vipers;" and, though their lips repelled the appellation, their hearts perhaps admitted that it was too truly applied. But with all this for a long time they could obtain not the slightest ground of public complaint against Him. When he taught in the synagogues on the Sabbath, they contrived that sick people should be present, knowing that he would heal them, and that this would shock the prejudices of the people. They even invited him to meat on the Sabbath, at the table of their chief men, that they might catch hold of some unguarded expression when he instructed the guests after his usual manner ; and, on these occasions too, the sick and infirm were treacherously brought forward to accumulate charges of healing on the Sabbath. Yet for a long time their malice was foiled. And why ? because Jesus "taught in parables." If he had not done so, his career would have been stopped in the first few months of his mission, unless he had defeated the designs of his enemies by the exercise of divine power, a resource which seems to have been foreign to the great plan of redemption.

If he had openly addressed the people, "I am the Son of God ; I am the expected Messiah ; I am the King of the Jews ; I am come to abrogate the Law of Moses, to introduce a purer and more spiritual religion, and, finally, to offer myself as a sacrifice for the sins of the human race ;" how long (let us enquire) could such a ministry have endured, unless the God-man had asserted and used his divine power ? Without such miraculous intervention, it would not have endured two months.

But let us consider the course actually pursued by our Saviour and its practical results. The parables, if they did not actually enlighten the people in the same degree which plain and direct discourses would have done, excited their curiosity, raised their spirit of enquiry, and with the miracles which they saw almost daily performed, produced a general persuasion that Jesus of Nazareth was really the expected Messiah of the Jews. When we are told that the people were addressed in parables, because seeing they saw not, and hearing they heard not, neither did they understand; we must apply a great part of this to the Pharisees, whose pride and vices rendered their conversion impossible. It was not expedient that the Pharisees *should* understand, when the only result of their comprehension would have been to lead them to a public denunciation of our Saviour before his mission was completely fulfilled. Neither is it to be presumed that if Jesus had only avowed himself to be the Messiah and the Son of God, this avowal would have produced the same beneficial effect as the parables. He himself replied to his enemies, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is of no effect." But when the great sacrifice was consummated, when his disciples, instead of hiding themselves in obscurity, openly taught the people, "This Jesus of Nazareth whom you have crucified was the expected Messiah, was the King of the Jews, was the Son of God; and we are the witnesses of this, we are ready to seal our testimony with our blood, and to confirm it by miracles such as no man uninspired by God can perform;" then the parables produced their full effect; then they were recollected by the multitude; then they were repeated from memory, and again listened to with greedy avidity; then their meaning dawned fully upon the grossest of the multitude; and, prostrate at the feet of the disciples and apostles, they acknowledged their sins, wept for their transgressions, proclaimed themselves followers of Christ, and brought their possessions into the common stock of the Christian community.

And *without* the parables, would the teaching of the apostles have produced such speedy effect? Certainly not; the parables had sown the seed; the death of the Saviour, the object and necessity of which they now began to comprehend, and which they recollected to have been foretold in these very parables, the fervour, the preaching, the undaunted demeanour of the apostles, the miracles they performed; all these things confirmed the faith which the parables had implanted, and matured their fruit. Christianity soon became a powerful sect at the very moment when it was supposed to be extinguished; and quickly increased into a vast and universally spreading religion, occupied Europe

and the west of Asia, destroyed polytheism, and reduced rabbiniism and the traditions to the contemptible position of a degraded superstition, from which it is well known that some of the most enlightened of its doctors, such as Maimonides<sup>b</sup> and Aben-Ezra, took refuge in secret atheism.

#### CHAPTER II.—DEFINITION OF TECHNICAL TERMS, AND DIVISION OF THE PARABLES INTO CLASSES.

Having explained in the preceding chapter the general plan and objects of the Scripture parables, and defended (to the best of our power) their use against the attacks of scepticism, we propose, in the present chapter, I., to examine the technical terms or language of criticism usually applied to the parable and its kindred classes of fiction; and II., to enquire into what divisions the parables of the New Testament may be most conveniently distributed for the purpose of interpretation.

I. The terms most frequently employed in commenting on this species of composition are—1. *Parable*; 2. *Allegory*; 3. *Type*; 4. *Fable*; 5. *Apologue*; 6. *Proverb*; 7. *Enigma*.

1. *Parable* (*Παραβολὴ*) means properly a similitude or comparison. It coincides exactly, therefore, with the Hebrew *מָלֵךְ* and the Syriac *Անձու*, both of which words mean a similitude. In the New Testament, *parable* is used to express either (1) a mere simple similitude, as “The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened;” or (2) an ethic fable, like that of the good Samaritan; or (3) mere *ethical instruction*, as in Luke xiv. 7—14, where the use of the word *parable* appears merely colloquial and anomalous.

2. An *allegory* (*Ἀλληγορία*) is literally a *speaking one thing and meaning another*. An allegory is said by the rhetoricians to be “a continued metaphor,” and they usually treat parables, apocalypses, enigmas, and proverbs, as different species of the allegory. But we propose in the following definitions to use the word *allegory* in a stricter and more confined sense.

3. A *type* (*Τύπος*) means primitively an *impression* made by striking, and in a secondary sense, a *figure, image, or example*.

4. A *fable* (*Μῦθος*) is a short *fictitious narrative, invented*

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<sup>b</sup> The atheism of Maimonides, which was clearly discerned by the Jews, his contemporaries, shocked even Mohammedans. Abdo 'l-latif, who knew him well, from a personal acquaintance at Cairo, says of his *Moreh Nevochim*, that it is a mischievous book which insidiously overthrows the fundamental principles of all religions; while it treacherously appears to support them. All the Jewish doctors of that and the succeeding ages learnt their atheism in the school of Aristotle.

for the purpose of conveying ethical instruction in a picturesque and familiar manner, which the Greeks borrowed from the Phrygians, and of which the fables of Æsop are the earliest example known to the western world, and which are, at this day, as much superior to all subsequent compositions of the same species as the epics of Homer are to all subsequent epics. To the fable was attached its *'Ἐπιμύθιον'*, or as we term it, *moral*, communicating in plain terms the ethical instruction obscurely figured in the fable. In the fable the irrational animals, and even inanimate things, are depicted as sentient or rational, but this is by no means an essential condition of the fable; the *Γυνὴ Μάργος*, the *Αλεῖς*, and the *Κουπαστῆς*, and numerous other instances, shew that in the opinion of Æsop, the ethic fable admitted of every possible variety of actors.

5. The word *apologue* (*'Ἀπόλογος'*) seems to have been originally used by the Greeks in a bad sense, to designate a *rambling incoherent discourse*; but, in its secondary or better sense, it seems to indicate a *moral fiction*, somewhat longer and more elaborate and ingeniously contrived than the *Mῦθος* or fable. Thus the admirable story of Prodicus, called the Trial of Hercules, may be properly termed an *apologue*. The beautiful Persian paraphrases of Bidpay contained in the *Anvari Soheili*, often appear nearer to the nature of an *apologue* than a mere fable.

6. The proverb (*Παροιμία*) was included by the Hebrews under the word *Mâshal* or parable. The proverbs of Solomon are termed מִשְׁלָה וְחַדְשָׁה. The point of a fable often may be expressed in a proverb, as in that of the unjust steward, "You cannot serve God and Mammon." Another very objectionable proverb, as we have before stated, and shall afterwards more fully shew, has also been erroneously deduced from the same parable, and has become exceedingly popular among the very persons who by this parable were intended to be exposed to general reprobation.

7. The enigma (*Αἴνυγμα*) may be compared to the פֶּתֶן (riddle or dark saying) of the Hebrews, the explanation of which was expressed by the verb חָשַׁבְתָּ, or the noun חָשֵׁב.

These being the more modern terms in use for expressing the various shades of meaning of the Chamo-Semitic *Mâshal* or *Mathla*, it only remains to select from them the words we intend to make use of *technically* in the following dissertation, and to define the precise manner in which we mean to employ them. We divide the New Testament parables into three species;—  
1. The mere simile or comparison; 2. The ethic fable in its simple form; and 3. The allegorical fable.

1. Of the *first*, as we before observed, the parable of the leaven is an example. Such also are those of the hidden treasure and of the merchant and the pearl. If these contain something more than a bare and simple similitude, there is yet not enough of story in them to constitute a fable.

2. The simple fable employed as a vehicle of moral instruction, consists of what may be termed two stages; 1. The *Mῦθος*, or fable itself, the exoteric form of instruction; and which in our Saviour's parables was addressed *τοῖς ἔξω*; and 2, the *'Επιμύθιον*, moral, or explanation, which (as Christ informs us) he reserved for his disciples.

The simple parable contains either an example to be avoided, or one to be followed, or both. Of the first kind, the parable of the unjust steward is an example; nothing is related which is not purely and wholly to be avoided; though many lax readers give to it a very different interpretation. A parable of the second kind, containing only an example to be followed, is exceedingly rare. Men are generally taught by what is to be avoided; thus the "ethic characters" of Theophrastes are a mere collection of the follies and vices of mankind, in which everything is to be shunned and nothing is to be followed. An example of this kind may, however, perhaps be found in the parable of the barren fig-tree. Of the third species, containing examples both to be followed and avoided, the parable of the good Samaritan is an excellent specimen. The priest and Levite are the examples to be avoided. The good Samaritan affords the example to be followed, and this contains a double beauty, because it both shews us what we are to do, and guards us against judging of men by any other criterion than their actions.

3. The allegorical parable is one enwreathed in a double obscurity. To the mask which covers the meaning of the simple parable, an additional veil is superadded. The ostensible characters and actions are the mere types of other characters and actions; and these typified characters and actions still point to a further moral beyond them. There are therefore three stages in the allegorical parable, while the simple one consists of merely two. An example of this kind is the parable of the wheat and the tares.

#### *The Types, or first stage of the Parable.*

"The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder

came, and said unto him, Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go, and gather them up? But he said, Nay: lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest, I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn."

*The things Typified, or the second stage of the Parable.*

*Types of Persons and Things.*

He that soweth the good seed is	
The field	is
The good seed	are
But the tares	are
The enemy that sowed them	is
The harvest	is
And the reapers	are

*Persons and Things Typified.*

The Son of Man.	
The world.	
The children of the kingdom.	
The children of the wicked one.	
The devil.	
The end of the world.	
The angels.	

*Types of Actions.*

As therefore the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire,

*Actions Typified.*

So shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

And as the wheat is gathered into the barn,

In the first of the two preceding stages, we have a fable consisting of mere types; in the second, these types of persons, things, and actions are explained, and converted into solemn religious truths. But there is still a further moral intended to be conveyed by the second stage of the fable, which Christ probably presumed his disciples would understand, and therefore omitted to explain. At the present day it may be proper to supply this omission, as it has reference to a state of public feeling which, in our own time, does not exist among Christians.

*The Moral, or Ethic Lesson; being the Third Stage of the Parable.*

The Jews after their return from Babylon, and shortly before the time of Alexander, began to question the moral government

of the world; and, on witnessing the prosperity of the wicked, exclaimed openly and with fierce blasphemy, "Where is the God of Judgment?" "Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of Jehovah, and he delighteth in them." This was the general cry of the people in the time of Malachi, about 397 B.C., sixty-five years before the conquest of Tyre by Alexander, and the march of that conqueror through Judæa, by the unfortunate Gaza, to Egypt. Such was the iniquity of the Jews at this time (principally, perhaps, arising from the indifference produced by such idle questions as these), that the last of the prophets launched, in the name of Jehovah, a curse against the entire nation: "Ye are cursed with a curse, even the whole nation."

It is obvious from the preceding parable, that the same doubts continued among the Jews of the time of Christ, though in a lesser degree; for the Jews were then a very different people from their ancestors in the time of Malachi. To obviate these questions this parable was intended; for even the disciples seem to have been perplexed by scruples, which the mere judgment of unassisted humanity appears to have been inadequate to solve.

"That vice should triumph, virtue vice obey,  
This sprung some doubt of Providence's sway."

By this parable they were taught that the temporal prosperity of the wicked was no rational ground for impugning the impartial wisdom of the Creator, since this world was merely a condition of trial, and rewards and punishments would be awarded with unerring discrimination in the great day of judgment.

Such seem the three natural divisions of the parables of the New Testament. There may be some of a nature so mixed, that they may trench on more than one of these divisions, so that it may not be easy to class them with perfect precision; but for practical purposes and for all the objects of criticism, the preceding division will perhaps be found sufficient.

As to their objects, the parables may also be divided into the three classes of the (1) moral, (2) doctrinal, and (3) prudential. The first two classes are sufficiently obvious. An example of the third will be found in the parable of the "new wine and old bottles," by which we are taught that in conveying Christian instruction to the unenlightened, we should always have regard to the capacity of the recipient.

### CHAPTER III.—THE PARABLE OF THE UNJUST STEWARD.

As it is our object in the present dissertation rather to establish general principles of criticism and refute infidel objections,

than to examine each of the parables in detail, we shall confine our further observations to one instance only; and we shall select for this purpose the parable of the "unjust steward," as that which, by the erroneous interpretations of Christian divines, has been the most exposed to the cavillings of scepticism. The great object of this parable is to expose the iniquity of the children of mammon; and as too many of these were to be found among the early Christian divines,<sup>c</sup> they appear to have adroitly perverted it to serve their own purposes.

In the prose of the New Testament, it must be observed, there is often the same antithetical balance of sentences which forms one of the chief features of Hebrew poetry; and as this aids the interpretation, and assists us in deciding as to the meaning of the text, we have, in quoting the parable, divided the sentences according to the antithetical arrangement wherever it occurs, though there is otherwise nothing *poetical* in the sentences. With this advertisement, let the parable speak for itself. We will examine it first in the authorized English version.

*Mūθos.*

There was a certain rich man which had a steward; and the man was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.

And he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward.

And the steward said unto himself, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship. I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed. I am resolved what to do, that when I am put out of the stewardship they may receive me into their houses.

So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?

And he said, An hundred baths of oil.

And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.

Then said he to another, And how much owest thou?

And he said, An hundred cors of wheat.

And he said unto him, Take thy bill and write fourscore.

And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely. For the children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light.

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<sup>c</sup> To be compelled to admit this, we have only to peruse the best ecclesiastical histories, even of so early a period as the reign of Constantine.

'Επιμύθιον.

And I say unto you,

Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness;

That when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.

He that is faithful in what is least,

Is faithful also in much.

And he that is unjust in the least,

Is unjust also in much.

If, therefore, ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon,

Who will commit to your trust the true riches?

And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's,

Who shall give you that which is your own?

No servant can serve two masters;

For either he will hate the one, and love the other;

Or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.

*Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.*

On a critical examination of this parable we think it will appear, 1. That it is a simple, and not an allegorical parable; that no one character or thing has a secondary or *typified* meaning, as distinct from the general moral of the fable: in technical terms, that it is a parable of *two* and not of *three* stages. 2. That it belongs to the class of fables which instruct in Christian morals, and not respecting points of belief or maxims of prudence. 3. That the *Mîthos*, or first stage of the fable, consists simply of examples to be avoided, and in no one instance presents an example to be followed; the lord, or master of the steward, being like himself a child of mammon, and his praise the mere worldly praise of worldly craft and subtlety. This is the more important, because it is to be feared there are not wanting divines who treat the lord of the steward as a type of the Divinity; an idea exceedingly dangerous in its consequences, and which appears to indicate no small want of a right comprehension in Christian matters.

The parable being one of such primary importance, not so much in itself as in the heterodox use which has been made of it, we shall do well to examine all the circumstances attending it:—  
1. By whom it is related; 2. At what time; 3. At what place; 4. Before what persons: and 5. Under what circumstances and for what objects.

1. The *reporter*, if we may so call him, of the fable, is St. Luke, in whose gospel alone it is to be found. This is a matter

of great importance, because St. Luke was not personally present at the events related in his gospel: he received them all, at second-hand, from the actual witnesses. Not even the *terms* in which he records the doctrines of our Saviour seem so literally exact as those of the other three evangelists. Though he wrote under the influence of the Holy Spirit, it appears that the inspiration accorded to him only preserved him from such errors in doctrine as might lead men of sound judgment astray. He introduces Christ as using language which might be liable to great misconstruction in modern times, and which, when we refer to the gospel of St. Matthew, we find that evangelist expressing in terms perfectly simple and unambiguous. From this it is evident, that when we meet with any apparently harsh and difficult phrase in St. Luke (in cases reported by this evangelist solely), we must call the whole tenor of the gospel to our aid, and in no case allow him to lead us to conclusions at variance with the general spirit of the teaching of our Saviour, and with the principles of sound judgment and common sense. Attaching the highest value to his gospel, we must yet be upon our guard against those orientalisms which, to the people who heard them, conveyed a very different meaning to that which a modern European might attach to them.

2 and 3. The **TIME** and **PLACE** (which are erroneously laid down in the Greek *Diatessaron* of Professor White) had something of a peculiar sanctity attached to them, which gives great interest to this parable. Of all places in Galilee, the shores of the beauteous Lake of Gennesaret were the favourite scene of the teaching of our Saviour. At Καπερναοῦ, or as the Greeks wrote it *Kapernaouμ* (Capernaum), he chiefly resided during the last three years of his life. This was his abode of predilection—*his own city*, as St. Matthew styles it. If he on one occasion uttered a solemn condemnation against it, it was because the people (corrupted and led astray by the Pharisees) were too many of them impenetrable to the doctrines of salvation. But the place itself always obtained from him that especial favour which the extreme beauty of its situation merited. And we may truly say, that, if sanctity could attach to particular localities, no place in Judaea, not *Jerusalem* itself, possessed the same claims on our attention which the affection and long residence of Christ gave to the vicinity of this city, otherwise so obscure.

It appears evident from a comparison of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. Mark, that it was on one of the last days of our Saviour's residence in Capernaum, and immediately before his last journey to keep the passover at Jerusalem, that this parable was pronounced. The critics who understand St. Luke's nar-

rative of this journey as commencing at ix. 51, instead of at xviii. 31, where it really commences, disarrange the order of chronology; for they make Christ to proceed through the middle of Samaria to Jerusalem, and understand St. Luke as connecting circumstances with this journey which *must* have occurred on some former visit.

It is certain that almost immediately after the time of the delivery of this parable, Jesus proceeded to *Jerusalem*, *not* through *Samaria*, but through the *Peræa*, crossing the *Jordan* to the south of the Lake of Gennesaret; and again recrossing the river at the ferry or ford near *Jericho* (Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. i.).

This parable, and those which accompanied it, may therefore be considered as his parting legacy to the people of Capernaum, and his last confutation of his old enemies, the Pharisees of Galilee; for,

4. It was in the presence of the Pharisees, and with them, as his especial hearers, that this parable was repeated.

5. As to its circumstances and objects. It was especially directed against the worldly spirit of the Pharisees, who immediately made the application to themselves, and received, with outward mockery, an exposure which must internally have caused them the severest mortification. "And the Pharisees also, who were covetous (*φιλάργυροι*), heard these things and derided him." It was the last time perhaps that they heard the voice of that divine teacher; all whose plans and labours they had endeavoured to render vain.

Before proceeding to treat this parable critically and theologically, it may be useful to inquire into the *office of a confidential steward* among the Jews; and to understand the explanation of the parable, and the moral deduced from it, it is absolutely necessary that we should know precisely (if possible) what is intended by the term, the "*mammon of unrighteousness*," or "*the unrighteous mammon*."

The word steward (*οἰκονόμος*, in the original Greek) is rendered *管家* (Rab-baytho) in the Syrian translation—a word of the same meaning as the *Major-domo* of the Italians. The confidence reposed in this officer was such (as we learn from another of the parables) as to render him the virtual master of the house of his lord, and almost the uncontrolled disposer of his property. He had the government of the inferior servants (whom he punished as he thought proper), and seems to have managed the lands of his master and disposed of the produce. It was easy, therefore, for him to waste his master's property

especially in his absence ; and if the lord were easy and indolent, the steward, keeping all accounts himself, might easily combine with his debtors to defraud him.

In the patriarchal times, the office of steward seems to have been no less important, as we may see in the unbounded confidence placed by Abraham in Eliezer of Damascus, whom he calls his steward or ἀντίτροπος, and whom he looked upon as his natural heir, in case he himself should die childless.

The steward was either a hired servant (as in the present parable) or a purchased or born slave of his master—the latter being most frequently the case in the household of a nomade chief ; because, in such case, his master knowing him from his infancy, could place more explicit confidence in him. We accordingly find that Eliezer, though he is called “Eliezer of Damascus,” or “Damascus Eliezer,” was the born slave of Abraham ; so that he could scarcely have visited Damascus till he was advanced in years. His mother might probably have been a native of that city.

The unjust steward calls his lord’s debtors round him, and requires them *not* to pay in their debts, but to give a *written acknowledgment* of the amount, which in our English version is somewhat improperly termed a “*bill*,” when in fact τὸ γράμμα should rather be translated according to the obvious meaning, “*an account stated*.” He directs each of the debtors to underestimate the amount of his debt ; and these persons readily fall into the snare without considering that, by so doing, they were putting themselves into the power of the steward, to whom they might eventually have to pay much more to purchase his silence than the amount of their illicit gains. Strict probability is only a secondary matter in parabolical composition, and is very rarely attended to even by the most fastidious writer. The transaction, however, is not kept so secret but that it arrives at the ears of the lord ; which destroys the effect of the whole contrivance.

We then find to our surprise, that the lord *praised* the unjust steward (*τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας*, according to the Hebrew idiom) because he had acted providently, and that he summed up his praise with the reflection that “the children of this world were more provident in their generation than the children of light.” By “their generation” (*eis τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν*) we are to understand, “for their own lifetime,” “or so long as they inhabit this world”—the only world they care for or reckon on. *Γενεὰ*, here, refers obviously to time.

The Peschito Syriac translation (the most ancient and most valuable version of the New Testament) has fallen into a grievous

error by rendering ὁ Κύπρος (*that is*, “*the master*” of the steward) ὁ Λόρδος “our Lord” (or *Christ* himself). This translation is repugnant, not only to grammatical construction and to common sense, but to the express terms of the subsequent verses. Even in a *worldly* sense, the conduct of the steward could not be praised by any sensible man; for it was risking too much, as the event proved. The mere fact of his being received into the houses of the debtors successively, would have led to suspicion and detection, and the result would have been to throw him upon the world with a ruined character and without a *denarius*. A man really φρόνιμος would have discovered other ways of existence besides digging and begging. If he were resolved to defraud his master, he would have acted much more prudently in dividing the illicit spoil with the tenants, and in emigrating to some distant city of the empire already colonized by his wandering countrymen.

*Our Lord* therefore *could* not have praised even the *worldly craft* of the steward, whose shallow crime was no sooner perpetrated than detected; and in fact he records his own judgment as being in direct opposition to that of the master in the fable. “And *the master* commended the unjust steward.” But *I* (καὶ γὼ) say unto you,” etc., the pronoun marking the *emphatic antithesis*, which will appear more evident when we have fully explained the words which immediately follow in the *moral* of the fable.

But the indolent lord of the unjust *Rab-baytho*, might very well have praised it, and (himself as worldly as his steward) probably only arrived at the conclusion that, if the latter had exerted his talents for roguery for his (the master’s) advantage, instead of against him, he would have been really a very useful and praiseworthy servant.

Such is the *parable* of the *unjust steward*, and we now arrive at our Lord’s explanation of its hidden meaning. It commences with the ninth verse—*so long and so grossly misunderstood*;—and which in the original Greek stands as follows:—

“Καὶ γὼ ὑμῖν λέγω· Ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας· Ἰνα ὅταν ἐκλίπητε δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰώνιους σκηνὰς.

Which our national version, with more attention to the letter than the moral, translates as follows:—

“And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.”

The correct translation (which the context absolutely and indispensably requires) seems to be this:—

"But I say unto you, Make for yourselves [such] friends [i.e., friends in heaven] by your conduct in worldly affairs, that when ye die they may receive you into everlasting habitations."

To elucidate this new version, our first question must be, what is meant by "mammon?" for which our English Bible suggests in the margin, the sense of *riches*. Mammon, according to popular opinion, was the Syrian god of wealth, whose functions and character are thus described by Milton:—

"Mammon led them on;  
 Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell  
 From heaven; for e'en in heaven, his looks and thoughts  
 Were always downwards bent, admiring more  
 The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,  
 Than aught divine, or holy, else enjoyed  
 In vision beatific: by him first  
 Men also, and by his suggestion taught,  
 Ransacked the centre, and, with impious hands,  
 Rifled the bowels of their mother earth  
 For treasures better hid."

The word *Mammon* (or more properly *Mamôna*) is not to be found in the Old Testament. In the Syriac version it is written **മാമുന**, which (avoiding the hellenism of the final "o" and pronouncing it *Mamûna*) was of course the word employed by our Saviour.

If we examine this word etymologically, and derive it from its Chamo-Semitic root, we must reject the first "m" as servile; because the genius of the Chamo-Semitic language abhors the concurrence of two "m's" as the first two letters of a root. The actual root then, is **מְנִי** in Hebrew, which signifies *he numbered*; and from which is derived **מִן**, "a mina or weight." The Syriac root is **മാമ**, which has the same meaning as the Hebrew.

It is evident, therefore, that *Mamûna* must have been the god of *weights, measures, and numbers*; in other words, the god of *TRAFFIC*, a Syrian Mercury. He might sometimes also officiate as the god of riches; but this must have been in a secondary capacity, as *traffic* naturally leads to *riches* as its great goal and object.

From the Hebrew **מִן**, is derived **מוֹן**, one of the idols of polytheism, worshipped by the Israelites during their periods of idolatry. This Meni has been, by some writers, identified with the *moon*—a supposition for which there is not the slightest reason. It is evident that Meni is the Hebrew form of the Syrian *Mamûna*. This seems placed beyond dispute by its con-

nexion with Gad, the Syrian *Tuχη*, or deity of FORTUNE, in the following verses of Isaiah lvi. 11, 12 (Lowth's translation) :—

“ But ye who have deserted Jehovah, and have forgotten my holy mountain ; who set in order a table for Gad ; and fill out a libation to Meni : you will I number out to the sword.”

We may take *Mammon* (or *Mamûna*), therefore, as being used in the sense of *worldly traffic*, of which he is the type ; and the word “*unjust*” or “*unrighteous*” *mammon* seems merely to have been a *popular phrase* applied to *traffic* generally, as a *proverbial epithet* ; for the Jews (an agricultural people) deemed it almost impossible for a *merchant* to be honest. The author of the apochryphal book of Ecclesiasticus speaks the sense of his nation when he says, “*A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong ; and a huckster shall not be free from sin.*”

In the words, ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ, the preposition *ἐκ* seems used in the sense of *dia*, as is frequent with the Greek writers. The sense of the first part of the ninth verse, therefore, will be, “*Make yourselves friends, by means of your worldly conduct or transactions.*” But what sort of friends ? Friends of this world ? Friends among the worldly rich ? Friends among the unjust ? Friends among that class of persons who, according to the ignorance of the popular idea, are supposed to be designated as the “*mamon of unrighteousness ?*”

CERTAINLY NOT. That this is not the meaning is plainly shewn by the sequel. For *what purpose* shall we make friends ? *That they may receive us into EVERLASTING habitations !* Can the children of *mammon* receive us into EVERLASTING habitations ? Not, certainly, into heavenly abodes, to which our Saviour of course refers. The word “*everlasting*,” then, clearly shews that the friends to be gained are not *worldly* friends, but friends *there*, where only everlasting habitations, *such as Christ directs us to seek*, are really to be found.

And all the subsequent verses shew that these friends are to be gained by integrity in our *worldly transactions*, according to the interpretation which we have given to the first part of the verse : “*Make for yourselves friends by your conduct in worldly affairs.*”

#### VERSES 10—13.

“ He that is faithful in that which is least [i. e., *in worldly matters*] ,

Is faithful also in much [i. e., *in heavenly matters*] ;

If, therefore, ye have not been faithful in the *unrighteous mammon* [i. e., *in your dealings and transactions in this world*] ,

Who will commit to your trust the truth? ( $\tauὸ\ \alphaληθινὸν$ ) [i.e., *who will deem you fit objects for spiritual instruction ?*]

And if you have not been faithful in that which is another man's, [this sentence clearly shews that the conduct of the unjust steward, instead of being praised, even, to any special or particular intent, was held up to total, absolute, unmitigated reprobation by our Saviour, who thus directly opposes his own divine judgment to the worldliness of the master in the parable.]

Who will give you that which is your own? [Your spiritual zeal, expressed in prayer, fasting, and the ceremonial part of religion, will not avail you towards obtaining that heavenly mansion to which you may think yourselves entitled by these observances.]

No servant can serve two masters;

For either he will hate the one, and love the other;

Or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.

YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON. [If you "make yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," according to the popular construction of that phrase, you certainly "serve God and mammon" (supposing you to be Christians). But the supposed permission to serve mammon was so delightful to men of the world, that they took no notice of the direct contradiction at the close of the discourse.]

Taking the whole context together, nothing can be plainer than that there is an *ellipsis* in the ninth verse, which we are not only authorized, but bound to supply; just as we should, even without the aid of St. Matthew x. 37, have corrected the suspicious phrase of St. Luke xiv. 26.

The sentence (supplying the ellipsis) will be as follows:—

"But I say unto you, Make for yourselves friends by your conduct in worldly affairs [but let those friends be *heavenly* friends, not *worldly* friends of the children of iniquity], that when you die they may receive you into everlasting habitations [instead of the temporal habitations, precarious and insecure, into which the friends of this world might receive you in your lifetimes].

To understand this verse in any other than the preceding, or some cognate meaning, seems an impious and abominable perversion of the text, and justly affords that handle for sceptical objections for which the genuine text (correctly understood) affords not the slightest pretext.

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With this attempt to elucidate a singularly misapplied text, we shall close our observations on the PARABLES, having, as we hope, satisfactorily shewn—1. The general importance, or rather necessity, of the system of instruction by parables adopted by

our Lord. 2. What technical divisions and rules of criticism are likely to be most useful in deciding as to their meaning. And 3. The certainty (illustrated by one remarkable example) that any objections which can be urged against particular parables arise merely from an imperfect comprehension of the real objects and meaning of the evangelic text.

H. C.

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### **THE GENESIS OF THE EARTH AND OF MAN.\***

THERE are two books of the Bible about which there has been more speculation than about all the rest. These books—one the first, and the other the last of the sacred canon—alike relate what can scarcely be said to come within the range of human experience. The consequence has been, that owing to the difficulty of detecting errors, a host of theorists have come forth, each with his own pet scheme of interpretation. The plans thus propounded have been often ingenious, subtle, consistent, etc. ; they have been defended with arguments derived from Scripture texts, history, science, etc. ; they have been devised by men of learning, faith, and zeal. Each of them has gained some adherents and attracted some attention, and then been laid up in the catacombs of Christian literature. The failure of a long succession seems to have little or no influence, except it be to stimulate new attempts, and the series knows no termination. We do not complain of this, because there is usually something good in every work of this description, and the forlorn hope of discovering some theory which shall be universally accepted or undoubtedly true, leads to many curious investigations of the sacred text, and of subjects which seem to be connected with its interpretation.

From these general remarks we turn to the volume to which this article refers, and the history of which is somewhat connected with this Journal. Its theory appears to have been first propounded in a privately printed pamphlet, of which an account was published in our number for January, 1855. This was followed in July of the same year by a reply, in which the leading positions of the pamphlet were combated. Two other communications subsequently appeared in this Journal, and before long the first edition of the *Genesis of the Earth and of Man* was

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\* *The Genesis of the Earth and of Man; or, the History of Creation, and the Antiquity and Races of Mankind, considered on Biblical and other Grounds.* Edited by Reginald Stuart Poole, M.R.S.I., etc. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London : Williams and Norgate. 1860.

published. What reception the work met with from the reading public we know not ; but its author has felt justified in prosecuting his enquiries, and has brought out a second and amended edition.<sup>b</sup> The editor, Mr. R. S. Poole, endorses the views of the writer ; but as, on a former occasion, he declined to be held responsible for them, we must lose sight of him, and simply deal with the book.

In the first chapter, on the genesis of the earth, we are informed that the author of the account of the creation probably received the revelation of the facts by means of a series of *visions*. The inspired penman therefore saw six visions, or visible representations of the successive stages of the work of creation. What we call the record of the six days' work is the record of these visions ; and the expressions which seem to denote the days of creation, actually refer to the nights in which the visions were seen. In the words of the author, the narrative "is most probably the relation of a revelation by means of a series of visions." He thinks that many advantages are connected with this theory, that it removes many difficulties, and is quite in harmony with the facts of creation. He goes further than this, and suggests that his views appear to follow from the very wording of the narrative. A fuller statement of the theory is contained in the following passage :—

" If we thus understand it as a description of a series of visions, we may naturally regard the words 'and it was evening, and it was morning, day first'—'day second'—and so on (not well rendered in our Authorized Version), as denoting the limits of time between which the first vision and the second, etc., occurred. The phrase here used, where it is said, 'it was evening, and it was morning,' is not like the expression 'evening-morning' in Daniel viii. 14 (where 'two thousand and three hundred evening-mornings' are mentioned as the period of the events represented in what is afterwards called '*the vision of the evening and the morning*', though no sound critic understands even these 'evening-mornings' as natural days); nor is it like the term *νύχθημερον* in 2 Cor. xi. 25. And the word rendered 'day' in 'day first,' 'day second,' etc., is one which, in countless instances, it would be absurd to understand as meaning 'day in opposition to night'; as, for example, in Exodus xii. 41, where it is said, 'the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt;' for it is said in the next verse that they went out by *night*.

" We do not find the opinion here expressed as to the manner in

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<sup>b</sup> The second edition differs considerably from the first. Some things are omitted, and less prominence given to others ; but some arguments are developed, and new facts and proofs are adduced. Taken as a whole, we quite think the new edition a great improvement upon its predecessor, to which we shall make no further special reference.

which the acts of creation were revealed, merely upon the general analogy of cases recorded in Scripture, without a consideration of the question, To whom was the revelation originally communicated? It is held by many (perhaps we might truly say by almost all) of the best Biblical critics, on grounds that appear to us to be such as hardly admit of any other inference, that the book of Genesis mainly consists of a number of distinct pieces or documents, not revealed to Moses, but collected and arranged by him under the guidance of inspiration. Several individuals we know, received divine communications before the time of Moses. Among them were Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph; and we think that we have the strongest reason for believing that, to every one of these God revealed his instructions, when not by means of an angel, as he did to prophets in general: that is, as he did to him of whom (spoken of as being one of a *class*, and designated by an appellation which signifies any man who makes known a revelation or any similar communication, whether relating to the past or the future,) he says, ‘in a vision I make myself known unto him; in a dream I speak with him’: not as he did to Moses, respecting whom he proceeds to say, by way of distinction and contrast, ‘mouth to mouth I speak with him; and apparently; and not in parables’ (Numb. xii. 6—8). These are the only modes of revelation that we find explained in the Old Testament; and as the last of them is restricted to the case of Moses, it follows that, if the events described in the first chapter of Genesis were (as so many of the best critics hold them to have been) revealed before his time, and not by means of an angel (a medium of communication not there mentioned nor indicated), *the Scripture warrants no other explication than that which we have proposed.* It is expressly stated at the close of the Pentateuch, and evinced by all that follows in the Bible, that “there arose not a prophet [or ‘spokesman of God’ (see Exodus vii. 1 comparing it with iv. 16)] since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face,” until the fulfilment of the prediction in Deut. xviii. 15 and 18 (of the coming of the Saviour); and clearly there was none such *before* Moses. Nor does it appear that any before or after him, until the Saviour’s advent, received a revelation of any *event*, past or future, otherwise than by means of an angel (expressly mentioned or plainly indicated) or in a dream or vision; and hence the appellation *seer*. ‘Prophecy [or ‘the uttering of revelation’] came not at any time by the will of man; but being carried away [or ‘rapt’ (*φερόμενοι*)] by the Holy Spirit, the holy men of God spake’ (2 Peter i. 21). See Ezekiel iii. 12 and 14, viii. 3, and xi. 1 and 24; where, when ‘the heavens were opened,’ and ‘he saw visions of God,’ the Prophet says, ‘the spirit took me up;’ ‘the spirit lifteth me up and took me away;’ ‘the spirit lifteth me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem;’ etc. As is the case of the ordinary dreamer, so was that of the seer in his dream or vision, receiving a revelation from God, inasmuch as his will had no agency to evoke, or shape, or modify what he saw or heard; and though sometimes his mind was active, so that he reasoned upon these things with the revealer, frequently it appears to be wholly passive. Whatever may be thought of mere internal inspiration, as to its being verbal or not, the Scripture plainly teaches that in a revelation of the kind to which we

refer, that of the creation, the seer, in effect, ‘heard the words of God,’ and ‘saw the vision of the Almighty.’ ”

With reference to the statements contained in this extract, we will only remark that they have brought no conviction to our mind, and that we can see no trace of *visions* in the record of the creation. The peculiar expressions “evening and morning” have been often and satisfactorily explained, and the term “day” would never be suspected to signify the operations exhibited in a vision. Our author, however, thinks otherwise, as will appear from the following:—

“ A writer in a periodical publication (*The Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1855), remarking upon an abstract of a small pamphlet to which we originally intended to confine our observations on the subjects here treated, and which had been printed for private distribution, objects to our view of the record of the acts of creation, and says that ‘the seer does not give the remotest intimation that it is not the most rigidly historical narrative.’ We think that he *does* give an intimation, and one not remote, of its being the relation of a series of visions in the words, ‘and it was evening, and it was morning, day first’—‘day second’—and so on. For these words appear to us very plainly to denote that the events after the mention of which they occur are represented as though taking place in the *night*, between evening and morning; not between evening and evening, in four-and-twenty hours; nor between morning and evening: and we can hardly suppose that *the events themselves* took place in periods which can either properly or metaphorically be termed ‘nights.’ We think that in one *night* the darkness was seen to withdraw itself, and the *light* to appear; that in another, the *sun* was seen, as well as the moon and the stars; and that in the night of the seventh day no vision of creation was beheld, God having then ‘rested’ ‘from all his work which he had made.’ But what we have before advanced as the grounds of our opinion must, we think, be admitted by every impartial judge to be at least sufficient to shew that it is *most probably* correct; and this is, perhaps, all that we should expect to establish, and all that can be reasonably desired by the geologist who wishes to believe the sacred record. We should ourselves be fully satisfied, without other evidence, by the consideration that the narrative of the creation is manifestly true if it be a relation of events revealed to the eye, accompanied by explanatory words, and that it is not so otherwise; for some undoubted visions are related in the Bible without any statement of their being revelations of this kind; as the vision of Jeremiah which we have already mentioned, that of Jacob at Mahanaim, and that of Micaiah. It is therefore not a case without parallels if the person to whom the revelation in question was made received it in a series of visions, and related it to his children or others in ambiguous terms, withholding (as Cornelius did in relating his vision to St. Peter) the explanation that he received it in this manner; an explanation which might have excited doubts of its truth in the minds of his hearers, who probably knew no other instance of revelation with which to compare the mode of its manifestation.”

He afterwards expresses the opinion that “the words rendered in the Authorized Version, ‘And God saw,’ occurring seven times, may signify, without the change of a letter or even of a vowel point, ‘And God shewed.’”

Again : he suggests that the expression “God ended” may be rendered, “*caused to disappear, to vanish, or to be no longer seen,*” and that he regards this rendering as decidedly preferable. We presume these suggestions will be regarded as more ingenious than probable.

The opposer of the vision theory, among other objections, after observing that the narrative looks like a rigidly historical one, and that to explain it as a record of visions deprives it of its positive and simple historical character, says that the Scriptures furnish not a single instance of a revelation of past events ; *i. e.*, of a history by means of a vision. The author quotes five cases in which he believes it was so, viz., Gen. xx. 3 ; Matt. i. 20 ; ii. 19, 20 ; Acts ix. 10—16 ; and Dan. ii. 19. None of these present any difficulty, because in not one of them are we informed that a dramatic or visible representation of past events took place. In one of them (Acts ix. 12) we have reported a vision of an event yet future. In four of them the communications were by *words* and not by representations, and in one we are not told (Dan. ii. 10); but we have no reason to suppose that Daniel *saw* Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. It was objected that the vision theory was inconsistent with the declaration that “in six days the Lord made heaven and earth;” and to this it is replied, that if the periods represented by the visions were of equal duration, there is no contradiction. As this opens the enquiry what the word “day” really means in the narrative of the creation, we must not pause to consider it : we are of course well aware that the word has in all languages a proper and an extended application, but this is not the question we have to discuss. We quote the following, in order that we may give the author an opportunity of recommending his hypothesis.

“The explanation which we have proposed is obviously consistent with the theory of the continuity, as well as with that of the discontinuity, of the series of changes which the earth and its appertenances have undergone. For it regards each of the supposed visions as relating to some one, or more, of the principal phenomena characterizing that series of changes, without *necessarily* denoting any absolute interruption, from first to last. Nay, rather, by the correspondence of each night-vision to a period afterwards termed a ‘day,’ it implies a succession of *gradual* changes, each like the change from day to night; which latter, be it observed, is not a period of *total* privation of light. It is therefore perfectly consistent with the fact, that certain species of animals and plants

have become wholly (though gradually) destroyed, while others have survived and new ones have been brought into being: a case somewhat similar to that resulting from a pestilence in a country inhabited by different races, some of them more obnoxious to its fatal influences than others. It admits that the periods to which it relates *may* have been as intimately connected, one with another, as those of a history represented only by a few scenes of a drama; and that many of the changes which geology makes known to us, as having taken place in the condition of the earth and of its animals and plants, may have occurred during only *one* of those periods. In short, it concedes to the philosopher all the license that he can desire to enjoy in his speculations. For while unmistakeable evidences of some of the facts which it indicates, and of the verisimilitude of all the rest of them, as far as appearances are concerned, are conspicuous in the discoveries of geologists, and in the inferences which are drawn from those discoveries, it leaves an inexhaustible source of study open to scientific research by its regarding the revelation as confined to the exhibition of a few scenes represented by images of objects familiar to the sight of all mankind."

The second chapter on the genesis of man involves a resuscitation of the pre-Adamite theory, with several new features. Adam was the first individual of a new variety of a species which had universally sinned, but not become extinct: as he was sinless, however, he needed a sinless wife. Eve was so called because she should be the mother of many children. According to this there were sinful men, and men who died before Adam was created. That Eve was the mother of all living was a great objection to this, and hence the explanation of the phrase as the mother of many children. Surely the author does not expect us to receive this, which is a liberty we are not disposed to concede. Wherever תְּאֵן or תְּאֵן occur they demand a very different interpretation. Other texts which seem to condemn the author's theory are discussed, and several are adduced in support of it. It is difficult to say in which branch of the argument most success is attained, but our impression is that the grand difficulty still stands untouched. We freely admit the skill and patience of the writer, we much approve of the sober, reverent tone in which he writes, and we recognize a modest use of some of his arguments, which theorists are not always characterized by.

The texts in which non-Adamic races or pre-Adamic races are supposed to be referred to are numerous; and we must suppose, if the sense here put upon them is correct, that the doctrine of this work was *held and set forth* by the whole succession of the inspired penmen, while utterly unknown as an article of the popular faith. On some topics we could imagine something analogous, but not upon one which involved considerations of so great importance, and which related to the known

belief of the Church of God in all ages. Yet while so many of the sacred writers taught the doctrine of the pre-Adamites, they never attempted to correct the opinion of their followers, whether Jews or Christians, who all believed that Adam was the first man, and that all nations have descended from him. It is customary to quote Scripture now-a-days for everything, and the cabbala of modern criticism can find arguments for, if not the elements of, every new scheme of philosophy, physic, or divinity. Nevertheless, in our judgment, the author has damaged his cause by quoting Scripture in support of it. Had he been content with endeavouring to shew that the Scripture did not contradict it, he would have acted more wisely.

The popular theory respecting Adam and the descent of all nations from him, finds expression in the early versions of the Scriptures, as well as in ancient uninspired writers, both Jewish and Christian. It may not be uninteresting to some of our readers if we illustrate this point by a few references, inasmuch as it belongs to our subject, and is suggestive in relation to the argument of our author, who finds pre-Adamites both in the Old Testament and the New.

The passage, Gen. iii. 20, may be selected as an example for the versions, of which we quote a few, and then give some allusions to early Christian fathers :—

“And the man (Adam) called the name of his wife Eve, because she was the mother of every one alive.”

*LXX.*—“And Adam called the name of his wife Zoe (Life), because mother of all the living.”

*Targum of Onkelos.*—“And Adam called the name of his wife Eve, for she was mother of all the sons of men.”

*Syriac Peschito.*—“And Adam called the name of his wife Eve, because she was mother of every one that is alive.”

*Latin Vulgate.*—“And Adam called the name of his wife Heva, because she was the mother of all living.”

The *Arabic version* printed in Walton’s Polyglott, calls Eve “the mother of every *rational* living thing.”

Josephus imitates the LXX. in translating לְבָנָה as a plural, “all the living,” which shews what sense he attached to it.

The writer of the epistle ascribed to Barnabas occasionally quotes the narrative of man’s creation, and these words among others: “Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth.” He evidently supposed there were no others to fill it.

Clement, in his first epistle, gives an abstract of the account of the creation, and when he has enumerated the rest he says, “Above all, that which was most excellent and great in understanding, man, he formed with holy and undefiled hands, the copy

of his own image. For thus God saith, Let us make man after our image and likeness. And God made man, male and female he made them," etc. Elsewhere he speaks of "our father Adam."

Justin Martyr, in his exhortation to the Greeks, quotes an ancient oracle with approval: "Having made the first of mortals and called him Adam."

Theophilus, of Antioch, calls Adam "the first man."

Adam is termed the "forefather" (*προπάτωρ*), the "progenitor" (*πρόγονος*), etc., of the human race, by many of the Fathers. Thus Eusebius, in the eighth book of the *Evangelical Preparation*, says that God "signifies every man by the appellation Adam," whom he terms, *πρόγονος καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων προπάτωρ*, the progenitor and forefather of all men.

Theodoret has a lengthy discussion upon the first chapters of Genesis, and his language is sometimes very strong; but it would have no force if Adam were not literally the first man and the introducer of sin and death to the human race, all which is denied by our pre-Adamite author. To declare their belief in this relation of Adam, new words were invented, and considerable ingenuity exhibited in constructing phrases and epithets. Some of these are not easily translateable, so as to give their full force. Adam was *ἀρχέγονος* and *πρωτογόνος*; the *ἀρχηγέτης* of our race—its *ἀπαρχή* and *ρίζα*: he was *πρωτόκτιος*, first-created of men: he was *πρωτοπλαστος*, the first-formed. This latter designation occurs in the Book of Wisdom, vii. 1: "I myself also am a mortal man like to all, and the offspring of him that was first-made of the earth." And again, chap. x. 1: "He preserved the first-formed father of the world that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall, and gave him power to rule all things." Ignatius uses the same word in the Epistle to the Philippians, sec. 11, where he addresses the devil as the crooked serpent, etc., who rose up against the *protoplasts*, and thrust them away from the commandment. Chrysostom uses this term over and over again of Adam and Eve, whom Gregory of Nyssa designates *πρωταρικὰς καὶ κορυφαλούς ἡμῶν ὑποστάσεις*. Most of these and others will be found in Suicer, Suidas, etc., and we may add that similar terms were made use of in the Latin and Oriental churches, who uniformly held with us these propositions:—

1. That Adam was the proper name of a man.
2. That this man Adam was the first of the race.
3. That he was the father of all the human race.
4. That his transgression brought sin into the world.
5. That his sin brought death to our race, and all the pain and misery which precede or attend it.

6. That therefore there was neither man, nor human sin, misery, and death before Adam.

We have not quoted these things to prove what will not be denied—that Jews and Christians have always regarded Adam as the first of men, and the father of the race. If the inspired penmen taught a different doctrine, there is nothing to shew that any suspicion of such doctrine was entertained by their readers.

But there is another formidable objection which we have not yet named: it is this. That if Adam *saw in six visions the works of creation* represented, the formation of pre-Adamites must have been included. The record alludes to no such human beings. They would not be included in the work of either the first, second, third, or fourth days, and they are not in the fifth. The sixth day's work relates unquestionably to the creation of Adam and Eve. This must be admitted by our author, who says that “the Adam,” or “Adam,” is the peculiar designation of the Adamite race and its founder, as distinguished from others. Now God said, “Let us make man (Adam) in our image.” “And God created the Adam in his image, in the image of God he created *him*, a male and a female he created *them*,” etc. To our mind the conclusion is irresistible, that on the author's own principle there could have been no pre-Adamites. To prevent mistake, however, we give his own words:—

“Sixthly,—agreeably with what took place when the features of the land and sea, and the characters of their animal and vegetable occupants were about to become, for the most part, nearly what they now are—that cattle and other animals of the land came into view as though brought forth by the earth; the representation of these also being similar to that of the aquatic animals and the birds, and that of the plants; and then man, represented by him to whom the revelation was most probably made, together with his wife. The words by which the last act of creation is introduced we would literally render, ‘We will make Adam in our image, after our likeness; and they shall have dominion,’ etc.; understanding these words (not as the expression of a desire, seemingly addressed to ministering angels, as the pseudo-Jonathan supposes, but) as an announcement made to the seer of the event next to be represented.

“The Creator is then shewn to be *resting* ‘from all his work which he had made,’ probably by the disappearance of the earth and the heaven, as in St. John's vision of the *eternal sabbath*, of which this last portion of the revelation is affirmed by St. Paul to be a *type*, as we have already observed. But this term ‘resting’ is not to be understood in its fullest sense; it is obviously *relative* as well as *figurative*; by no means implying that those very laws by which *continual* changes were effected in former periods, from the earliest existence of the earth, are not in operation *now*; but only that since the last recorded act of creation God has originated in

our earth *no new species*.—The sixth ‘day’ may be said to have gradually changed into *night*, a night of *extinction*, with respect to multitudes of its species, remains of which are found with those of species still existing. And especially with respect to *man*, it may be said, agreeably with the language of Scripture, that the ‘day’ of his creation has been followed by a *night*, that night of *moral darkness* in the deepest gloom of which came the flood.”

He has just before stated his opinion that each of the six first cosmogonic days was preceded by a figurative night, and great successive changes in the physical conditions of the earth, and therefore the pre-Adamites can belong to none of the first five days, but must be looked for in the sixth. What our author finds there is declared in the preceding extract. “Man, represented by him to whom the revelation was most probably made, together with his wife.” This man and his wife can be no other than Adam and Eve, because just below he translates the original, “We will make **ADAM** in our image, after our likeness, and they shall have dominion,” etc. The only human beings whose creation was represented were those to whom the promise was made, “They shall have dominion,” etc. Our author supposes there were human beings already existing, and of course that they were superior to brutes. He thinks that he can trace the movements of many of these pre-Adamites, and by various means tells us much about them, and their eventual amalgamation with the Adamites, and so forth. He believes the pre-Adamites were sinners when Adam was created; he admits the flood, but not that it destroyed all men except those with Noah in the ark; and he believes that through intermarriages, all nations are now of “one blood” in an important sense.

It is of course impossible that in this notice we should take up all the questions raised by the volume before us. We shall not even undertake to answer at length an enquiry which is proposed to the writer in this Journal above alluded to. The enquiry is, where we shall find in the genealogy of Genesis x., the Negro, the Malay, etc. That writer would answer that many varieties and tribes of the human race are not included in the enumeration of Moses, or whoever penned that list. He stated, that of the descendants of Noah’s three sons the whole earth was overspread, and he illustrated that statement by naming such nations as his geographical knowledge enabled him to name. He did not trace all the offshoots, nor follow all the migrations which had taken place, because he was probably unacquainted with their existence, and he was not required to know it. It is certain, we think, that he did not mention by name all he was acquainted with, but only some, to shew their number and variety.

With reference to the translation of Genesis ix. 19, while our author objects to the one given in the Authorized Version, we would render it, "These three are the sons of Noah, and from these was all the earth dispersed." This however is not English; and it must mean that they were dispersed over the whole earth. We do not object to the explanation, "the people of the whole *known* earth," because it would imply that the inspired writer knew of no other men. This, again, is fatal to our author's theory; for, 1—he finds numerous references to races not descended from Adam in the sacred text; and 2—he himself finds such races in many places of the earth known to the writer of Genesis; nay, 3—he finds Adamites and non-Adamites living together, and intermarrying *before* the flood as well as after.<sup>c</sup>

A keen criticism would make sad havoc with the arguments of this book; yet it is very interesting. Its author is a diligent and painstaking student, and a man who reveres the sacred volume. From beginning to end we have seen nothing to irritate even the susceptible nerves of an orthodox reviewer, who has not the smallest particle of sympathy with its leading theories. The reasoning is frequently ingenious, and the arguments are often skilfully illustrated, so that it is very possible that superficial readers will be occasionally puzzled. Let them remember, however, that men as well endowed in every respect, both in head and heart, have advocated and defended the old fashioned opinion, which regards the first chapters of Genesis as a simply historical narrative, not a myth, nor the record of visions, but a narrative of facts, the knowledge of which we owe to Divine inspiration. Let them remember that other theories equally ingenious have been propounded, but that men have always returned to the ancient faith. And let them bear in mind that there is no necessity for such a hypothesis as the one we have considered, nor any advantage in it.

B. H. C.

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<sup>c</sup> Our author fancies that Africa was the abode of some of the primitive races, and thinks he can trace the stream of their migrations thence. In our opinion he has, like some others, mistaken the direction of the streams, or regarded their direction as pointing to the actual locality of their sources. We can admit nothing of this kind as demonstration.

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THE ATONEMENT.<sup>a</sup>

THE subject of the Atonement has given rise to unhallowed speculation, not only on the part of those who rejected the Christian system, but of those who have been most zealous in maintaining it. In both cases the evil has arisen from the assumptions of false philosophy. It is a subject in the consideration of which that of the nature of the Deity is involved, and of another which still remains distressingly mysterious,—the nature of evil as connected with the Divine government. That the unaided reason of man should fail in the attempt to solve all the problems relating to the former, is regarded as a thing of course by all who have taken a rational view of the limits of the human faculties; and that it has made no progress whatever in removing the dark cloud which rests upon the latter, is, if possible, still more apparent. Yet both these subjects would seem to be of unbounded *practical importance*: the man who neglects to avail himself of any real light which may be thrown upon them is a fool of the worst sort; the man who studies them from mere philosophical curiosity is scarcely less fatuous.

It is exactly the misery in which creation is involved from the inscrutable curse of evil, which has led to interference on the part of the Deity with the course of nature, in making himself known more definitely than reason could have taught, and in throwing as much light on the evil of our condition as was needful—not to satisfy our curiosity, or even to remove all the pain with which we contemplate it, but to supply and make manifest the means of remedying that evil. Not only is the Atonement exclusively a doctrine of revelation, though beautifully in harmony with right reason when that reason is simply receptive, but the whole subject of revelation may be said to be the Atonement. In nothing has the universal heart of man been more “darkened” than in its conceptions and feelings in reference to the moral nature of Him in whom we “live and move and are.” While all the most ancient terms—those which make the nearest approach to what was originally true—which

<sup>a</sup> *The Sacrifices of Holy Scripture.* Clark's Foreign Theological Library. Third Series. Vol. VI. Hengtenberg's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, etc. 1860.

*The Work of Christ; or, the World reconciled to God.* Sermons preached at Christ Church, St. Marylebone. With a Preface on the Atonement Controversy. By the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A., Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1860.

*The Atonement: its nature, reality, and efficacy.* By D. Dewar, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, and Professor of Church History. Third Edition, enlarged. London: Nisbet, 1860.

designate the supreme Governor, appear to indicate a Being in whom “there is no darkness at all,” shewing that the original conception of Him was one in which his creatures could delight; the result of human depravity, wherever fresh light has not been Divinely given, has been to ascribe the darkest features of human nature to the Deity, and to convert the worship of Him into a real *δεισιδαιμονία*.

The result has been the widest possible separation between God and his intelligent creatures. Not only have the lusts of the flesh in their grosser forms led to ungodliness; not only they who are thus “corrupt and have done abominable works” have said in their heart, “There is no God;” but the “foolish heart” of man has become still more “darkened” by vain imaginings; and civilization itself, where Divine communications have not been received, or have not been heeded, has constantly given birth to the most monstrous forms of wickedness: nay, the sunlight of heaven, where it has not given life, has made the corrupting mass still more putrescent.

The whole object of revelation, then, is to cure the disorders of human nature by bringing men nearer to the source of spiritual health. No man will ever live *soberly* and *righteously*—be a blessing to himself and those about him, except in proportion as he is a *godly* man,—in proportion as he thinks and feels rightly respecting Him in whose image man was created, and in the likeness to whom is the perfection of his being. To bring this state of things about is the *ultimate* aim of all God’s dealings with mankind; and the system of revelation contains a record, if not complete, at least sufficient for its purpose, of what these dealings have been. If the right conception of *history* in general is, that it is not a mere collection of facts related chronologically or otherwise, but (according to the radical meaning of *ἱστορεῖν*) an enquiry after principles which have been developed in the course of events, the history presented in Holy Scripture is perfect in its kind. But it is more than this; the events which it records are such as have been brought about under the special guidance and sometimes by the direct interference of Divine Providence, for the purpose of conducting to certain results; they have been selected from a special portion of human history, so that the field which they occupy may not be too large for human contemplation, and may concentrate the lessons intended to be conveyed. These lessons have not been left to be deduced by reason merely; they have been definitively and authoritatively taught by the wisdom which selected the materials.

If the earnest and deep-thinking Ewald, in his *Geschichte*

*Israel's*, had but recognized the presence of Deity in the whole course of that history, instead of ascribing, as modern Hebrews absurdly do, its abnormal peculiarities to something specially divine in the nature of that people, his work would have been of unrivalled value in pointing out the Divine principles involved in that history, in shewing how every step of it led to the Atonement. So far from the race of Israel being distinguished from the rest of mankind by their natural tendency to what was good, it would almost appear from the divinely-guided pen of their own writers that they were selected from the rest of mankind as being one of the worst specimens of human nature, to shew what the power of Divine grace could do, and to shew what St. Paul humbly speaks of in reference to himself: "For this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first (as the chief of sinners) Christ might shew forth all long suffering." The Saviour of mankind encountered the evil of human nature in its most desperate form when he operated for its cure on the Jewish people, who had become more corrupt than any other people could be, by having become more and more obdurate under the means of grace; and when, after the appliances of ages had been ineffectual, the remedy was found in the heart of Judaism itself, the problem would be of comparatively easy solution for the rest of mankind.

But in considering the nature of the crisis presented in the Atonement, our solemn conviction is, that if we would avoid becoming "in wandering mazes lost," we must absolutely commit ourselves to the Divine account of the matter; there is no rational medium between following implicitly the speculative devices of our own hearts, and taking the Word of God as our necessary guide-book in every step of the enquiry. In these remarks we have nothing to say to the man who rejects revelation as such, except this, that we believe it to be a dictate of right reason which leads our reason to bow to Divine instruction on such a subject as that before us; and that though there are on this subject difficulties which revelation does not solve, they are infinitely less than those among which the wayward intellect is sure to lose itself. If there is any one subject to which a maxim of Calvin (sadly neglected by himself) especially applies, *Hic obmutescere oportet tam dicaces alioqui linguas*, it is that about which the ancient prophets "enquired and searched diligently," and which the "angels desire to look into,"—the sufferings of Christ and their glorious results, *τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας*.

And in speaking of Calvin we are led to remark, that with all the reverence which Melancthon and Luther and Calvin

professed for Scripture, the two former began, and Calvin continued, in false assumptions which distorted their view of the nature and truth of God as exhibited in his Word. It is confessed with regard to Calvin by those who have endeavoured to soften down the blasphemous parts of his system, that "there was a coldness and harshness in Calvin's mind which sometimes led him to regard as *objects of mere intellect* those things which could not but deeply move the feelings of those minds who are differently constituted."<sup>6</sup> All that is really *revealed* of the Divine nature and government was obscured in the mind of Calvin by the dark determinism through which he studied the Word of God. It *was* not, it could not be, the God of revelation, to whom the mind of Calvin was directed, when he ascribed to Him a *decree* which he himself calls *horrible*, according to which the fall and all its consequences were the result of an *influential* appointment which secured its own accomplishment; *ideo præcivit quia decreto suo sic ordinaret*. If Calvin ever delighted in God, and we have no doubt he did, it must have been when he was looking off from his own creation to the God of the Bible. It is in the spirit of that joyless theory that Calvin, and still more those followers of his who have exaggerated the worst parts of his system, speak of the Divine emotions in the most anthropomorphic sense, and in terms which, if strictly interpreted, would divest the Atonement of all real benevolence on the part of God the Father.

Yet, on the other hand, we very much doubt whether the representations of the Divine nature which have been made, especially of late, by theorists of an opposite side, and which are equally unscriptural, are not at least equally mischievous in their tendency with the stern theology of Calvin. To a certain extent it is a wholesome thing to regard with dread the violation of God's law; to associate sin with misery; and to believe that the infliction of punishment which nature provides, and the self-condemnation which conscience proclaims, are His dispensations who guides the sequences of the natural and moral world. That in the course of the special history which has been divinely supplied to us, direct and preternatural interferences of a punitive kind have often appeared, no believer in revelation can doubt. But the natural consequences of vice, traced in all their extent, and especially in their continuance and development into a future state of being, are far more dreadful than any which history records as coming immediately from the hand of God; so that if the "wrath to come" were no other than the

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<sup>6</sup> Scott's continuation of Milner.

unmitigated evil of an absolutely ruined moral nature, the future punishment of the irreclaimably wicked would need no direct infliction to make it equal to all which is predicted of it. "There is no absurdity," says Butler, "in supposing future punishment may follow wickedness of course, as we speak, or in the way of natural consequence from God's original constitution of the world, from the nature He has given us and from the condition in which He places us;" "and (says he) when things come to pass according to the course of nature, this does not hinder them from being his doing who is the God of nature; and the Scripture ascribes those punishments to Divine justice which are known to be natural, and which must be called so when distinguished from such as are miraculous." It is right therefore, and a truth the full force of which it is wholesome to feel, that there is an awful side of the Divine nature and government to which the guilty are naturally exposed. And in the absence or imperfect working of those more generous motives to obedience which the Gospel supplies, the fear and the ultimate certainty of punishment, of the "wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," though it may not be effectual in engendering positive virtue, may "give the sinner pause," and cut off part of the entail of crime; or—which is its intended effect—may dispose the sinner to listen to terms of mercy. But even when those more generous motives are present, seeing they are always imperfect in degree during our present state, the dread of consequences is wholesome, and it will not diminish our love to our Saviour God to feel that He is at irreconcilable enmity with that which is our most dreadful foe, and the devoutest Christian will pray "that we may love and *dread* Thee." But for mortals still sinful to speculate on the Divine nature in the sole aspect of it in which "God is love," or rather to contemplate one only of the elements which constitute that love itself,—one only of the colours which harmoniously constitute that holy light; to speak of the love of God as an indiscriminating passion overbearing all considerations of moral evil, as though it were a universal complacency; is to ascribe to the Deity one of the forms of human weakness which is often dangerous to the object of it, and which lowers the subject of it in the estimation of the wise. The love of God is the love, not of a fond but of a faithful parent, and "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" it is, as St. Augustine says, the *medicamentum* of the soul, while the "perfect love" which "casteth out fear" is "health itself."

At any rate, no man who is willing to regulate his human notions on this subject by what God has been pleased to reveal

respecting himself, will look to either of these extremes as constituting the moral nature of Deity. The Word of God no more represents him as absolute love in the anthropopathic sense, than it exhibits him as absolute justice, like that from which a human magistrate cannot depart by the exercise of mercy. In fact, throughout the sacred volume, the moral nature of Deity is exhibited in an harmonious combination of *truth and love*. The representation contained in Ps. lxxxv. 10, is one which occurs *passim* in the Old Testament, and is often referred to in the Christian Scriptures. Here the two attributes of the Divine nature are most beautifully represented as coming in opposite directions to the most perfect union, μνη τοι, "meet each other," where τοι is tender mercy, and μνη is integrity, as opposed to what is false; and, by an inverted parallelism, the same attributes under different names, φιλων πτε, "kiss each other's lips," where πτε is the sterner virtue, and φιλων is that which speaks peace; used, as Gesenius says, as an address, *des Trostes an Furchtende*. Mercy and truth, light and truth (for God, who is love, is light), are constantly blended to represent the Divine nature as revealed to man. In fact, the word δικαιοσύνη itself, as used in Scripture, combines the idea of *goodness* with that of integrity. This twin attribute was inscribed on the breastplate which was placed on the heart of him who symbolized the great Mediator; and with the same idea, the "Father of lights" is represented as subject to no *variableness*, as joining the *Thummim* with the *Urim*, and bestowing only what is *good and perfect*. So also the perfection of human character, the likeness to Christ, is declared to be the combination of the same attributes. The Ephesians were to grow up unto Christ, attain Christian perfection by the union of truth and love, ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ. We know not how that mind is constituted, or rather, we cannot think it to be in a right condition, which does not perceive in this scriptural image of God the perfection of virtue, and does not delight in it as such. The integrity of the Deity, his faithfulness to his word, is that which gives a sterling value to his benevolence. When it is said, "in him there is no darkness at all," it is declared that there is the utter absence of what is false as well as of what is malignant. When the Divine benevolence pours forth its promises, ravishes the heart with the expectation of good, in which there is to be "the fulness of joy," what is to assure us that these promises are *precious* as well as great, but our being able to say, "Hath he said it, and will he not do it? hath he promised, and will he not make it good?" And when He who loves mankind has in his faithful goodness shewn himself the enemy of sin, and uttered denunciations

against that violation of nature which tends to ruin,—denunciations which are at least *expressed in terms* of displeasure; when, in short, to use the language of Scripture itself, “the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men,” we expect beyond all doubt that something will come of it which will fully establish the truth of God, as confidently as we believe that all his promises will be fulfilled.

Now it has been the universal conviction of Catholic Christianity that this twin attribute of Deity has been supremely manifested in the Atonement by Jesus Christ; although, as we have said, speculations on the *rationale* of the Atonement have passed far beyond what Scripture warrants, and have been pushed to conclusions which Scripture contradicts, and from which right reason recoils, yet the statements of Scripture are so copious, its language is so plain and harmoniously definite, in declaring the fact that the crimes of human nature *procured* the death of God’s dear Son, and that his passion was in some way *efficacious* in averting the impending ruin from the race of men; that both orthodox Christians and infidels have agreed in regarding this as the “particular system of Christianity.” In defending this system as against the infidel, Bishop Butler has stated, with the caution which such a defence required, the received doctrine of the “redemption of the world by the Mediator.” He says, “Had the laws, the general laws of God’s government, been permitted to operate, without any interposition on our behalf, the future punishment, for aught we know to the contrary, or have any reason to think, must inevitably have followed, notwithstanding anything we could have done to prevent it.” And the most important step of this interposition he states to be, that “Christ offered himself a propitiatory sacrifice, and made atonement for the sins of the world.” He gives this as the sense which both the advocates and the opponents of the Christian system derived from the documents in which that system is authoritatively given. And the more the whole system of revelation is examined, of which in fact the sufferings of Christ and the glory which should follow is the *nucleus*; whether Scripture be occupied with “that which the Spirit of Christ did signify,” which was in the ancient prophets, or with the divinely ordered symbolism of the ancient Church, or with the history of its *eclaircissement* in the New Testament, or with the reflex reference to the whole theme in the Christian sacrament,—which was at the same time the *ἀνάμνησις* of the Lord, and the *καταγγελία* of his passion—the more impossible will it be found to derive from it anything less than a tragical conception of the

crisis in the human history, which was involved in the Redeemer's passion. Wherever and by whomsoever of the sacred writers this interposition is spoken of, the idea is the same. Our Lord himself says, "The Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many" He set before the minds of his disciples distinctly, by opening up the Scriptures, *διανοίγων καὶ παρατηθέμενος*, that his passion was a Divine necessity (Acts xvii. 3). The Baptist proclaimed him as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. St. Paul, in his most elaborate statement of the Christian system, reiterates the same idea: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." "Who was delivered for our offences" (Rom. iii. 23, 25). "In due time Christ died for the ungodly;" "we were justified by his blood" (Rom. v. 6, 10). "In that he died, he died unto sin once for all" (Rom. vii. 10), compared with Heb. ix. 27, 28; "As it is appointed to men once to die, and after death the judgment, so also Christ was once for all offered to bear the sins of many." St. Peter applies in its literal sense the language of Isaiah liii. to the Atonement made by Christ; and St. John, who dwells with rapture on the love of God, speaks of the "blood of Jesus Christ his Son, as that which cleanseth us from all sin," and of Christ Himself as our *ἱλασμός*. Now we have here, and in many other statements to the same effect, not a passage or two taken out of its connexion, and which, either with or without the help of the context, may be explained away; it is the constant theme of revelation where revelation is most absolutely Divine, and its constant testimony is—which seems as if it must be unmistakeable by all who were willing to attend to it—that the passion of Christ was in itself effectual in *altering the relations* between a holy and righteous Governor, and a race of beings who had ruined themselves and become obnoxious to penalties which the faithfulness of Divine goodness had denounced. This testimony teaches us (to use the words of Butler), that "the Son of God interposed in such a manner as was necessary and effectual to prevent that execution of justice upon sinners which God had appointed should otherwise have been exercised upon them; or in such a manner as to prevent that punishment from actually following which, according to the general laws of Divine government, must have followed the sins of the world, had it not been for such interposition." But it also teaches us that this interposition, in one aspect of it, was that of *substitution*. Whatever the natural or appointed consequences of human

guilt may be called, whether we designate them *punishment* or not, the language of Scripture enforces the idea that they fell on him who interposed. The language of prophecy on this subject is reiterated and emphatically sanctioned in the New Testament; "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace (by which our reconciliation was effected), was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed." While St. Paul says, *παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν*, St. Peter says, he gave himself up to him who judgeth righteously, *παρεδίδου τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως*; and the apostle goes on to declare what this *παράστασις* was,— "Who bore our sins in his own body on the tree."

We are plainly taught that by these means a change was made in the *aspect with which man was regarded*; that whereas, apart from this interference on the part of the Son of God, the attitude of the Divine government is represented to us by the term *ὄργη*, men "were by nature children of wrath," the result of it is represented by *ἱλάσκεσθαι*, in which Christ by his work is the *ἱλασμός*, or reconciliation. "The apostles speak of reconciliation through the death, the sacrifice of Christ, with so great a strength of simplicity, and with so much emphasis, that it is impossible to attach a mere symbolical meaning to their words. Where a real *ὄργη* of the holy God is spoken of, there *ἱλάσκεσθαι* (in which God becomes *ἱλεώς*, so that he manifests *ἔλεος* instead of *ὄργη*), is to be taken literally. The Old Testament offerings were symbolical, and on this account typical, but the sacrifice of Christ had actual reality, immediate and eternal efficacy."

We cannot see how it is possible that any honest and intelligent man, who really admits the authority of Scripture, can help perceiving, from the whole harmonious account of the subject thus much, that the passion of the Messiah was an event of unspeakable importance in its nature and results; that it formed a most solemn and mysterious crisis in the history of the Divine proceedings, in which a pre-eminently supernatural interference turned the current of human destinies; that the Son of God received upon his own person the "condemnation," whatever may be included in that term, which would otherwise have ruined the race of man; and that the result of it was, "there is now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." The object and the effect of it was to "destroy the works of the devil;" to undo the mischief which had been done upon human nature and the human race by the evil one, in pro-

ducing estrangement between man and God; and, in short, to manifest in Christ and his cross a fountain head of life and health, as the first transgressor was a fountain head of disease and death. Such are the facts of the case, as Divinely and unmistakeably declared, and as always understood by the universal Church; and though reason, in the obedient reception of them, will increasingly perceive their harmony with its purest dictates, reason can discover nothing beyond them, and must feel, as long as she sees through a glass darkly, that there are obscurities in the background of them which she cannot penetrate. Every right-thinking man must feel as Düsterdieck expresses himself, that "to understand the side of the matter which relates to God, the blessed harmony immanent in his holy being of the righteousness which required the sacrifice on the part of the Son, and of the grace which gave him up as an offering for enemies, is a mystery which will be given to believers to understand only then when they see God himself." "If the Scripture has," says Bishop Butler, "as surely it has, left this matter of the satisfaction of Christ mysterious, left somewhat in it unrevealed, all conjectures about it must be, if not evidently absurd, yet at least uncertain. . . . Some have endeavoured to explain the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered for us, beyond what the Scripture has authorized; others, probably because they could not explain it, have been for taking it away, and confining his office as Redeemer of the world to his instruction, example, and government of the Church. Whereas the doctrine of the Gospel appears to be, not only that he taught the efficacy of repentance, but rendered it of the efficacy of which it is by what he did and suffered for us."

In the generally excellent treatise of Dr. Dewar on the Atonement, he does not appear to be of Bishop Butler's mind as to the existence of this mystery. He says:—

"I entirely concur in the opinion that the Atonement in its nature and principle is *not one of those mysteries* that are still hid in the Divine mind, and which it is not within our province at all to explore; but that there are statements and representations in God's word, such as warrant our speaking about it even with some measure of explicit understanding; in what way it is that by the substitutionary sufferings of such a Mediator, Jehovah so manifests his righteousness for the remission of sins as that he may justify the ungodly in full consistency with the maintenance of its claims, and even to the augmentation of its honour; and on what ground consequently it is that such Atonement was necessary. Accordingly I have attempted to establish its hypothetical necessity."

He then complains of the vagueness and indefiniteness of the language we have given from Butler, and says:—

" It is remarkable that so acute a writer should have mistaken the object and design of the Atonement. This was the occasion of his obscurity and indecision respecting its nature. In place of viewing it as set forth in Scripture as the divine method of declaring the righteousness of God in the bestowment of forgiveness ; a method by which the honour of the law and of the lawgiver is maintained and magnified, while the sinner is pardoned and saved ; the Atonement is regarded as having an efficacy to put sinners into a capacity of salvation by imparting virtue to their repentance ; and thus in place of saving them as the foundation of their acceptance with God, it only puts them into a capacity to save themselves ; and instead of meriting their salvation, it gives a meritorious virtue to their repentance. With such a mistaken apprehension of the object and design of the Atonement, we need not wonder at the confusion and difficulty felt by this eminent author."

Now, in the first place, with regard to the mystery, the unrevealed *arcana* of God's judgments, which Bishop Butler felt to exist in relation to this subject, we do not believe that he would think it in the slightest degree cleared by Dr. Dewar's "hypothetical necessity." He would, we suspect, feel that in giving the *rationale* of the subject which is common to a particular school, Dr. Dewar was doing little more than multiplying words without knowledge. He might still say, "I do not find that Scripture has explained it ;" for he would not recognize Dr. Dewar's reasoning as either scriptural or logical, as thus :—

" No satisfaction for sin was sufficient, less than that which was rendered by Christ. No atonement could be accepted unless it were *proportionable* to the wrong which had been done, and to the infinite majesty of the Most High. If it fell short of these ends, it would have fallen infinitely short of them ; and the same reasons which rendered it necessary that an Atonement should be made, rendered it necessary that such an Atonement should not be accepted. Nothing of less value than the atoning sacrifice of Christ could attain the ends which rendered full satisfaction for one sin necessary ; but there was to be removed the guilt of a great multitude which no man could number who had rebelled against a holy God, who had attempted to bring dishonour on his government, and who had alienated their hearts from his worship and service."

Often as this sort of language has been used, it really has no meaning. What is meant by the *value* of the sacrifice of Christ in this connexion ? Was the suffering and death of God's dear Son a *gain* to the Father so valuable as to compensate for anything he had lost ? What is meant by the *satisfaction* for sin ? What sort of an equation is that which puts the sufferings of an infinite Being on one side, and infinite guilt on the other ? At any rate, there is not one word in Scripture which leads to such an incongruous calculation of infinites.

But again, Dr. Dewar ascribes to the alleged error of the bishop in not adopting this theory, what he calls his "obscurity and indecision," his "confusion and difficulty respecting the nature of the Atonement." We must express our surprise at the manner in which Dr. Dewar has allowed himself to misrepresent Butler's statement; that statement is, that Christ "not only taught the efficacy of repentance, but *rendered it of the efficacy of which it is by what he did and suffered for us.*" Whereas the doctor represents it thus: "In place of *saving them as the foundation of their acceptance with God (!),* it only puts them into a capacity *to save themselves;* and instead of meriting their salvation, it gives a *meritorious virtue* to their repentance." Now does Dr. Dewar mean to say that by means of what Christ has done and suffered repentance is *not efficacious?* For what is repentance? Is it not a return to obedience and all the fruits of it which is the great object of God's dispensations; the conciliation of the heart of man to God being is that part of Atonement which relates to man? Bishop Butler had urged that supposing a sinner to have undergone this change of moral direction, there was no reason to suppose that it would of itself undo the mischief which had been done; that it would have had any efficacy in procuring pardon for the past, and preventing the punishment due to it in the order of God's providence. But in Christ Jesus repentance *has* this efficacy, not from any merit belonging to it, but by virtue of what Christ has done and suffered. Where is there a single word in this statement which speaks of a sinner *saving himself* by his repentance, or which ascribes any inherent *meritorious virtue* to it? What Dr. Dewar means by the work of Christ *saving* men as the foundation of their acceptance with God we cannot understand, at least in any sense consistent with orthodoxy. To be saved is to be made *safe* objectively and to be *cured* subjectively, and if this result is the foundation of our acceptance with God, the person accepted as saved is accepted on his own account; whereas God through Christ accepts the guilty, and this acceptance is the objective part of their salvation. It is not the first time we have observed that theologians of Dr. Dewar's way of thinking have missed the sense, and misrepresented the doctrine of writers like Bishop Butler, who have not dared to speculate beyond what Scripture has revealed.

But his reply to the surmises of such men as Macknight, that "the death of Christ was not necessary to the salvation of men," that other ways of salvation were possible, is the right one, and very much like what Bishop Butler would have given. He says:—

"If the question be still pressed, Could not the Deity have adopted some other method equally excellent in itself and equally efficacious of the object? I reply, that the supposition is a presumptuous intrusion into a province altogether out of our reach. Might not the question be endlessly repeated after every hypothesis? Under the administration of Him whose knowledge, wisdom, and rectitude are infinite, the method adopted must be best, and therefore it is the only method that could be adopted. No other scheme than that which is best is possible."

This *à priori* reason is all-sufficient, and Dr. Dewar only weakens his argument when he attempts to assign other reasons by shewing *how* this method was the best. With a few exceptions of the kind we have mentioned, arising as we conceive from dwelling too much on one side of the Christian system, we heartily recommend this work as a valuable addition to our literature on the subject. We had, indeed, hoped to find in it some reference to what we must call a dangerous heresy of modern times, the authors of which have become so popular, that a cause of extreme inherent weakness is recommended by the *prestige* of their reputation; but in this hope we have been disappointed. Perhaps the heavy armed soldiery of the North cannot well bring their weapons to bear upon the unsubstantial forms of southern scepticism.

If Dr. Dewar, on the one hand, believes that the *arcana* of the Atonement may be to some extent penetrated by human reason, he looks upon them with awe and speaks of them with reverence. Mr. Llewelyn Davies, on the other hand, who assumes to be one of the leaders of a new school, regards all the difficulties which have been felt on the subject, and the reverent sense of them, as only an unhealthy *incubus* which, till the manifestation of this new wisdom, had stopped the breath and oppressed the heart of the universal Church. According to him there is no mystery at all about the matter, and therefore no effort is needed to shew how plain it is. The afflicted Church has only to open its eyes and listen to a few cheering words from him, and the darkness is past. While, however, discussing Mr. Davies's popular sermons on the *Work of Christ*, we will not, we dare not imitate his levity, on account both of the gravity of the subject, and the importance of the interests which we feel to be endangered by the extent to which this school has gained the public ear.

It is evident that the cross of Christ—all which Christianity has ever meant by it—is a real stumbling-block to these men. Respectfully as they feel themselves obliged in common decency to speak about it, they do not in the least know what to do with it; and they are fain to hide it away by a cloud of their

peculiar language. Its awful meaning is not to be set aside by more solid arguments, or a more exact interpretation of Scripture, but to be *exploded* as a prejudice. What Mr. Davies means to say and to do on this subject, and the *calibre* of his logic, is plainly exhibited in his first sermon. The text of it is taken from Luke vii. 42 : "When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both." He takes these words as containing a complete account of the terms on which forgiveness is granted. "One would think," says he, "that we are on safe ground here. It would seem that the freest forgiveness of sin of which our human experience gives us any conception, is what our Lord would have us believe in as proceeding from our heavenly Father."

Would any body but Mr. Davies or Mr. Maurice have the thoughtlessness or the effrontery to take a portion of the drapery of a parable, as constituting "safe ground" for determining a question like this? Might he not as safely have taken the words, "The lord commended the unjust steward," as ground for shewing that the artful dodge of villainy is commendable? In fact, the words of Mr. Davies's text furnish equally "safe ground" for concluding that, for the freest forgiveness of sins, there is no need of repentance and amendment of life; that free forgiveness is what the sinner may always reckon upon, whether he asks it repentently or not, however great his crimes, and however persevering his rebellion; for not one word is said about this in the parable any more than there is about the considerations on which forgiveness is granted. Mr. Davies's doctrine, as derived from this text, is that forgiveness is, under all circumstances, the normal attitude of the Divine mind. Thus he says :—

"I have taken the words of my text, 'When they had nothing to pay,' with the design of asking you, my Christian brethren, to consider solemnly what truth of God we are affirming, and what error may be mixed up with it when we utter the word Atonement. It is quite familiar to you that a very prevalent usage of the word calls up, not the great *fact* of reconciliation, but a *theory of the condition* which enabled God the Father to be reconciled to us and to forgive us our sins. *I mean to protest against that theory*; but for no reason more strongly than for this, that it tends to cloud and confuse the one Divine Gospel, that in the Son of God we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins."

He assumes, in fact, that the word Atonement means, and ought to mean, nothing else than the actual state of things implied by the term forgiveness. But, as according to him, it has been associated with false ideas, he would prefer to drop the term altogether, and substitute for it the word *reconciliation*.

But let us examine this device of Mr. Davies to get rid of the very name of a doctrine which is distasteful to him. The word Atonement occurs but once in the English New Testament, and there it answers to the word *καταλλαγή*, which is elsewhere rendered by reconciliation ; but that word is of very frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, and there it signifies beyond dispute not only the fact of reconciliation, but the means by which that reconciliation is brought about. Indeed, it will, we think, be found that in the Old Testament it marks *chiefly* the *process* of reconciliation, as though under the old covenant the result had not been perfectly obtained. The word ἔξιλασθαι or ἔξιλάσκεσθαι is in constant use for the Hebrew *אָלֹת*, *to cover a fault*. It denotes the process by which, or upon which, forgiveness is declared according to the Divine appointment. But in the New Testament, though this propitiation is sometimes mentioned by name under the terms *ἱλασμός* and *ἱλάσκεσθαι*, and the *historical fact of its accomplishment by Christ* is everywhere referred to with the utmost emphasis, yet the state of things now brought about or provided for is represented by the word *καταλλαγή* or *reconciliation*. But this word *καταλλαγή* and *καταλλάσσειν*, which Mr. Davies would make identical with Atonement in his sense of *the fact of the forgiveness of sins*, refers chiefly if not entirely to what the Atonement has provided for in regard to *the moral condition of man*; it is doubtful whether it refers to the state of the Divine mind at all. And this *conciliation* of guilty and alienated man, is constantly ascribed to Christ and his death as the efficient cause. Thus (Rom. v. 10) we were reconciled to God, *κατηλλάγημεν*, by the death of his Son, through whom we have now received the reconciliation, *τὴν καταλλαγήν*; and in that strong strong statement (2 Cor. v. 18, 20), "God has reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ . . . We pray you in Christ's stead *be ye reconciled* to God, for he hath made him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in him." We have the same idea, though expressed in different language, in Eph. ii. 13, 14 : "But now in Christ Jesus, ye who once were afar off (having no hope and no God in the world) are made nigh by the blood of Christ, for he is our peace." Even though it were true that the doctrine of the Atonement contains only the one idea of the absolutely free and unconditional forgiveness of sins on the part of God, Mr. Davies has no right to borrow a term to express this doctrine which is used in Scripture to denote a very different thing.

If he had merely endeavoured to free the genuine scriptural and Catholic doctrine from misconceptions which belong to what we may call the vulgar theology—if he had shewn that the

*misanthropopathic* terms in which the attitude of the Divine mind, apart from the work of Christ, is sometimes spoken of, are quite unwarrantable, he might have done good service; but he has most uncandidly endeavoured to impress his hearers with the belief that there is no medium between adopting these deformities of the doctrine and rejecting it altogether. All which Mr. Davies contends for on the side of the Divine benevolence is maintained as strongly by all sound divines, and sustained by arguments of which his superficial scheme is destitute: that the love of God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of the whole process of man's salvation; that that love was most divinely manifested in the *self-sacrifice* which, on the part of the Father as well as of his beloved Son, was involved in the painful means adopted for our deliverance; and that this love thus manifested is the effectual *motive*, under the mysterious "inspiration of the Holy Spirit," by which the believer is warmed "perfectly to love him, and worthily to magnify his holy name." Whatever Mr. Davies may profess about the influence of the love of God, as he contemplates that attribute, he cannot, consistently with his assumptions, feel that delight in him which they express who speak of "him who hath loved us and given himself for us;" or ascribe to him the height of glory which they do who sing, "Unto him that hath loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood." This is language which Mr. Davies deprives of all real meaning by ascribing to it the utmost extravagance of metaphor.

It is not a mere "theory of the Atonement" against which he is contending; it is against the true interpretation of a large mass of Scripture which all appears to say the same thing in the most simple and emphatic language. He feels, of course, that his success in this endeavour requires that he should explain away the meaning of that Divine institution in the Old Testament, in connexion with which the Passion of Christ must necessarily be viewed, viz., the ordinance of sacrifice. We may consider Dr. Hengstenberg, to whose valuable work on this subject we have referred, as an exponent, with some peculiarities, of the catholic doctrine on this subject. He says:

"The theology of the Church has in all ages assumed that sacrifices bore a substitutionary character: where it has been denied, traces may invariably be detected of some sort of a bias leading to the denial. . . . The laying on of hands in the case of sin offerings did not in itself mark them as vicarious, but because their vicarious character was established on other grounds. Amongst these grounds, the first place is taken by the *name* of the sin offering. It was termed *metz*, "sin." This sacrifice was accordingly looked upon as the embodiment of sin. That there was such

a transference is further confirmed by the fact, that the expression, elsewhere so common, ‘for the good pleasure of the Lord,’ was never employed in connexion with the sin offering. . . . In favour of the imputation of the sin of the offerer to the offering, we may refer to the relation existing between the Old Testament sacrifice and the death of Christ. If it is certain that Christ’s death was vicarious—and that this is its character is clearly set forth even in the Old Testament (*Isa. liii.*)—we cannot deny the same character to the sacrifices, without destroying the connexion between type and antitype. . . .

“Two purposes were in the first instance to be served by sacrifice. The *first* was to sharpen the eye for the discernment of the abominableness and damnableness of sin. Every one who presented a sin offering confessed that he had deserved death by his sin, and thus contradicted most strongly and glaringly that view of sin as a bagatelle, as a peccadillo, as a trifling thing, to which the natural man is so strongly inclined, and which the Mosaic law constantly and industriously aimed to uproot: sin offerings served to make remembrance of sins (*Heb. x. 3.*). The second purpose served by sin-offerings was to naturalize the idea of substitution in the Church or congregation of God. ‘The idea,’ says Hirscher, ‘carried out in the Mosaic cultus, that no guilt can be left as it is, that *none is simply and without further ado forgiven*, but requires in every case a fixed and definite atonement, is a very remarkable one.’ By such means, not only was the people of God accustomed to regard sin as a most serious thing, and prevented from frivolously forgetting it, but also the soil was prepared in its midst for the reception of the true mediation, so soon as in the course of history it has been accomplished. . . .

“Even in the Old Testament, support and substance were given to their presentiments of that true Mediator who lay concealed behind the typical offerings, by Divine utterances, such as those contained in the 53rd chapter of Isaiah—a chapter which, in the truest sense, forms the bridge between the typical and antitypical sin offering. How deeply impressed on their minds was that prophecy concerning the servant of God who should give his life a sacrifice for sin, who should bear our sickness and carry our sorrows, who should be wounded for our transgression, and bruised for our iniquities, on whom the chastisement of our peace would lie, and by whose wounds we should be healed, is clear, from the fact that the idea of the Messiah as the true sin offering, as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world, may be found in a fully developed shape in the nobler forms of later Judaism.”

Again, in speaking of that central ordinance of sacrifice, the Passover, the Professor says:—

“He who slaughtered the Lamb confessed, in symbolical language, that he also, no less than the Egyptians, the children of this world, had deserved to be an object of the Divine displeasure. He declared that he could not claim deliverance on the ground of his own worth, or of any other title, but that he expected it from the grace of God alone. According to the Divine promise, to accept the blood of the innocent Lamb in place of the blood of the sinner, who recognized and felt himself to be such, those

who made this confession received the remission of the punishment of their sins. The principle was thus laid down for all the ages of the Church, that that which distinguishes the Church from the world is the blood of atonement. Nor was the festival of Passover, as celebrated in later times, a mere commemorative festival, as is clear from the continual slaughter of lambs and sacrifices. Wherever there is a sacrifice instituted by God, we may be certain that, provided it is brought in faith, there is a repetition of the first benefit, which is distinguished from the subsequent ones only by its forming the commencement of a long series. The Paschal Lamb was the *basis and root of the entire system of sacrifices*: only as connected with this had the remaining sin offerings value and significance; without it, they were but as disjointed members. It was the true and proper covenant sacrifice—the sacrifice which represented in its highest form the distinction between the world without God, and the people of God reconciled to God."

We would mark emphatically the following earnest declaration:—

"Regarding all that is written concerning the sin offerings of the Old Testament in this light, we shall be in a high degree affected and benefitted thereby. We shall be penetrated by a conviction that sin may not be treated lightly,—we shall feel that we cannot help ourselves to the forgiveness of sins as we like; that according to God's eternal order there is no forgiveness without blood; that it is a crime to think of presenting ourselves before the holy God and his strict judgment-seat with other pretended offerings; that the blood of atonement is the real mark of distinction between the world and the people of God; and finally, that all separations from the world which are not rooted in this blood of atonement must come to a miserable end. A consideration of the Old Testament sin offering will force us nearer and nearer to Christ and his cross, and bring us into more intimate union with him who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood."

Mr. Davies could not of course avoid the subject of sacrifice as connected with the death of Christ. He says:—

"I feel that every expositor of the teaching of Scripture concerning the death of Christ is bound to pay particular attention to the properly sacrificial aspect of that death, and to use the light thrown by the institute of sacrifice, as a most important aid in understanding the meaning of it."

We will not here insist upon the circumstance that a course the reverse of this has generally been pursued. It has been almost universally felt that the nature of sacrifice, especially that of the sin offering under the law, is best gathered from the historical fulfilment of its meaning declared in the New Testament; just as the prophetic Messiah was made intelligible by the manifestation of Christ in the flesh. It was, however, more easy to Mr. Davies to deal with the language of the Old Testament, so

as to invent a definition of sacrifice in accordance with his assumptions. He assumes that the essential idea of sacrifice is that of an *offering* in the sense of a *gift* on the part of the offerer. The custom of making these bestowments was not, according to him, of Divine appointment. "When the Israelites began to offer sacrifice they were only following the general custom of the nations round about them." He says:—

"To ourselves, it must be confessed it would be a very unnatural mode of worship to put a bull or a goat to death. The more natural offering to us would be a guinea or a hundred guineas. But surely to Abel, the keeper of sheep, who killed one of his flock as a *gift to his father or his brother*, it was not so unnatural to kill a sheep as an offering to God,—not to Abel nor his successors upon earth. To kill an animal must have been to persons in their condition a very simple way of making an offering."

Mr. Davies assumes, in fact, that a religious *sacrifice* is identical with the presentation of a *gift*. A sacrifice is an offering, and an offering is a *present*. Now we maintain that the word offering itself always conveys an idea essentially different from that of a mere present. Not only *מָתֵה*, "a thing slaughtered," but *מְלֵאָה*, an unbloody offering, is constantly represented by the word *θυσία*, a word which no one would apply to a mere gift. Nor does the word offering or oblation itself properly belong to a mere bestowment. *Ob-fer* means to lay before one, not to put into his hands. It was probably the very idea Mr. Davies is contending for into which the Jews had corrupted that of sacrifice which drew down upon them the Divine rebuke; they brought their offerings as *gifts*, with a proud feeling of self-esteem for their generosity. But Jehovah tells them: "All the beasts of the forest are mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. Will I eat the flesh of bulls?" The offence lay not in offering sacrifice, for that was still their duty, but in bringing *them as gifts*, "as though Jehovah needed anything."

While maintaining that every sacrifice has this elementary principle, Mr. Davies yet allows that there is something more implied in the slaying of an animal. We have, however, according to him, no intimation in the books of Moses of anything more which is meant by such a sacrifice, and therefore "every one has a right to suggest what was most probably the impression on the minds of worshippers, when they brought an animal to be slain or burnt on the altar." These impressions appear to our author to have been of the following kind; we leave our readers to judge how natural or intelligible the first-mentioned impression is.

"(1.) Considering that the power to whom the sacrifice was offered

was an *invisible* power, living and ruling in that unseen world which surrounds this visible life of men, the *death* of the sacrifice would naturally express an act of intercourse with the unseen Being. It was like knocking at the door of the invisible world. It can scarcely be doubted that a stronger sense of real communion with the spiritual world and its inhabitants would go with the offering of the *life* of a victim than with the presenting of fruits.

(2.) Again ; under the law of Moses the worshipper was to *put his hand upon the head of his offering*. . . . This must have meant, ‘This is *my offering* ; I, my feelings, my conscience go with it into the presence of the Unseen.’ . . . Perhaps these two feelings are the simplest and most universal that would go with a blood-sacrifice.”

This then is the amount of light which Mr. Davies brings to bear upon the sacrifice of Christ from the ancient institute of sacrifice. “The great sacrifice of the death of Christ is to be explained on these principles.” It was in the main aspect of it *an offering*, in the sense assumed ; *a present made to God*. “Through the eternal Spirit he *offered himself* without spot to God. I need not repeat the numerous expressions in Scripture to the same effect.” This same word, we remark, is used in the last verse of the chapter from which that text is taken thus : “Christ was once for all offered to bear the sins of many.” Now, while we would think and speak of the passion of the Redeemer with the deepest reverence, we would remind Mr. Davies that the offering of Christ comprised phenomena which are absolutely inconsistent with the nature of a gift to God. It was the surrender of himself to a cruel and a shameful death. It was a crisis in the immediate view of which the mind of the Son of Man was all but overwhelmed. “Thy rebuke hath broken my heart.” “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” “If it be possible, let this cup pass from me.” It was a self-sacrifice *on the part of the Father* for the good of men : *τοῦ ἴδον ὑιοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο*. “He did not grudge us his own Son ;” it was a surrender of that dear Son to mysterious suffering on our behalf ; *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν* ; a bestowment so boundless as to include in it every other ; but a surrender on the part of Christ himself in which his purpose was one with that of the Father. “He loved us and gave himself up—*παρέδωκεν ἔαυτόν*—for us, an offering and sacrifice.” All this was at the utmost possible remove from the nature of a present made to God. For the Son of God to have subjected himself to evil so dreadful as that which belonged to his whole passion,—to the extinction of his earthly being and his earthly work, for no purpose of good commensurate with the magnitude of the evil, would have been infinitely the reverse of acceptable

to God. In the case of a mere human martyr, if suffering and death are inevitable in the course of his duty; if he believes that an amount of good more valuable than his earthly life will be secured by his death so forced upon him, then his death is "precious in the sight of the Lord;" but for a servant of God to enter upon suffering and to encounter death voluntarily and apart from such considerations, is so far from being an offering to God, that it is to rob his Master of his services, and is *of the nature of suicide*. But the death of the Son of Man was not inevitable on his part. "No man taketh it (my life) from me, but I lay it down of myself." His blessed *life on earth* was that in which he was manifesting "the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." It was that in which God was well pleased. It was apparently essential to the carrying out the highest purposes of God on behalf of men; and the most valuable offering by way of gift which the Son of Man could have made would apparently have been that he should have continued the work which God had given him to do. And this undoubtedly would have been the case unless his suffering and death were to become more effectual than his precious life, as the *procuring cause* of benefits proportional to its importance. If the offering of an animal victim as a mere present to the Creator was "abomination" in his sight; if a mere human victim viewed in this light would be still more abominable; then the offering of the Son of God was as wide as the heavens from being what Mr. Davies would make it to be.

As to the special meaning of the *death* of the victim as applied to the passion of Christ, that it "seemed to open a door into the invisible world, and to symbolize the possibility of a real communion between this visible world and the awful unseen which surrounds and unfolds it;" that "Christ is (thus) the living bond between the two worlds, between earth and heaven, between the very and eternal God and mortal men;"—this is a way of talking so absolutely fanciful, that we are astonished how an earnest man could allow himself to trifle in this way with "the precious blood of Christ."

And then there was no inherent efficacy in the death of Christ any more than there was in the death of the animal. The "power of atonement" consisted entirely in the Divine appointment. His love, his pardon of all sin, was in no other way connected with the death of Christ, than that the offering up of the Son of Man was made the occasion of that pardon being declared. God was *always* reconciled; he never was anything else; but the amount of guilt on the part of those who crucified the Son of God, though "the deeds done at Jerusalem

are by no means the most frightful for cruelty that we read of," was made the occasion of shewing the triumph of God's forgiving love. "God was shewing in the suffering person of his only-begotten Son, that his goodness and forbearance towards men are boundless, that his love is not repelled and exhausted, but rather quickened by the sin and misery of mankind."

Mr. Davies is, indeed, able, by an inconsistency, a disregard to the force of language which is amongst the most dangerous peculiarities of his school, and which would enable the grossest heresy to appear in the garb of Divine truth, to use the strongest expressions of the Bible and the Church, which speak of the efficacy of the death of Christ. He says, "Can I wish . . . that we should lose sight of the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice, of the infinite blessing, procured to us by the shedding of his precious blood? Nay, I would testify by God's help and in his name, that the strength of our hope for ourselves and for the world, will be sustained only by our contemplation of the death of Christ, and by the belief that it was *a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction*, made to the Father on our behalf."

And yet the whole effort of Mr. Davies is to shew how absolutely *unreal* all these benefits are. The sacrifice of Christ was a gift which procured nothing for us. It made no alteration in the relation of man to God. The *remission of sins*, which the sacred writers declare with one voice to be due *immediately* to the precious blood of Christ, has according to him no natural connexion with his passion. The guilt of man and the curse which it engendered, have in no real objective sense been removed by the Saviour; the power of death has been in no real sense broken by the death of him who died for all. By a jerk of logic which we will not trust ourselves to designate, Mr. Davies throws over all those blessed hopes of life which the Church has built upon the death of Christ. *He no more died than we might not die, than he rose again that we might not rise again!* If when Christ died for all, then *all died*, they only died symbolically; they are as much liable to death as ever, even though that death is not the bodily dissolution of those who sleep in Jesus, but the unspeakable endless ruin which that word expresses in the New Testament. And by a like perversion of language, it is only a symbolical resurrection which we gain by the resurrection of Christ from the dead.

We are fully convinced that, whatever the condition of Mr. Llewelyn Davies's Christianity may be, the tendency of his mode of treating this central subject of Divine revelation is dangerous in the extreme. It removes all reality from our

hopes as connected with the Atonement; it absolutely destroys the effect of it in manifesting the sinfulness of sin, and in this aspect is in its tendency immoral and profligate. And the whole method of Mr. Davies and his school, in dealing with the language in which vital truth is conveyed, is subversive of the Word of God, and extinctive of its power of "being a light unto our feet, and a lamp to our path."

S. T.

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**CORRESPONDENCE.**

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\* \* \* The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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**JEWISH ORTHODOXY.**

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—The letter of Mr. Constable in your last number, on the question “Which was the Orthodox Sect of the Jews?” has every claim to my earnest attention. I therefore hasten to reply to his remarks:—

In the essay on the route of the Exodus, I was compelled to contract an extensive argument into a very limited space: there were many topics, therefore, on which I was under the necessity of stating my own conclusions, without alleging to the extent I should have wished the arguments which might be adduced in favour of propositions which must necessarily have appeared *novel*, and might therefore, very possibly, have seemed *suspicious* to the generality of readers.

With respect to Mr. Constable’s views, I must first observe, that in considering the respective claims of the two sects of Sadducees and Pharisees to the title of Orthodox, there is an *historical* as well as a *religious* enquiry to be entered upon. But as Mr. Constable has confined himself to the religious side of the argument, I will endeavour to found my own defence on the same basis.

Mr. Constable observes that the Sadducees are *never mentioned in the New Testament except in terms of reprobation*. I should feel gratified if he would point out to me any reproaches recorded against the Sadducees, resembling in the most distant degree the better terms of unutterable contempt and indignation constantly launched by our Saviour against their opponents the Pharisees. So far as I recollect, the opinions of the Sadducees are *once refuted* by Christ in terms infinitely more mild than he ever applied to the adverse sect, and they are *once spoken of*, conjointly with the Pharisees, in terms of reproach, but the Pharisees are *first mentioned* as the most obnoxious sect. The argument that “*except in their acknowledgment of one God, they seem to have had no positive doctrine in common with our Lord and his disciples,*” appears to be based upon an erroneous principle; the question is, *not* whether the Sadducees were a sect holding Christian principles, *but* whether they were orthodox followers of Moses. I submit that there can be no doubt that they really were so. They adhered to the law, pure and unadulterated; they denied a future state; for they found no such doctrine in the books of the Pentateuch. It is said they denied the angels (Acts xxiii. 8); but this is only to be understood of the mythic

hierarchy, which the Pharisees had invented among their other traditions.<sup>a</sup> As to the exact reception which they gave to the other books of the Hebrew Scriptures, I believe we have no means of judging, as the only account of their opinions on this point are from the pens of their enemies.<sup>b</sup>

But, if the orthodoxy of the Jewish sects is to be tested by their greater or lesser analogy to the doctrines of Christianity, the Pharisees were certainly the least able to bear this test. We may reasonably suppose that the preaching of Christ would be most readily received by the sect whose doctrines were least alien to the truths which he preached. But of all the Jews, none were so adverse to Christianity, none pursued Christ himself with such bitter and implacable hatred, as the sect whose opinions Mr. Constable deems to be nearest to the Christian verity. They made it their chief boast that *none of their sect believed in him*, and triumphantly exclaimed to the half-converted, "Search and look; for out of Galilee cometh no prophet" (John vii. 48, 52). They derided his doctrines (Luke xvi. 14), and treated him as a chosen agent of Beelzebub the prince of the devils (Matt. ix. 34; xii. 24); they tempted him on all occasions, asserted that his record was false (John viii. 13); they rejected the counsel of God, being not baptized of him (Luke vii. 30); they perpetually lay snares to entrap him; even when they invited him to their feasts they watched for every opportunity to accuse him (Luke xiv. 1). So bitter was the animosity which they shewed against him, that those of the chief rulers who believed in Christ durst not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogues (John xii. 42).

On the other hand, Jesus himself, on all occasions, describes the Pharisees as the most perverse of mankind, and the most foreign and adverse to the vital truths of the religion which he preached. He declared that they neither knew Him nor his Father; that they should die in their sins (John viii. 19, 21); that they were hypocrites whose inward parts were full of ravening and wickedness, and who passed over judgment and the love of God (Luke xi. 39, 42). He describes this accursed sect as wretches whose very prayers were blasphemy, and who approached the altar of God, not to petition his mercy, but to

<sup>a</sup> We are informed by the author of the Acts of the Apostles that the "Sadducees said that there was no resurrection, neither *angel* nor *spirit*" (Acts xxiii. 8). But as the Sadducees implicitly believed in the Pentateuch, and as the Pentateuch repeatedly makes mention of the angels, and in such a manner (see Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3) that it is impossible to confound these angels with Jehovah himself, it seems absolutely certain that the Sadducees did really admit the existence of angels, and that the passage in *Acts* only refers to the *fabulous host* of angels whose names and attributes the Jews invented and distinguished at Babylon. As to their denial of *spirits*, if this passage were to be taken literally in its full extent, they must either have denied the existence of God himself, or believed (which is not probable) in a corporeal deity.

<sup>b</sup> It will be observed that in the passage, Acts xxiii. 8, no accusation is made against the Sadducees of *rejecting the PROPHETS*; yet if they had really renounced the prophetic writings, the author of *Acts* could scarcely have avoided to have added *this* to the list of important points in which they differed from the Pharisees.

sound their own glorification (Luke xviii.). Whenever he speaks of these detestable miscreants, the ordinary mildness of his language vanishes; he pours out a torrent of bitter invective, compared to which the highest flights of Demosthenes are tame and trivial. If we can admit the possibility of his feeling hatred against any human being, he certainly felt it against the whole body of the Pharisees.

With all these facts flagrant before us, shall we agree with Mr. Constable in thinking that “our Saviour allowed them to be the legitimate successors of Moses in their teaching when he said, ‘*The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses’ seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.*’” (Matt. xxiii. 2.) This is but a single text against hundreds; a text opposed, in its *literal* sense, to the whole tenor of the chapter in which it occurs, and so adverse to the general spirit of the Gospels, that it appears of all propositions the most certain that the verse, though broadly expressed, is to be confined in interpretation within the narrowest limits. If it were otherwise, our Saviour’s *practice* would have been in direct opposition to his *doctrine*. He will in no case be found observing what the Scribes and Pharisees bid to be observed, and in no specific instance teaching his disciples to do so. Whenever the opportunity was afforded, he openly set their opinions and tenets at defiance.

The distinctive name upon which they prided themselves (that of PHARISEES or SEPARATISTS) was derived from the pertinacity with which they abjured the society of those whom they pretended to call *sinners*. They held it unlawful to sit down with them at meat; they accounted their very touch a pollution. Christ, setting their mischievous hypocrisy at defiance, *sought*, instead of rejecting, the society of sinners, whenever his precepts might awaken them to a sense of their guilt. In this, to the minds of Christian proselytes, he destroyed the *very foundation* of the sect of the Pharisees, by shewing that their doctrine of *separation* was unlawful and impious—the result of that spiritual pride which is in itself one of the greatest of sins. It would be tedious to enumerate all the other occasions upon which our Saviour shewed his dissent from the Pharisees. He healed the sick on the Sabbath—an act so abhorrent to their most cherished opinions that they sought to destroy him in consequence (Matt. xii. 14; Mark iii. 6). He permitted his disciples to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath, which the Pharisees held a desecration of the holiness of the day (Matt. xii. 2; Mark ii. 24). His disciples, following the example of their master, never washed their hands before they ate bread; a direct violation of the Pharisaic traditions (Matt. xv. 1—9; Mark vii. 1—13). Above all, he absolutely rejected the traditions (Mark vii. 8, 9, 13), and the whole doctrine of the Pharisees was founded on the traditions.

Never, perhaps, in any language ever spoken by man, were such terms of reproach, disgust, abhorrence, and reprobation launched against any sect or class of individuals as those which were thundered by our Saviour upon the heads of the Pharisees. They were termed *hypocrites; an evil and adulterous generation; serpents, and a generation of vipers; fools and blind; blind guides; blind leaders of the*

*blind*; and finally, the CHILDREN OF HELL. The whole twenty-third chapter of Matthew, in which Jesus attacks the Pharisees, is perhaps the most eloquent, and at the same time the fiercest, dammatory oration ever recorded by a human pen. Never before or since has scorn expressed itself in terms so powerful, so crushing, so overwhelming.

Is this then the class of men which was to *sit in the seat of Moses?* When our Saviour terms them *blind guides*, were they guides to be followed? When Christ declares that they were *blind leaders of the blind*, who could only lead their besotted followers into a ditch, are we to suppose that he intended their doctrines to be followed? When Christ speaks of the Pharisees as men who *rejected the commandments of God* (Mark. vii. 9), are we to hold that the Jewish community, "observing whatsoever they bid," were to join with them in rejecting the commandments?

Mr. Constable is of opinion that the Pharisees, "holding the same Scriptures with Christians, and teaching very many of the same great doctrines which were taught by Christians, had the best claim to the title of *orthodox*." It is true that they held the same Scriptures which were recognized by the Christians, but only in conjunction with a traditional commentary which rendered the Scriptures in all important cases *absolutely nugatory*. It is true that they held the soul to be immortal, but in a manner most hostile to the doctrines of Christianity; for they believed in the transmigration of souls, and looking upon the present world as a world of *punishment* rather than of *trial*, imagined that the human race received the due meed in the present life of their sins committed in a state of pre-existence.<sup>c</sup> I confess I know no instance myself in which the Pharisees held peculiarly any important doctrine which received the approbation of Jesus Christ.

The *immediate cause* of the redemption of mankind was the unappeasable hatred which Christ kindled in the breasts of the Pharisees, *by the open contempt with which he treated their peculiar opinions*. For this they implacably pursued and persecuted him; for this they brought him to the foot of the cross.

I cannot therefore agree with Mr. Constable that these men formed the orthodox sect of the Jews, or that it was really intended by Christ that their doctrines should be observed when, in the very same chapter in which this text occurs, we are told that they "*shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for they neither went in themselves, nor suffered them that were entering to go in;*" that they *compassed land and sea to make one proselyte, and having effected this, they made him twofold more the CHILD OF HELL than themselves*; and finally, that *they paid tithe of mint, and anise and cummin, but had omitted the weightier*

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<sup>c</sup> In John ix. 1, 2, we read that when Jesus passed by a man blind *from his birth*, his disciples enquired, "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, *that he was born blind?*" Here the disciples evidently assumed that the man might have sinned in a state of pre-existence, so as to be then suffering the penalty of his iniquities in a former world. This doctrine we may well assume that they derived from the Pharisees.

*matters of the law, JUDGMENT, MERCY, and FAITH!* After this, need we be surprised at hearing Christ exclaim to them, “Ye serpents! ye generation of vipers! *how can ye escape the DAMNATION OF HELL?*” Never since the creation of the world was so singular an orthodoxy witnessed as that which, unable itself to escape the damnation of hell, must necessarily have conducted its disciples thither also.

The text (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3) must be interpreted *on a careful consideration of the context*; and from this we may clearly see that it means no more than that the Scribes and Pharisees sat *de facto*, though not *de jure* in the seat of Moses, and that therefore any doctrine which they taught, should be followed if this were in strict conformity with the law of Moses;<sup>d</sup> but, being *blind guides*, and the *children of hell*, all the *peculiar* doctrines of the Pharisaic school, all the most cherished traditions of the synagogue, were to be trampled upon as the inventions of Satan.

With respect to St. Paul, whose authority (Acts xxiii. 6) Mr. Constable cites, it is perfectly true that this apostle, when brought before the chief priests and council, proclaimed himself to be a *Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee*. The council was composed partly of Sadducees and partly of Pharisees, and St. Paul thought himself justified in turning the fury of these two sects against each other by proclaiming his connexion with the sect of the traditionists, which induced the Pharisees to undertake his defence. But it is perfectly certain that St. Paul alluded only to his *education* among the Pharisees, and his *hereditary alliance* to that sect; for the two characters of *Pharisee* and *Christian* were incompatible: no Christian could, in the *proper* sense of the word, be called a Pharisee; and St. Paul elsewhere plainly expresses his contempt for the traditions. Now without the traditions, the Pharisaic sect was a nullity: the oral law was the infamous basis upon which this sect was founded; and to estimate its importance, it would only be necessary to ask a modern rabbi what would become of his religion without the Talmud. If he answered fairly and ingenuously, I apprehend his reply would be, that without the Talmud he would have no religion at all, because the Talmudic Jews regard the oral or traditional law as infinitely more pure and valuable than the written law of Moses. That our Saviour intended his disciples to keep no terms with the *children of hell*, as he termed the Pharisees, is evident from this—that he forewarned them plainly that the Pharisees should *put them out of their synagogues* (John xvi. 2): now if they had done *whatever the Scribes and Pharisees bid them*, this assuredly would not have

<sup>d</sup> It did not escape the sound practical sense of Bishop Latimer, that it was totally impossible that the text (Matth. xxiii. 2, 3,) could receive a literal interpretation. This illustrious prelate attached exactly the same meaning to this passage as that which I have above proposed. He alludes in his *fifth* and *sixteenth* sermons to the text quoted from Matthew, and qualifies the generality of the terms in this way; “*Whosoever they teach you, do it;* that is to say, when they teach the truth; and if their doctrine be taken from Moses’ law.” This interpretation reduces to nothing the argument which Mr. Constable would deduce from Matthew xxiii. 2, 3.

been the case ; the *first* command of these “blind guides” would have been to abjure for ever the Christian religion, and the *second*, to revere the traditions which Christianity abhorred.

I trust that this argument will be satisfactory to your readers, and that they will see that it is not without strong grounds that I have termed the Pharisees the heretical party among the Jews. I have only to add my thanks to Mr. Constable for the fair, candid, and (however I may differ from him in opinion, I must say) forcible manner in which he has offered his objection. Any such remarks upon my essay I shall always consider as a tribute to the great cause of truth, and on that account as a personal favour to myself, and shall at all times hold myself ready to reply to them.

26th July, 1860.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

#### AUTHORSHIP OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

*To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”*

SIR,—Whoever was the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, that book furnishes us with conclusive proof that Silas was not its author, as a writer in your number for July has laboured to prove. This I will endeavour to shew in a few words.

It is quite evident, I think, that the use of the first person plural “we” invariably indicates the presence of the writer in the scenes which he relates, and that the use of the third person, whether singular or plural, indicates his absence. Such is the view taken by the ablest judges, and on no other ground can we satisfactorily account for the use of the first person plural in some places and its disappearance in others. But on this view it is wholly out of the question that Silas could have been the writer, for the third person is repeatedly used when we know that he was present.

Silas was present with St. Paul from Acts xv. 32 to xvi. 9. He shared in all the events therein related. But during all this period the third person is used. It is always “he” or “they” (Acts xv. 41; xvi. 4). It consequently follows that Silas did not write this narrative, for if he did he would have used “we” instead of “they.” In Acts xvi. 10 the writer joins himself to St. Paul, and accordingly we have “we” invariably used down to the seventeenth verse, when on the occasion of the imprisonment of Paul the writer was separated from his company, having only been with him from his voyage from Trosas to his imprisonment at Philippi. The absence of the writer from Paul continues down to Acts xx. 5, when at Philippi, where he had left Paul, he again joins him and continues with him during the remainder of the history. But during the considerable period from Acts xvi. 17 to xx. 5, during which the writer of the Acts was absent, Silas was generally present with Paul and a sharer with him in the transactions related (Acts xvi. 25; xvii. 4, 10; xviii. 5). Consequently, if Silas was the writer, we should here find “we” used, whereas the pronoun is invariably in the third person. We can surely require no stronger

internal proof that Silas had nothing to do with the authorship of this book. Nor, I fancy, will any reasoning succeed in shaking the well established belief of the Church that "the beloved physician Luke" was indeed its author.

D. E.

### THE SISTERS OF BETHANY.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—Permit me to say a few words in reply to Mr. Crossley's strictures on my article on "The Sisters of Galilee." He has not said anything to make me doubt the correctness of the view I have taken, and I should hope to be able to remove some at least of his objections to it.

That St. Luke wrote his Gospel with a strict view to the order of the events he related we have his own word for saying (i. 3). And that in his idea of an orderly arrangement, the chronology of the events formed an important part he expressly tells us (Luke i. 3; Acts i. 2). The word *καθεξῆς*, which our version translates "in order," and which Mr. Crossley would render by "distinctly," occurs sufficiently often to enable us to see its sense. In every place where it is used, it takes in the notion of a chronological order. (See Schmidt's *Concordance*.) And indeed such an arrangement is evidently the only one in harmony with St. Luke's turn of mind. I do not think that one who considers the order in which he has composed the Acts of the Apostles can readily believe that he would have composed his Gospel in the hap-hazard and confused manner which Mr. Crossley supposes.

Again, that St. Luke intended from ix. 51 to xix. 37 to describe our Lord's *last journey* to Jerusalem we have his own express declaration for asserting. "And it came to pass, *when the time was come that he should be received up*, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem?" The force of this verse does not turn upon the exact sense of *τὸς ἡμέρας*, but on *ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι*. The former may mean very different periods of time, but the whole phrase indicates that the period of time spoken of by our Lord's public ministry was now drawing to its close. It was the terminating point of those eventful three years during which Jesus laboured among his people, and therefore could not refer to "several previous journeys" undertaken at earlier periods.

The main objection to my view arises from a misapprehension of the nature of the journey which Luke relates. Mr. Crossley supposes it to be such a journey as one desirous of proceeding as quickly as possible from Galilee to Jerusalem would make. I freely acknowledge that the journey in question is quite inconsistent with such an idea. But such is not the journey which St. Luke relates. It is evidently a journey undertaken by our Lord with the object of once more visiting before his death a great number of the places where he had been before. "He went *through the cities and villages, teaching and journeying towards Jerusalem.*" (Luke xiii. 22; x. 1.) It was therefore not a journey in a direct line, but one of a very circuitous nature, and often

leading back to places not distant from others previously visited. It is not then at all surprising if, to use Mr. Crossley's words, "we find Christ and his disciples first in Samaria, then in Galilee again, then travelling through Samaria and Galilee to Jerusalem; and finally, after these diversities of route, taking Jericho on the way to the holy city." Nor is there any inconsistency between the journey thus described by Luke and that of the other evangelists. Only Luke describes fully what they pass over in a few words. Such a journey would occupy a considerable time, and was of course undertaken a good while before the passover. I have already discussed this journey in one of a volume of essays lately published for me by the Messrs. Longman, and will not therefore enlarge upon it here. I think I have said enough to shew that my view is not open to the objections which Mr. Crossley brings against it.

Faithfully yours,

HENRY CONSTABLE.

### THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—I will thank you to give insertion to the following attempt at an amended translation of the Song of Deborah (*Judges v*). It may illustrate the manner in which, as I conceive, we should aim to procure an improved translation of the Bible, namely, adherence to our present noble version wherever we can, and departure from it only where we must.

1 And Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam sang on that day, saying,

2 For the leading of the leaders in Israel, for the willing offering of the people, praise ye Jehovah.

3 Hear, O ye kings, give ear, ye princes : I unto Jehovah will sing, I will sing praise to Jehovah, the God of Israel.

4 When thou, O Jehovah, wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.

5 Mountains melted before Jehovah, this Sinai before Jehovah, the God of Israel.

6 In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through by-ways.

7 The inhabitants of the flat country ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel.

8 They chose new gods; then was war in the gates: there was not shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel.

9 My heart is towards the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly over the people: bless ye Jehovah.

10 Sing, ye that ride on white she-asses, ye that sit in judgment, and ye that walk by the way.

11 At the voice of those who divide the spoil among the drawers of water, there rehearse the righteous acts of Jehovah, his righteous acts towards the inhabitant of the plains of Israel: then shall the people of Jehovah go down to the gates.

12 Awake, awake Deborah: awake, awake, utter a song: arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam.

13 Then he that remaineth of the princes of the people went down: Jehovah went down for me against the mighty.

14 Out of Ephraim was their root against Amalek, after thee, Benjamin, among thy people: out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the rod of the enroller.

15 And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah, and Issachar supporting Barak was sent behind him into the valley: for the divisions of Reuben there were great thoughts of heart.

16 Why abodest thou among the folds of the cattle to hear the noises of the herds? For the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings of heart.

17 Gilead abode beyond the Jordan. And why did Dan fear the ships? Asher continued on the seashore, and abode within his harbours.

18 Zebulun was a people who freely exposed themselves to death, and Napthali too in the high places of the land.

19 The kings came: they fought: then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Migiddo: they took no gain of money.

20 They fought from heaven: the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.

21 The river Kishon swept them away; that river of old renown, the river Kishon. O my soul, thou hast trodden down strength!

22 Then were the hoofs of the horses scattered in flight at the quick onset of their valiant ones.

23 Curse ye Meroz, said an angel of Jehovah, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of Jehovah, to the help of Jehovah against the mighty.

24 Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be: blessed shall she be above women in the tent.

25 He asked for water, and she gave milk: in a dish of the nobles she brought him curdled milk.

26 Her hand reached to a nail, her right hand to the workman's hammer; and she smote Sisera and pierced his head, and she struck, and perforated his temple.

27 Between her feet he sank, he fell, he lay down: between her feet he sank, he fell: where he sank there he fell dead.

28. The mother of Sisera leaned out through the window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming, why tarry the wheels of his chariots?

29 Her wise princesses answer her, yea, she returned answer to herself:

30 Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil--a damsel

—two damsels to each man's share? To Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needlework, bright coloured robes fit for the necks of the spoilers.

31 So let all thine enemies perish, Jehovah: but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might. And the land had rest forty years.

*July 25th, 1860.*

D. E.

### THE FIRST GENTILE CONVERT.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—There seems to be reason for suspecting or even believing that Cornelius the centurion, celebrated as the first Gentile convert to Christianity, was identical with that centurion on whose servant our Lord performed his miracle of healing, as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke.

The evidence is of course circumstantial, but so forcible that it is not easily refuted, and if it should be admitted as conclusive, the identity will lead us to see a beautiful propriety in the providential arrangement by means of which the centurion who exhibited such wonderful faith as to elicit from Christ the exclamation, “I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel,” was rewarded by being allowed still wider scope for faith, in initiation into the mysteries of Christianity. He who was superior to all *Jews* in faith became immortalized as the first of all Gentiles admitted into the Christian Church.

About ten years had elapsed between the healing of the centurion's servant and the conversion of Cornelius. The former event occurred in Capernaum, the latter in Ceasarea. Both cities were Roman garrison towns, and we must suppose that the centurion had (in the interval between the events alluded to) changed his quarters.

The first point of similarity tending to prove the two centurions to be one and the same individual, is that each was remarkably charitable. St. Luke tells us that the centurion of Capernaum had built at his own cost a synagogue for the Jews, while it is recorded of Cornelius, that “he gave much alms to the people.” This munificence proves both men to have been rich. We can understand how Cornelius, a centurion of a distinguished regiment (the Italian band) and a scion of the gens Cornelia, one of the most aristocratic of Roman families, might naturally be wealthy; but it is not easy to see how an ordinary Roman captain of a hundred men should be rich enough to build a synagogue at his own expense; at least the probability is against the supposition. Both the centurions then were *charitable* and *rich*.

The next point of agreement in their character is that each was a *proselyte of the gate*. The centurion of Capernaum had evidently renounced idolatry, because it is said of him by the Jews, “he loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue.” This fact combined with another—viz., that he had influence enough with the Jews to obtain a deputation of their elders to approach Jesus in his servant's behalf,

intimates that he had abandoned heathenism and frequented the synagogues. Cornelius again has the epithets “*devout*” and “*one that feareth God*” applied to him. Both epithets are technical ones expressing Gentile converts to Judaism, so that we may conclude that the two centurions were charitable and wealthy proselytes of the gate.

Again, the centurions resembled each other in being men of prayer. He of Capernaum had built a house for the purpose, while Cornelius “prayed to God alway.”

The centurions resembled each other in this also, that both were widely known and popular with the Jewish people. He of Capernaum must (as before mentioned) have been very popular, when the elders of the Jews undertook an embassy for him, and declared that “he loveth our nation.” Now Cornelius was not less popular, since he is described (Acts x. 22) as “of good report among all the nation of the Jews.” It is certainly a remarkable coincidence, that there should have been two Roman soldiers whose characters so far resemble each other, especially in being popular favourites with the Jews.

Again, the centurions were alike in being men of marked humility. The humility of the centurion who said, “Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof,” is pre-eminently characteristic. It drew from Jesus the exclamation, “I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.” The character of Cornelius also is marked by humility and submissive obedience. He obeyed the angel immediately without remonstrance. He, a wealthy patrician, who might naturally have been puffed up with the popularity he enjoyed, when he beheld the Galilean fisherman, “fell down at his feet and worshipped him,” and afterwards expressed his humility and docility in these words, “now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things commanded thee of God.”

Let us now, before remarking any more coincidences in the characters and history of these men, recapitulate their points of resemblance. Both were *wealthy, charitable, proselytes of the gate, men of prayer, highly esteemed among the Jews, and men of marked humility*. It is hard to avoid the inference that they were one and the same individual, in whom so many prominent points of resemblance centred.

But to proceed, each of these officers had a faithful servant. The servant of him of Capernaum we are expressly told was “dear unto him.” Cornelius also had “only to say to one, Go, and he goeth,” since we find him sending messengers to Joppa, and among them “a devout soldier of them that waited on him continually.” This soldier may have been the very servant who was healed by the Saviour, and he may now conjecture why he was so dear to the centurion. That a centurion should be so deeply interested in a sick slave was an unusual occurrence, and as Calvin *in loco* remarks, St. Luke provides against this objection that would naturally arise in the reader’s mind, by saying, in explanation of the centurion’s conduct, that his servant “was dear unto him,” but we shall presently see another reason for his interest in his slave.

The servant of Cornelius is described as “*devout*,” that is, a pro-

selyte like his master to the Jewish religion. Now if we suppose the two servants to be identical, we see at once a reason for the centurion's love for his slave. Master and slave were co-religionists, hence the unusual affection; moreover Cornelius' servant was, besides being a proselyte, faithfully attached to his master; he was one of those (*προσκαρτερόνυμων αὐτῷ*) perseveringly attendant on him, and thus, on the supposition of their identity, we can account for the strange fact of a slave being so dear to a Roman soldier, by bearing in mind the slave's fidelity, and the fact that he adopted the same religion as his master.

Another difficulty cleared up by this hypothesis deserves consideration. St. Matthew, in his account, of the miracle of healing the centurion's servant, narrates a fact omitted by St. Luke, namely, that Jesus having expressed his wonder at the centurion's faith, added these words, "And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and *west*, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven." Now our Lord might naturally, when eulogizing a Gentile's faith, foretell the future admission of the Gentiles into his church; but if we suppose that this very centurion of whom our Lord was then speaking was the individual who in God's providence was destined ten years after to be the first Gentile convert, we see a beautiful and pointed significance in our Lord's remarks. Cornelius had doubtless come from the *west* "to sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God." His name, as well as the fact of his belonging to that corps styled "the Italian band," proves him to have been a native Italian, because this Italian band was not recruited like the legions from any country where they may have been quartered, but was composed of native Italians. The address of St. Peter to Cornelius, "his kinsmen and near friends," is intelligible also if we suppose the identity of the two centurions. St. Peter, addressing Cornelius and his friends, said, "The word which *God* sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all). That word, *I say, YE KNOW*, which was published throughout all *Judea* and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached. How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed with the devil, for God was with him." Here it is plainly intimated that Cornelius and his friends were personally cognizant of our Saviour's preaching and healing in Galilee. Evidently, Cornelius then could not have been residing in Cæsarea during our Lord's ministry. Cæsarea not being in Galilee but in Samaria, was not the scene of our Lord's preaching and healing, but on the supposition that Cornelius was the centurion of Capernaum, St. Peter's words, "That word, I say, ye know," were true to the letter, as Capernaum was one of the cities "wherein most of his mighty works were done;" it was "exalted unto heaven;" and not only was the "word" preached well known to the centurion of Capernaum, but he had also practical experience in the healing of his servant, that Jesus "went about doing good." On the whole, the theory that the two centurions were the same individual Cornelius, accounts for so many

strange coincidences, throws light on so many allusions, and suggests so many interesting thoughts, that I am strongly inclined to believe it well founded, though no commentator that I know of seems to have entertained the idea or hinted at the possibility of its truth.

J. T. L.

*Brockville, Canada West.*

### THE SCRIPTURES AND SLAVERY.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—Though the subject of slavery has been already discussed in the *J. S. L.*, it is one of so much importance that I may perhaps be excused for contributing a few observations upon it.

The Scriptures are evidently silent on slavery as a civil institution. It was never in the contemplation of our Lord and his apostles to disturb the order of government as at that time existing, but as one of your correspondents has remarked, “he took the middle course of introducing his great remedial and restorative doctrines into the domain of morals and character, whence in time they could not fail to pass into the social frame with the creative and renewing energy of their own divine life.” And that the Apostle of the Gentiles followed in the steps of his Master is evident from the text (1 Cor. vii. 21), which is perfectly explained by the previous verse. “Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.”

But if the Word of God has no condemnation for slavery as a political institution, it is not so in reference to the “means by which the system is kept up.” We have in the prophecy of Joel (chap. iii. 6) a denunciation of God’s judgments, amongst other things against the Tyrians and Sidonians, because they had *sold* the children of Judah and Jerusalem unto the Grecians, וְעַבְדִּים וְעַבְדָּתִים *the sons of the Grecians*, of course for slaves. And of Tyre again, we read in Ezekiel (chap. xxvii. 13), “Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants; they *traded the persons of men* and vessels of brass in thy market.”

But if we find this direct denunciation of the abominable practice of selling men into slavery in the Old Testament, no less do we find it in the New Testament. The Apostle of the Gentiles left existing practices and institutions—slavery among the rest—just where he found them. But let not the slaveholder apply any flattering unction to his soul from this concession; let him ask himself whether he is content to be enrolled in the black catalogue of the perpetrators of such offences as the apostle enumerates (1 Tim. i. 9, 10). “Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for MEN-STEALERS (*ἀνδραποδισταῖς*), for liars, for perjured persons.” Bloomfield well observes in his note on these texts, “To murder and sins of uncleanness, the apostle in *ἀνδρα*-

*προδιστράῖς* subjoins robbery of the worst kind ; for expositors are agreed that the word means *kidnapping* free persons to be sold as slaves" (see Schol. on *Aristoph. Plutus*, 521), a crime universally regarded as of the deepest dye, and always punished with death." Plainly then the upholders of slavery are deeply implicated in this denunciation.

But the contrast between the conduct of our Saxon forefathers to their slaves, and that of a large portion of the United States of America, is not favourable to the latter. Kemble in his *Saxons in England*, after describing the cruel treatment which these unfortunates frequently experienced, says, "But yet there was a gleam of hope ; one solitary ray that made even the surrounding darkness tolerable, and may have cheered its broken-hearted serf through years of unrequited toil and suffering. The law that reduced him to slavery made it also possible that he should be restored to freedom. It did not shut from him this blessing, however distant it might seem. Tacitus knew of *liberti* among the Germans, men who had been slaves, had been manumitted and were free. Thus, in yet pagan times, general kindness of disposition, habits of domestic intercourse, perhaps the suggestion of self-interest, may have tended to raise the condition of the serf even to the restoration of freedom; but it was the especial honour and glory of Christianity, that while it broke the spiritual bonds of sin, it ever actively laboured to relieve the heavy burthen of social servitude. We are distinctly told that Bishop Wilfrith, on receiving the grant of Selsoy from Caedwealha, of Wessex, immediately manumitted two hundred and fifty unfortunates whom he found there attached to the soil, that those whom by baptism he had rescued from servitude to devils, might, by the grant of liberty, be rescued from servitude to man" (Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i., p. 211).

Painful it is to compare the language and conduct of the Christian Bishop in the so-called dark ages with that of the living administrator of the law in the modern republic. Judge Ruffin, one of the most vigorous minds that America has produced, an Episcopalian, and a Member of the General Convention, in expounding from the bench the law of slavery, uses these words : "The slave is one doomed in his own person and in his posterity to live without knowledge and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect. His power is in no instance usurped, but is conferred by the laws of man, if not by the laws of God." Imagination cannot picture more detestable and atrocious opinions issuing from the mouth of an administrator of the law in a professedly Christian country.

But the fearful consequences which in every age have ensued both to master and slave would be sufficient to condemn at once what has been fitly termed "a huge insurrection against the eternal law of God." If we refer to antiquity, we find a striking example among the Romans in Pliny's letters (*Ed. Gierig.* vol. i. lib. 3, ep. 14), narrating the treatment which Largius Macedo, designated as "superbus alioqui dominus et savus," experienced from his slaves. When in the bath he

was maltreated by them in the most shocking manner, indeed, so fearfully, that he shortly after expired. Pliny remarks after narrating the frightful circumstances, " You see to how many dangers, contumelies and shameful treatment we are exposed." And he adds, what all experience fully bears out, " Nor is it possible that any one can be safe, however indulgent and mild he may be." No, the indulgent master too often suffers equally with the cruel, for his *clemency* is looked upon as *weakness*, an incitement to make common cause with his fellow-slave against the slave-owners, without reference to individual character or personal kindness.

Are we not then justified in adopting the language of Mr. Sumner in the American Senate, that slavery, involving in its pretensions the denial of all human rights, and also the denial of the Divine law in which God himself is manifest, barbarous in its instruments, and barbarous in its consequences, is practically the grossest lie and the grossest atheism?

*August 10th, 1860.*

H. P.

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#### EMENDATIONS IN THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—Will you kindly give insertion to some emendations in our Authorized Version of the Scriptures, which have occurred to me from time to time in the reading of the Bible in its original languages. I have very rarely ventured on any alteration of the received text, from a feeling of my incompetence for so nice a task; but there are many places both in the Old and New Testament which appear to me capable of a more satisfactory translation, and which may not be undeserving a place in your Journal. I propose to pass over such parts of our version as seem to require no alteration, and to proceed in regular order through at least a portion of the Bible.

#### GENESIS I.

2 And the earth was *desolate and waste*, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God *brooded* over the face of the waters.

7 And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which *are* under the firmament, from the waters which *are* above the firmament, etc.

16 And God made *the two great lights*, etc.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly *the living reptile*, etc.

21 And God created *the great sea monsters*, and every living thing that *creepeth*, etc.

II.—2 And on the seventh day God *had ended* his work, etc.

18 I will make for him a *helper living in his presence*.

20 But *for man he found no helper present with him*.

23 And Abraham said, This is *the impress of me*, bone of my bone, etc.

III.—24 Cherubim and *the flaming sword*, etc.

IV.—1 And said, I have gotten a man by *Jehovah's help*.

7 If thou doest well, *is there not exaltation for thee?* and if thou doest not well, *is there not a sin-offering lying at thy door?* etc.

VI.—17 Do bring *the flood of waters*."

IX.—23 And Shem and Japheth took *the robe* (viz., the broad robe then in use).

26 And Canaan shall be *their servant*.

27 God shall enlarge Japhet, *and shall dwell in the tents of Shem*, and Canaan shall be *their servant*.

XI.—And Haran died in *the presence* of his father Terah, etc.

XII.—6 Unto the *oak-tree* of Moreh, etc.

XIII.—18 And dwelt by *the oak-tree* of Mamre, etc.

XIV.—15 And he *fell upon them* by night, he and his servants, etc.

XV.—11 And when *the birds of prey* came down, etc.

17 When the sun was down, and it was *very dark*, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning torch, etc.

XVIII.—1 And Jehovah appeared unto him among *the oak-trees* of Mamre, etc.

8 And he took *cheese* and milk, etc.

XIX.—19 Lest *this evil* take me.

XXII.—14 As it is said to this day, In the mount Jehovah shall be seen.

18 In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth *bless themselves*, etc.

XXIV.—53 And the servant brought forth *vessels* of silver, and *vessels* of gold, etc.

65 Therefore she took *the veil*, etc.

XXVII.—3 Take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy *hunting knife*, and thy bow, etc.

XXIX.—2 And *the great stone* was upon the well's mouth.

17 Rachel was beautiful in figure and in feature.

XXXVII.—3 And he made him a coat reaching to the ankles.

XXXIX.—6 And Joseph was beautiful in figure and in feature.

XLIV.—5 Is not this it from which my lord drinketh, and of which he would certainly discover the loss? etc.

15 Did you not know that a man like me would certainly find it out?

XLVII.—2 And from the entire number of his brethren he took five men, etc.

6 And if thou knowest that there are amongst them capable men.

31 And Israel worshipped, leaning on the top of his staff.

XLIX.—4 Headlong in thy passions, like rushing waters thou shalt not have pre-eminence, etc.

10 Nor a lawgiver of his race fail, until Shiloh come.

Should these emendations appear of any use, I will continue them in successive numbers of your Journal.

D. E.

## NIMROD.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—Will you allow me to occupy a brief space in animadverting on that part of the communication of Mr. Henry Crossley, in your last number, which relates to my article on "Nimrod." The only point in his remarks which appears to me to demand special consideration is his interpretation of the words in Gen. x. 8, rendered in our version, "he began to be a mighty one in the earth." This clause he translates, "he was *the first* who was powerful in war upon the earth;" and he seeks to justify his rendering by reference to Gesenius. Gesenius indeed translates another passage in this manner, viz., Gen. ix. 20 (in which, it may be remarked, the construction is somewhat different); but I can find no certain indication of his view as to the meaning of the clause in question. The authority of Gesenius, however, or of any other, is of comparatively little consequence here; does the *usus loquendi* furnish any ground for believing in the alleged Hebrew idiom? I am unable to discover any certain proof of such an idiom; the immense majority of passages in which 'מִן occurs, not only admit but require the other and ordinary rendering.

I request your readers' attention to the following:—Gen. vi. 1; ix. 20 (on which see Kalisch, *Genesis*, p. 229); xi. 6; xli. 54; Numb. xxv. 1; Deut. ii. 25; Judges xx. 40; 1 Sam. iii. 2; xiv. 35 (which whatever its meaning, cannot be understood thus, *Saul was the first that built*, etc.); 2 Kings x. 32; xv. 37; 1 Chron. xxvii. 24; 2 Chron. xxxi. 7; xxxiv. 3; Esther vi. 13.

In the face of such an array of passages, it requires more than the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Crossley, or even of Gesenius, to convince us that מִן 'מִן means "was the first to be." In the passage before us the ordinary rendering, "began to be," has an evident appropriateness. It intimates that Nimrod's rise to power was a gradual one. First, "he was a mighty hunter," etc. (ver. 9). Thus, "the beginning of his kingdom was Babel," etc. (ver. 10). Then, finally, "he went forth to Asshur," etc. (ver. 11).

I confess I have been unable to find out the "facile and sufficient explanation" of the difficulties connected with the earlier era of Nimrod's reign, and shall be obliged to count it for nothing till Mr. C. is pleased to reveal it. His explanations of the names Nimrod and Nineveh seem to me, in view of all the circumstances of the case, devoid of probability, and at the best they are mere conjectures of no independent weight. The same may be said of his application of the passage from Justin. Into a discussion of these conjectures or of the minor opinions brought forward in my paper to which Mr. C. takes exception, I need not allow myself to be drawn. Mr. C. confesses himself unacquainted with those recent investigations which are of indispensable and nearly exclusive importance for the settlement of the question. It is on the results of hieroglyphical and cuneiform research, taken in connexion with the fragments of Berossus, and the discoveries of Chwol-

son, that the view I have advocated mainly rests; and it is not to be set aside by ridiculous hints about Simonides and forgery, and self-complacent warnings against "rash constructiveness." I hope there are other enquirers as much alive as Mr. C. to the value of a just standard of historical evidence; at least in regard to a subject on which he is so entirely uninformed he should have abstained from volunteering advice about "strict critical inquiry into the sources of history."

W. T.

### SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR.—In the year 1856, I submitted for consideration to the public, through your Journal, a scheme of Biblical chronology founded upon the chronology of Demetrius, that being the earliest attempt at arrangement of Scripture dates in connexion with secular history of which we have any trace, and differing much from that which rests upon the authority of Ptolemy's canon, a compilation of later date. I did so, as I then stated, "in the hope that it might be closely criticised, and perhaps improved by ventilation." It is now four years and upwards since the publication, during which time many have done me the honour of criticising the suggested arrangement, though I confess myself surprised at the small amount of original matter thrown into the inquiry; and my remarks have called into activity the pens of many able contributors to your Journal, some anonymously, and some, such as Mr. Savile and Mr. Parker, who have put forth elaborate schemes with their names attached. Upon these two latter schemes I do not propose now to comment. Suffice it to say, that the scheme which I propounded has not been approved, and that I am content to acknowledge that I have since found much in it which requires emendation. Your Journal in the meanwhile of April last, p. 142, has pronounced it to be "so thoroughly unsound that improvement is out of the question, and that its defender must be satisfied to be admired rather as the chivalrous and devoted champion of a startling theory, than as the patient inquirer into the records of ancient, sacred, and secular history." I am too well aware of the extreme difficulty and intricacy of the subject, to suppose that anything which I may suggest may not be open to future alteration. But at the same time, as I am not disposed to acquiesce silently in the justness of your reviewer's sweeping condemnation, and have not yet exhausted my patience in pursuit of this interesting inquiry, I beg leave to offer a modified arrangement of my original scheme, less liable perhaps to objection, in the hope that it may be found not entirely useless towards the reconstruction of Biblical chronology on a sounder footing, which is much required.

On further examination, I find that less alteration of the current system of chronology is required than I had at first supposed, in order to avoid what appear to me insuperable difficulties in that system. Still adhering therefore to the principal distinguishing feature of the chrono-

logy of Demetrius, *viz.*, the introduction as I conceive of a reign or period of twenty-eight or twenty-nine years, between the end of the ordinary reign of Nabopolassar and the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, whose first year he places in B.C. 578, I have altered many minor points of the arrangement, thereby considerably raising some of the leading dates. The points adhered to are—

1st. That the empire of Nineveh was first overthrown by the Scythians, and after an interval of twenty-eight years that the city of Nineveh was finally destroyed, in the reign of Nabopolassar father of Nebuchadnezzar; and that Nabopolassar was the king of Nineveh, called by the Greeks Sardanapalus.

2nd. That after the expulsion of Nabopolassar=Sardanapalus from Nineveh, about the year B.C. 606 or 608, he continued to rule at Babylon for twenty-nine years, either as governor under the Scythians, or subordinate to the king who sat at Nineveh.

3rd. That the final destruction of Nineveh took place in the reign of Saracus, soon after the date of that eclipse which terminated the war between Cyaxares and Alyattes.

4th. That the date of that eclipse was B.C. 585, in conformity with historical tradition and astronomical computation.

5th. That Ahasuerus or Ackshurus, who together with Nabuchodonosor conquered Nineveh, was Cyaxares son of Phraortes king of Media.

6th. That Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther was Cyaxares son of Astyages, who is mentioned by Xenophon, though not known to Herodotus.

7th. That Darius son of Hystaspes the Persian was he who is styled in the Book of Daniel "Darius the Mede."

8th. That Cyrus son of Cambyses, who freed the Jews from captivity at Babylon, was still living when Darius succeeded Ahasuerus on the throne at Shushan.

9th. That the expression, "Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about three score and two years of age" (Dan. v. 31), has reference to some change in the local government towards the end of the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes in B.C. 493.

On the other hand, I conceive that the chronology of Demetrius must be rectified in conformity with the contents of the opening of the first chapter of the Book of Ezekiel, which records that the thirtieth year either of the reign of Nabopolassar, as Scaliger supposes, or of the era of Scythian domination, coincided with the fifth year of Jechoniah's captivity, and with the thirteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, thus raising the first year of that king's reign from 578 to B.C. 592, and the fall of Jerusalem from 560 to B.C. 574. I abandon also the idea that the regnal years of Darius the Median are to be counted in Scripture from the time when he took the kingdom at the age of about sixty-two.

With these preliminary remarks, let me now briefly point out why I feel compelled to dissent from the opinions put forward in your Journal, and why I consider that the current system of chronology therein

upheld cannot possibly be maintained. No scheme of dates which can be devised will fail to come into collision with some ancient authority, considering how much ancient authors are at variance amongst themselves. But at the same time no scheme can be admissible which, in its adjustment of Hebrew records with ancient monuments and authentic heathen records, does not produce identity of title when speaking of the same kings, and which does not embrace in a consistent manner all fixed dates, especially those of an astronomical character.

First, then, the writers in your Journal continue to uphold the following series of titular identifications, which have long formed the staple of the current system of chronology.

1. Ahasuerus	= Cyaxares.	{ He who conquered Nineveh. Book of Tobit, xiv. 15.
2. Ahasuerus	= Astyages.	Dan. ix. 1.
3. Ahasuerus	= Cambyses.	Ezra iv. 6.
4. Ahasuerus	= Xerxes or Artaxerxes.	Book of Esther.
5. Darius	= Cyaxares.	Dan. v. 31.
6. Artaxerxes	= Smerdis. <sup>a</sup>	Ezra iv. 7.

One of your contributors also who signs himself G., who professes himself to be fully satisfied with these so-called identifications, has lately argued that the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, in preference to any other Persian king.

Here then are the titles of five Median or Persian sovereigns named in canonical Scripture, supposed to be identified with five sovereigns named by heathen authors, whose titles are perfectly dissimilar. Can any reasonable mind, I ask, feel satisfied with such a series of direct contradictions? They are simply repugnant to plain common sense. There can be no danger in pronouncing a system comprehending such imperfections unsound and unworthy of belief. The Jewish writers who have named the series of kings contained in the first or scriptural column, were well acquainted both with the persons and titles of the kings of whom they write; and they have no doubt expressed those titles as nearly as may be to the original in the orthography of their own language. There is no reason also to doubt that the Greek writers who have collected the history of the several kings named in the second or secular column, have expressed those titles as nearly as they were able in the orthography of the Greek language. The titles do not, and by no ingenuity can ever be made to correspond.

With regard to the idea that Ahasuerus the husband of Esther was Artaxerxes Longimanus, as suggested originally by Josephus, no reasonable person, on reflection, I am sure can believe, that the Jewish writer of the Book of Esther should have known this king, either personally or from authentic records, by the title Ahasuerus in his seventh

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<sup>a</sup> Your correspondent G. in the *J. S. L.*, April, 1860, p. 112, observes that Bessus assumed the royal title Artaxerxes. Why, therefore, should there not have been a Smerdis=Artaxerxes, as well as a Bessus=Artaxerxes? For this plain reason: the real name of Smerdis was Gomates, and we know from a contemporary inscription, that he usurped the title of Smerdis or Bardes, brother of Cambyses, not that of Artaxerxes.

year, while Ezra in the same seventh year should have undertaken a direct commission from him under the title Artaxerxes; and again, that a bloody decree should have been issued in his thirteenth year under the seal of Ahasuerus, while Nehemiah, who was his cup-bearer, should again have known him, face to face, as Artaxerxes, in his twentieth and thirty-second years (Neh. ii. 1; xiii. 6). Such misidentifications appear to me so inconceivable, that the bare statement of them should be sufficient to dissipate the idea of entertaining them.

Secondly, let us observe that the prophet Daniel, writing at Babylon, speaks of seventy years of "desolation of Jerusalem, as about to terminate in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. ix. 1, 2); and the prophet Zechariah, writing at Jerusalem, speaks of seventy years' "indignation" against Jerusalem as having been already accomplished in the second year of Darius, elsewhere called king of Persia (Zech. i. 12; Ezra v. 1). According to the common reckoning, these seventy years of "desolation" of Daniel terminated eighteen years earlier than the seventy years' indignation of Zechariah; and Darius of the seed of the Medes is supposed to have been a king of Media, while Darius king of Persia, as all are aware, was the well known Darius son of Hystaspes.

Now it must occur to every one as somewhat remarkable, that the seventy years' "desolation" of Jerusalem should be supposed to terminate eighteen years before the seventy years' "indignation" against that city were accomplished; and still more remarkable, that these two supposed distinct periods, of seventy years of anger, and seventy years of punishment, should terminate, one about the *first year of Darius*, the other about the *second year of Darius*, and yet that the kings bearing the title Darius should be separate and distinct. Our surprise is still further excited, when we find that in the *first year of Darius* of the seed of the Medes, Daniel had prayed that the sanctuary of Jerusalem might be restored (Dan. ix. 17), and that in the *second year of Darius* king of Persia the command should have been given, through Zechariah, to restore the temple of Jerusalem and the sanctuary (Ezra v. 1). When we observe, moreover, that the father of Darius of the seed of the Medes was called Ahasuerus, and that the predecessor of Darius king of Persia was also called Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 6), our surprise begins to assume the form of incredulity at the idea, that Darius the Median and Darius king of Persia should be distinguished one from the other.

Upon further examination into the current arrangement, we find that no trace whatever can be found of any Median king bearing the title Darius, either in history or monumental records, and that the conclusion arrived at, as above stated, is, that when Daniel spoke of Darius, whom he knew as well as we know Queen Victoria, he was really referring to a Median king, whose title in Persian inscriptions is written Uachshatara, and by Xenophon Cyaxares. But when we find in addition to all this, that Ahasuerus father of Darius the Mede represents Astyages, and that Ahasuerus predecessor of Darius represents Cambyses, who in Egyptian and Persian monuments appears only under that title, and call to mind that the Ahasuerus of the Book of Tobit is

clearly Cyaxares, I think I am not exceeding the bounds of just observation, in exclaiming, "How long shall we tolerate such extreme non-sense calling itself explanation of the Holy Scriptures?" The plain and obvious inference is,—

1st. That there was reigning shortly before the fall of Babylon, and before the accession of Darius the Mede, a king called by the Hebrew writers Ahasuerus, and by the Greeks Cyaxares; and that this king was of the seed of the Medes.

2nd. That this Ahasuerus=Cyaxares was he whom Xenophon describes as assisting in the capture of Babylon under the title Cyaxares, and also he whom the Book of Esther describes under the title Ahasuerus, as ruling in the days of Mordecai the Jew, who had been carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar about fifty-eight years before the capture of Babylon.

3rd. That this Ahasuerus=Cyaxares had a son, either natural or adopted, called Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes.

Now some may surmise that Ahasuerus=Cyaxares really left a son, born of his own body, as his successor on the throne, and called Darius; this is not the plain inference from the premises, and difficulties are attached to it. For in this case we must set aside the testimony of Xenophon, that Cyaxares left no male issue. We must admit that this king who reigned over large dominions has left no trace behind him of his existence, except the supposed trace in the Book of Daniel. We must also accept the improbabilities connected with the idea that two distinct princes, bearing the title Darius, reigned at the expiration of the seventy years' desolation of, and indignation against, Jerusalem.

I see less difficulty, and greater conformity with Scripture, in adopting the alternative, that Darius son of Hystaspes was the adopted successor of Cyaxares, and so called his son, and that he took the throne at Shushan, ruling for a few years over a portion of the empire as subordinate king, while Cyrus continued to reign for a few years over the empire at Ecbatana, through Cambyses as his representative. We know from Persian inscriptions that it was not till "*after*" Darius son of Hystaspes became king that he conquered the usurper Smerdis—that all pretenders to the throne of Media in the beginning of his reign set themselves forward as "of the race of Cyaxares." We may be quite certain that Cyaxares, if without male issue of his own body, would have adopted a successor, according to the invariable practice of eastern monarchs, and we have no lack of instances in Scripture of the successor to the throne, though not directly descended from his predecessor, being called, according to eastern latitude of expression, "his son." With regard to the expression "of the seed of the Medes," as applied to Darius the Persian, nothing is more common, even down to the time of the Peloponnesian war, than for the Persians to be spoken of under the generic term Medes, and, as in modern days, our king James First may have been called the English king, though of Scottish birth, so may Darius have been called the Median king, though by birth a Persian.

But your correspondent G. is *certain* that Cyrus died in the year B.C. 530;<sup>b</sup> how then could he be reigning in the time of the son of Hystaspes B.C. 521? Will your correspondent have the goodness to inform us from whence, amidst all the confusion and contradiction of ancient authors, concerning the death of Cyrus, this certainty is derived? For this, in fact, involves the whole question at issue. It is true that Herodotus merely mentions that Cambyses was appointed successor of his father Cyrus on the throne before his father's death, and then gives one of the many accounts of the death of Cyrus, concerning which there was *no certainty* in that early day. The native Persian historians, however, according to Ferdousi, relate that Cyrus resigned his kingdom to Lohorasp, and went into religious retirement before his death; so that in this view he may have survived his representative on the throne. But Lucian affirms, upon the authority of an inscription in Persia, that Cyrus lived to a great age, and died of grief on hearing of the atrocities of his son Cambyses. All concur in stating that the successor of Cyrus came to the throne before his death. From whence then arises the certainty of your correspondent on this vital point of the inquiry, viz., the time when Cyrus died? Has that which was uncertain in the days of Herodotus become certain by repetition in the days of G. and G. B.?

Thirdly, there is an obscure chapter in the Book of Daniel, viz., chap. x., in which we read of a vision "in the third year of the reign of Cyrus king (melek) of Persia;" and we learn that there was then living and in power a certain "prince (sar) of the kingdom of Persia," distinct from Cyrus the *king*. This prince is again spoken of as "prince of Persia," against whom some contest was carried on, and "a prince of Grecia" is also spoken of, and soon after we meet with the abrupt words, "also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him" (chap. xi. 1). Now the usual mode of disposing of these princes of Persia and Grecia is by supposing that they were tutelary angels presiding over Persia and Grecia. Because it is set down for *certain*, that during the reign of Cyrus there could be no other prince of Persia. But this is not the testimony of Daniel, whose contemporaneous evidence must not be set aside concerning the condition of the Persian empire in the third year of the reign of Cyrus. I do not pretend to clear up all obscurities, but it is quite clear that Daniel speaks in this place of another ruler in Persia besides Cyrus, and it appears to me that the prince of Persia, or of the kingdom or province of Persia here spoken of, was no other than Darius the Mede there specially referred to, reigning as I suppose at Shushan. Thus if Darius the Mede, this prince, was the son of Hystaspes, as I suppose (and his successor Xerxes "as far richer than they all," being spoken of immediately after him confirms the idea), the testimony of Daniel would be in harmony with that of Ferdousi and Lucian, so that "this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (vi. 28).

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<sup>b</sup> *J. S. L.*, July, 1860, p. 414; see also G. B., April, 1858, p. 151.

Fourthly, I might dwell upon a fact, which has been frequently before pointed out, viz., that "Nehemiah the Tirshatha and Ezra the priest the scribe" (Neh. viii. 9, 14, 17), were both present at the first feast of tabernacles kept at Jerusalem after the return from captivity, and that they both sealed the covenant together with the same list of priests who came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Nehem. vii. 7, 65; viii. 9; x. 1); and that Nehemiah was yet living in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus b.c. 433 (xiii. 6), and Ezra in the twentieth year b.c. 445), so that if Zerubbabel and these priests came to Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus, it is impossible that the first of Cyrus could have been so early as b.c. 536, as generally supposed. In other words, the reign of Cyrus must have partly at least coincided with the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes.

So much for the difficulties in Scripture chronology as regards the reigns of Cyrus and Darius, involved in the common mode of reckoning. Let me now say a few words on the no less difficulties involved in the common mode of arranging the chronology of Herodotus as regards the reign of Cyrus.

The first palpable contradiction between Herodotus and Scripture, according to the common reckoning of the reign of Cyrus, is, that Herodotus places the commencement of the Persian empire under Cyrus, and the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes, long before the capture of Babylon, in b.c. 560, whereas the prophet Daniel, who was living at Babylon at the time it was taken, distinctly gives precedence to the Medes over the Persians up to the time of the fall of Babylon. The authority of Daniel as contemporary clearly supersedes that of Herodotus on this point, and if we admit, as no one ventures to deny, that Cyaxares II. succeeded to the throne of Astyages, Cyrus did not, and could not claim the throne of the emperor of Persia on the death of Astyages, nor till the time of the death or deposition of Cyaxares, and did not therefore issue his proclamation claiming sovereignty "over all the kingdoms of the earth" till the imperial reign of Cyaxares ceased. If Darius the son of Hystaspes therefore was the successor of Cyaxares =Ahasuerus, and called Darius the Mede, and Cyrus came to the imperial throne at the end of the reign of Cyaxares, the first year of Cyrus over the empire of Persia was not far distant from the first of Darius the Mede, as Daniel appears to state.

Another insuperable difficulty in the common reckoning concerning Cyrus is (see Hale's *Chronology*) that he is said to have lived seventy years, and to have died in the year b.c. 530. If so, Cyrus must have been born as commonly supposed in b.c. 600. But this is impossible consistently with facts related by Herodotus. For his grandfather Astyages married in the year of the eclipse b.c. 585, and his great grandfather Cyaxares was then still upon the throne. Now allowing only five years more to the reign of Cyaxares, and thirty-five years more after that for the reign of Astyages, in all forty years after the eclipse, and allowing that Astyages lived to the age of eighty, and was born therefore in b.c. 625, still it is not within reason to suppose that he could have been a grandfather in the year b.c. 600. If Cyrus therefore lived to the age of

seventy, as related by Cicero, from Dino the historian, which fact appears to be supported by a legend attached to the number seventy, (Lucian says he lived to the age of 100,) he must have died many years later than B.C. 530. We may dismiss therefore from among the certainties of the most uncertain history of this king, that he was born fifteen years before his grandfather married, that he first conquered his grandfather, then his great uncle Croesus, and that this same Croesus survived his great nephew Cyrus, who lived seventy years, and continued to live through the reign of his great-great-nephew Cambyses as his principal adviser.

Again, I have elsewhere shewn how Nebuchadnezzar at the time of his death referred to the coming of Cyrus the *mule* to destroy Babylon, in allusion, as I conceive, to the Delphic response to Croesus, and how therefore this Babylonian king could not have died according to the common reckoning in B.C. 561, long before the oracle was consulted by Croesus, and how this inference is confirmed by Herodotus himself, who speaks of Labynetus and Nitocris as living in B.C. 585, that is of Nabopolassar and Nitocris, and also of Labynetus their son, or Nebuchadnezzar, who we know reigned forty-three years, and must therefore have reigned till the time of Croesus.

Lastly, your correspondent G. B., who upholds the common reckoning, has contributed an elaborate article "On the probable date of the Fall of Nineveh," and concludes that "it is certain that the sack and overthrow of the Assyrian Metropolis by the Medes and Babylonians cannot be dated later than cir. 594 B.C." The one sole argument upon which this conclusion is founded, is, that Cyrus died in the year B.C. 530. Will he have the goodness first to prove this fundamental point. In treating of the fall of Nineveh, he has with much ingenuity avoided all the earliest authorities concerning the fate of Nineveh.

Demetrius, Abydenus, Polyhistor, and Josephus had all, we may infer, seen the history of Berossus, derived from native records, detailing no doubt the history of the fall of Nineveh and the rise of Babylon; and Herodotus a century and a half earlier than Berossus had collected the native traditions current in his days. These authorities ought to have been closely sifted, rather than avoided, before arriving at the above conclusion. Their combined testimony appears to me to be distinct and in perfect harmony, and the result, according to the best judgment I can form concerning it, is set down at the beginning of this letter. It is only surprising that when the principal date which governs the chronology of the period comes under consideration, viz., the great solar eclipse, the circumstances connected with which are so circumstantially described by Herodotus, and the date of which is so distinctly ascertained by modern science, your correspondent should be content to treat this insuperable obstacle in the way of his conclusions with the following insipid remark: "It is possible, nay, it is not beyond the limits of probability, that the Median and Lydian armies, when about

to engage in a battle, may have had their superstitious fears excited by a sudden thunder storm of unusual gloom and violence."

In conclusion, I trust that the contents of the many inscriptions in the British Museum, the publication of which has been long promised, and the value of which may be estimated from Sir Henry Rawlinson's letter in the *Athenaeum* of this date, may not be delayed, as any one new fact connected with the history of this confused period may lead to the clearing up of many doubtful points.

*Claysmore, Aug. 18, 1860.*

I. W. BOSANQUET.

P.S. With regard to the age of Daniel, there is no real difficulty. He was carried captive to Babylon when Jehoiakim fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, and when part of the vessels were carried away (Dan. i. 2), that is to say, after Jehoiakim had served the king of Babylon three years, and had revolted (2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7). The second year of Nebuchadnezzar, spoken of in Dan. ii. 1, is the second after his father's death, that is to say, his fourteenth year. This is set down by Scaliger amongst "epochs bearing the character of certainty" in Scripture.<sup>2</sup>

#### CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL BOOKS.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—The origin of that intermixture of the Canonical and Apocryphal books which we find in the Roman Vulgate, is not understood by the generality of Biblical students. They are puzzled to account for the same disarrangement in a version, which professedly follows the Hebrew text, as that which we find in the Septuagint Version. But they should remember that the Greek Version of the LXX. was the only text of the Old Testament which was used in the Christian Church till the days of Jerome, and that it was then admitted after much controversy between Jerome and Augustine. It ended, like many other controversies, in a compromise. The version of Jerome was admitted, but was compelled to follow the same order as that in which the books of the Old Testament had hitherto been received. It forms a striking evidence of the universal influence of the Greek Version in the Primitive Church, that even the authority of Jerome could not introduce the Vulgate translation of the Psalms into public worship.

These historical facts should always be remembered in our controversies with the Papists. Many uninformed Protestants suppose this intermixture of the Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Old Testament to date from the decision of the Council of Trent; and that it was introduced in opposition to the Protestant Reformation. The Council of Trent decided in favour of the same arrangement as had always existed, and so far it might plead the universal tradition of

<sup>2</sup> Scal., *De Emend. Temp. Notæ*, p. 51.

the Church. But they erred in giving the same authority to the Apocryphal as the Canonical books. The Protestants were clearly in the right in this fundamental distinction.

At what time this intermixture took place in the Greek Version it is now, perhaps, impossible to determine; certain it is, that none of the Apocryphal books were extant when the Greek translation first appeared; nor can it be traced so far back as the Christian era. Neither Josephus nor Philo confound the Canonical books of the Old Testament with the Apocrypha. Yet it appears to have existed in the earliest part of the second century, and soon after the fall of Jerusalem, in the time of Origen (A.D. 230); for he not only recognizes its existence, but in his Epistle to Africanus, assigns it canonical equality. But Origen was bold and singular, and his opinions were viewed with much distrust by the Orthodox.

It is probable that the introduction of these Apocryphal books, however injudicious, was by no means intended for any evil purpose. The Greek text of the Old Testament was confessedly a translation, not the original record. To admit writings relating to the Jewish history seemed harmless, perhaps desirable, if not considered as of canonical authority. The books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom were little more than comments on the Proverbs, and so might pass without rebuke in those uncritical times. We are not pleading for their introduction, but only accounting for it. We are furnishing the reader with an historical solution of their introduction amongst the books of the Old Testament.

In the Western Church, the Septuagint was very early translated into Latin. It could not be long after the preaching of St. Paul at Rome, that both the Old and New Testaments received the Roman language. I have always thought, what was known by "*The Italic*," was no other than the version which was expressly circulated in Italy. But all these Latin versions were confessedly taken from the LXX. Indeed, it must have been so, for the Hebrew language was totally unknown in the Christian Church till the days of Origen.

It could scarcely be wondered that these early Latin versions followed the same order as they found in the Septuagint, and this will still further account for the Vulgate being compelled to adopt this order. I hope, by these few remarks, to have cleared up some difficulties of considerable importance. If any of your readers wish for more information they should procure Bishop Marsh's invaluable work on the Romish Church.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

The editor of *The Hellenistic Greek Testament*.

*Brighton, Sept. 6, 1860.*

#### CODEX SINAITICUS.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—As the following letter and document forwarded to me by Pro-

fessor Tischendorf, in answer to my application to him for such information as he was disposed to communicate, respecting the manuscript of the Sinai Bible discovered by him, contains that which greatly interests Biblical students, I shall feel much obliged should you be able to afford it a place in your next publication.

I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,  
H. HEINFETTER.

17 Fenchurch Street, July 3, 1860.

Sir,—I hope that this notice upon the publication of the manuscript of the Sinai Bible will fully reply to the questions you had the goodness to address to me on the 8th of June.

Perhaps you will have the kindness to make this information known to your compatriots that share your interest.

I have the honour to be, yours truly,  
C. TISCHENDORF.

*“Extract from the Leipziger Zeitung of June 24th, 1860.*

“The journal of St. Petersbourg, dated May 3rd, gives us intelligence respecting the publication of the Sinaitic manuscript, with which Professor Tischendorf has been commissioned by the Imperial Government of Russia. The latter gentleman has since then returned to Saxony; the work itself has been commenced at St. Petersbourg and Leipsic, and we are now in a position to give more accurate information concerning this publication, which has excited so much interest in the remotest spheres. Of three plans which Professor Tischendorf laid before the Imperial Government of Russia with respect to this publication, his Imperial Majesty has approved the one which holds in a certain degree the medium between the two others. According to this, the whole text will be printed, with strict observance of all externalities, by means of such types as will accurately reproduce the writing of the original with its manifold peculiarities. These types are cut under the direction of Professor Tischendorf at the foundry of Von Gieserde and Devrieut at Leipsic, and are intended exclusively for the work in question. The text of the manuscript is distributed among three folio volumes, whereof the two first will contain everything belonging to the Old Testament; and the third, the New Testament complete, together with the letter of Barnabas and the fragment of the shepherd of Hermas. To these three volumes will be added a fourth, containing a treatise on the history of the manuscript and the progress of its discovery, on its extraordinary great age, and its importance as regards the science of Biblical text. To this treatise is joined the palæographic-critical commentary, concerning more than 7000 places altered in the manuscript by the old correctors. This volume will besides be distinguished by twenty plates of photographic fac similes, which are to familiarize scientific eyes with the impression of the original, and to point out the especially interesting parts. The photographic part of the work is being executed by order, and under the control of the publisher in the Photographic Atelier of the imperial staff at St. Peters-

bourg, whilst the execution of all topographic words takes place in the above-named foundry at Leipsic. The publication itself of the work will take place at St. Petersbourg exclusively, without its appearing in the bookselling world, as all the 300 copies will be reserved by his Imperial Majesty as presents.

"The completion of the work being deferred to the year 1862, is intended to illustrate still more the 1000th anniversary of the Russian Empire, which falls in that year. But in order to satisfy the desire of scientific men, there will be prepared, besides this anniversary edition, another which is to reproduce in a more simple form, although with the same critical precision, the Sinaitic text document. This latter edition, confined at first to the New Testament, with Barnabas and Hermas, will appear at a very moderate price at the printing office of F. A. Brockhaus, and is to be published in the same year, immediately after the anniversary edition. A special communication will in the course of this summer announce the undertaking of this double edition, with information respecting many points of this manuscript, from which the reader will already be enabled to pass a judgment as to its critical character of the text, and its scientific importance. It is a matter of course that every earnest inquirer for manuscripts will welcome this very ancient witness of saving truth; misunderstandings alone could induce pious minds to be apprehensive about it.

"This advertising communication, printed also by F. A. Brockhaus, will contain information respecting all the results of the last oriental journey of the editor, in so far as they regard the discovery, possession, and use of old Greek and Eastern manuscripts."

#### THE CODEX SINAITICUS OF TISCHENDORF.

DEAR SIR.—The following particulars regarding this eminently precious MS. are gleaned from a paper on the subject in the newly published number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, and may be of interest to your English readers, as forming the first details of the kind respecting the Sinai Codex, which, so far as I know, have yet been presented to the public.

In *palæographic character*, the MS. exhibits the usual features of the oldest uncials. The letters are more regularly formed than those from the first hand in the Vatican Codex, and approach in point of calligraphy to those of the Alexandrian MS. The initial letters of new paragraphs are not distinguished from the rest, either by size or by any attempt at ornamentation. Accents and breathings are totally wanting as in the Vatican MS., and there are but rare traces of punctuation. Generally speaking, the Sinai Codex may be regarded as occupying a place with respect to palæography, between A and B., and bears all the marks of a MS. of the first four centuries.

The *material* of the MS., as in the Vatican Codex, consists of very fine and costly parchment. Neither Origen nor Jerome was accustomed to make use of this material, and it is only after the cessation of those

persecutions to which the early Church was subjected, that we find any mention made of its employment. Such MSS. therefore as the present, cannot possibly be dated before A.D. 251, when the persecution under Decius closed, and, indeed, scarcely before the end of the Diocletian persecution in the year 311, but at the same time cannot be referred to a much later period.

The Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. are the only two known in which the sectional divisions of the Gospels brought in use by Eusebius (about the beginning of the fourth century) do not *prīmā manū* appear. The pre-Eusebian origin of our MS. may also be inferred from the fact that it contains, after the Apocalypse of John, the Epistle of Barnabas and the beginning of Hermas, without marking any distinction between these and the canonical books, whereas Eusebius (*Hist. Eccle.*, iii. 25) expressly excludes both these writings from the canon of Scripture. It may also be noticed, in confirmation of the hypothesis that the MS. is older than the days of Eusebius, that it assigns quite a peculiar place to the Acts of the Apostles, viz., *between* the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles, while Eusebius places that book *before* the Pauline writings, after which, in the order which he adopts, there follow the Catholic Epistles.

The following are important readings of the Sinaitic MS. It omits, as was to be expected, the passage 1 John v. 7, the famous text of "the heavenly witnesses." It also omits the whole section containing the history of the adulteress (John vii. 53; viii. 11). And what is still more worthy of notice, it entirely wants the long passage forming the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel (Mark xvi. 9—20). It thus adds its weighty suffrage to that of the Vatican MS. against the genuineness of this whole section. It was supposed by some Biblical critics, that, as made known in Mai's edition of B, there was a large space left vacant at the end of Mark's Gospel in that MS.; the transcriber may have by some means been prevented from adding the concluding verses, while not suspecting their authority; but this new witness will go far to strengthen the argument against their authenticity.

In 1 Tim. iii. 16, our MS. reads ὁς instead of Θεός as in the *textus receptus*. This is a very valuable, and will probably be deemed decisive, contribution to the settlement of the true reading in this passage. The uncertainty which has prevailed as to the reading of both A and C in this text, gives additional importance to the authority of the Sinai MS., particularly as it is probably the oldest witness to whom we can appeal, the Vatican MS., as is well known, not now containing the pastoral epistles.

The much controverted words εἰν Ἐφέσω in the beginning of the (so called) Epistle to the Ephesians, are wanting in our MS. These words have usually been marked doubtful by recent critical editors on the sole authority of the Vatican MS., taken in connexion with the express statement of Basil (middle of fourth century), that they were wanting in the ancient copies of the New Testament. It seems as if the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. were the only two which had in this particular preserved to us the genuine reading of the New Testament text.

I regret to find, in the paper from which I have drawn the above information, no mention made of the reading of the Sinai MS. at Acts xx. 28. It is now *certain* that B reads Θεοῦ in that passage, and should this reading be confirmed by the newly-discovered MS., the controversy which has been waged regarding that most important text may be considered as satisfactorily closed. But on that, and many other points connected with the MS., we must look for light to Tischendorf's speedily promised publication, and trusting that in the meantime the above hints may be acceptable to some of your readers,

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

ALEX. ROBERTS.

*St. John's Wood, Sept. 1, 1860.*

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Ceylon : an account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical, with Notices of its Natural History, Antiquities, and Productions.* By SIR JAMES EMERSON TENNENT, R.C.S., LL.D., etc. London : Longman and Co., 1859.

GALLE, the principal port in the island of Ceylon, and where our ships and steamboats touch on their passage to and from the East, has at this time been brought into prominent notice by the loss of the *Malabar*—that ship which was intended to convey our own ambassador, and Baron Gros the ambassador of the French Emperor, to China, to settle our disputes with that far distant and, even up to this time, comparatively little known empire.

The geography of the world is not much, if at all altered since the time of Solomon. The lapse of two or three thousand years has made little perceptible difference on the surface of the globe. And if we find Galle—placed as it is midway between the eastern and western nations of the world—convenient as an *entrepôt* now, we may presume that it was (if it were then known) equally convenient in ancient times, and therefore that this place, or some place not far distant from it, must be the one that is spoken of as the ancient Tarshish.

The claims of Cadiz at the mouth of the Guadalquivir in Spain, have long since been given up. It is all but universally allowed that the Tarshish mentioned in the Scriptures must be somewhere in the East, and the only question now is, whereabouts in the East can this place be?

Sir Emerson Tennent has fixed upon Galle, and he has in some measure qualified himself to be an arbiter in the matter. He has spent nearly thirteen years in the island as governor. During this long residence he has taken opportunity to examine it by personal inspection in all its length and breadth, and what is more, has written the best account of it, as to its form, productions, plants, animals, and capabilities, that has ever yet been given to the world. Galle is one of its principal ports, Colombo ranking before it only because it is the seat of government.

In one part of his work to which we will now draw attention, Sir Emerson Tennent has come to the conclusion,—and given his reasons for so thinking,—that Galle is the ancient Tarshish, and in introducing it to our notice, he thus writes:—

"In modern times Galle was the mart of Portugal, and afterwards of Holland ; and long before the flags of either nation had appeared in its waters, it was one of the *entrepôts* whence the Moorish traders of Malabar drew the productions of the remoter East, with which they supplied the Genoese and Venetians, who distributed them over the countries of the West. Galle was the 'Kalah' at which the Arabians in the reign of Haroun Alraschid met the junks of the Chinese, and brought back gems, silks, and spices from Screndib to Bassora. The Sabæans, cen-

turies before, included Ceylon in the rich trade which they prosecuted with India, and Galle was probably the furthest point eastward ever reached by the Persians, by the Greeks of the lower empire, by the Romans, and by the mariners of Berenice, in Egypt, under the Ptolemies. But an interest deeper still attaches to this portion of Ceylon, inasmuch as it seems more than probable that the long-sought locality of Tarshish may be found to be identical with that of Point de Galle."—Vol. ii., p. 100.

To determine this question, it will be necessary to see what sort of things are said in the sacred volume to have been brought from what is there called Tarshish; whether such things are producable in the island, or to be obtained in it; and especially whether it is of such a description as to afford access to ships, and what time would be required to sail from the coasts of Arabia or from the Red Sea to such a place.

Of what kind the things were which the merchants brought from Tarshish we are told in the sacred volume, and they are said to be gold, silver, apes, and peacocks. In Ceylon, apes, peafowl, and elephants abound.

"In some of the unfrequented portions of the eastern province, to which Europeans rarely resort, and where the peafowl are unmolested by the natives, their number is so extraordinary that, regarded as game, it ceases to be 'sport' to destroy them; and their cries at early morning are so tumultuous and incessant as to banish sleep, and amount to an actual inconvenience."—Vol. i., p. 165.

We may add that in Ceylon, other birds, the plumage of which might be equally used as ornaments to the person, and especially to heighten female beauty, also abound, as the sunbird, birds of paradise, parroquets, and kingfishers. And though peafowl alone are mentioned as articles of commerce, yet we are probably to understand that other birds which had pretensions to beauty were articles of commerce too, and were all comprehended under this one name, peafowl.

We may observe further, that the Hebrew word used by the sacred writers for peacock cannot be traced up satisfactorily to any Hebrew root. It is evidently of foreign origin, and what is singular, in the island to this day the word used by the natives for this bird harmonizes exactly with the word signifying peacock in the Hebrew Scriptures. The natives call the bird "tokei," and the word in Hebrew, in the plural number (for it is not once used in the singular, as if the Jews had knowledge of the peacock only in mass), is תַּוקְיִם (*tukeyim*). This very word would lead us to believe that the bird had been brought from Ceylon under the very name by which it was known to the inhabitants of that island at that time.

The merchants are also said to have brought apes. Now what says Sir Emerson Tennent of them? Read his own words:—

"To a stranger in the tropics, among the most attractive creatures in the forests are the troops of *monkeys* which career in ceaseless chace through the loftiest trees. In Ceylon there are five species, four of which belong to one group, the wanderers, and the other is the little graceful grimacing *rilawa*, which is the universal pet and favourite of both natives and Europeans."—Vol. i., p. 129.

In the name of this animal also there is a wonderful analogy between the Ceylon vernacular and the ancient Hebrew. The natives

call it "kapi," and its Hebrew name (in the Hebrew, however, only used in the plural), is כָּפִים (*kophim*).

As to ivory, that could not be scarce where elephants were so abundant, and abound to this day, so much so as to be a nuisance to the island. Sir Emerson Tennent says that at the time the Portuguese and Dutch had possession of the island, the supply of elephants for Government purpose was kept up "by periodical battues conducted at their cost, on a plan similar to that adopted in India, when herds varying from twenty to one hundred and upwards are driven into concealed enclosures and secured."

It is remarked as a curious fact, that—

"Whilst in Africa both sexes have tusks, with some slight disproportion in the size of those of the females; and whilst in India, the females are provided with them, though of much less dimensions than the males; not one elephant in a hundred is found with tusks in Ceylon; and the few that possess them are exclusively males. Nearly all, however, have those stunted processes which are called *tushes*, about ten or twelve inches in length, and one or two in diameter."

Elephants were once supposed to shed their teeth or tusks periodically; it is now known not to be so. But this is ascertained, that the first teeth of the elephant, like those of man, are shed. Amongst the thousands of elephants then which may have been said to have originally covered the island of Ceylon, doubtless many must have been the teeth dropped and left to be gathered up by any that could find them, to say nothing of those who for the sake of their teeth were captured and destroyed.

Need we wonder then at Solomon's throne of ivory, or of the ivory used for other purposes by him, and by such of his wealthy subjects as imitated his example? And whither could he seek for this valuable article with so much success, as in the port of an island where it so much abounded?

But then, further, the merchants imported both gold and silver. These were not abundant in the island, if found there at all. By a geological survey made by our own Government, no successful discovery of either gold or silver has been made, and we are not justified in supposing that either of these metals brought in Solomon's ships came from this place. But as we have observed, Galle was then the mart of trade, and quantities of gold and silver must therefore have been brought to it, to be weighed for articles which the merchants purchased. As we in England now receive gold from Australia and other places, so probably the people at Galle received from the regions eastward, beyond them, both gold and silver. Silver abounds to this day in China, Malacca, and other places eastward. As now, so then, Galle was the port where those sailing from the east and those sailing from the west met. It was at that time the main *entrepôt* of the known world, and as such there was no place so likely to which Solomon would charter ships from whence to supply his wants as it. (The gold is said to have come from Ophir.)

There was still another article which also would lead us to suppose

that Ceylon was a place whence Solomon would supply, at least, some of his wants; those that have reference to the elegance of life, the splendour and beauty of his buildings, its wood. Of course he obtained the fragrant smelling cedar from Lebanon, by the goodwill and co-operation of Hiram the prince of Tyre. As pianos with us are made of curious woods, so we read Solomon had harps, and psalteries, and lutes, and such like instruments made of almug trees. In order to ornament his temple, and other buildings, he also used almug trees for pillars, cutting them into various shapes and sizes.

After describing the woods which are used for house or ship building and other useful purposes, Sir E. Tennent adds:—

"The forests to the east furnish the only valuable cabinet woods used in Ceylon, the chief of which is ebony, which grows in great abundance throughout all the flat country to the west of Trincomalie. It is a different species from the ebony of Mauritius, and excels it and all others in the evenness and intensity of its colour. The centre of the trunk is the only portion which furnishes the extremely black part which is the ebony of commerce; but the trees are of such magnitude that reduced logs of two feet in diameter, and varying from ten to fifteen feet in length, can readily be procured from the forests of Trincomalie.

"There is another cabinet wood of extreme beauty, called by the natives cadooberia. It is a bastard species of ebony, in which the prevailing black is stained with stripes of rich brown, approaching to yellow and pink. But its density is inconsiderable, and in durability it is far inferior to that of true ebony.

"The calamander, the most valuable cabinet wood of the island, resembling rosewood, but much surpassing it both in beauty and durability, has at all times been in the greatest repute in Ceylon."—Vol. i., p. 117.

He mentions several other cabinet woods, and woods proper for veneering, and it is more than probable that it was one of these woods which obtained amongst the Hebrews the name of almug trees, and of which Solomon made the musical instruments we have mentioned, and out of which he carved the beautiful pillars which adorned his house and the temple. And if so, they were importations from Ceylon.

But the matter which tends more than any other to convert the supposition that Galle is the Tarshish of Scripture into a reality, is the time specified as that which was occupied in sailing from the Red Sea to whatever the place was, and returning. We must bear in mind that in those early times, the only method of sailing was what we now call coasting. The resolution of Columbus to trust himself to an open and unknown sea was considered by many, if not by most, a dangerous and foolhardy experiment. Horace had long ago depicted the committing the frail bark to the seas, even for the purpose of coasting, as a wickedness:—

"Nequicquam Deus abscidit  
Prudens Oceano dissociabili  
Terras, si tamen impie  
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.  
Audax omnia perpeti  
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas."—

Horace, *Odes.*, liber i., ode 3.

In the sacred narrative it is said that a return of the ships which

had started for this place, was expected only after the lapse of three years. Thus we read (1 Kings x. 22), "For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram : once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, and ivory, apes, and peacocks." It is also singular, that in a Persian poem called the *Gashash Nameh*, the voyage from the Red Sea is represented as occupying the space of eighteen months, and the return voyage of course the same time. Three years would be the time in which a ship would go and return, leaving sufficient time for those who sailed with it to load and unload their freight.

The monsoons also tend to fix Galle as the general *entrepôt*. At one season of the year the monsoon sets in from the southern, or rather south-western ocean, and would prevent any ship coming from more eastern parts, as Bengal and China, doubling the headland on the south of Ceylon. It has been this very monsoon which has so lately perilled our own and the French ambassadors, in the harbour of Galle. On the other hand, when the north-eastern monsoon sets in, there is an equal impossibility in a vessel coming from the west doubling the same headland to proceed north-eastward. The one would offer resistance to the party sailing eastward, and the other to the party sailing westward. Galle, as lying between the two monsoons, is just the point at which ships brought by these two adverse gales would meet, so that every consideration tends to fix upon that port as being the ancient Tarshish mentioned in the Scriptures.

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*Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D., Vicar of Ile Brewers, and late Missionary to the Jews and Muhammedans in Persia, Bokhara, Cashmere, etc.* Vol. I. Second Edition. London : Saunders and Otley. 8vo. 1860.

It needs no words of ours to introduce Joseph Wolff to our readers. There are few names of clergymen so familiar to us in this country as his, and none so well known in the East. We are, however, well pleased to be able to introduce them to the early life and first adventures of this celebrated missionary, to tell them how he passed from his hereditary religion to that of the Roman Catholic Church, from thence through Protestantism to that of a sound English Churchman. A Levite by birth, the son of the rabbi of Weilenbach, he is now, at the age of sixty-six, vicar of Ile Brewers, in Somersetshire—a priest of a better covenant than that of his fathers. In his father's house he heard his countrymen speak of the future glory of Israel, of many great rabbis who travelled to Jerusalem to see the Holy City, of the great teachers of their religion, till young Wolff yearned to be a missionary too. Gleams of Christian light broke in upon him ; the first, strangely enough, coming from the Talmud. Thus it is said that the great Onkelos, having by magic raised up Titus, the destroyer of Jerusalem, asked him how he would treat the Jews ? Titus answered, that he would torture them. Then Onkelos raised up Jesus of Nazareth, and asked

him how they ought to be treated. He answered, "Treat them well." Wolff asked his father who this Jesus of Nazareth was? His father told him that he was a Jew of the greatest talent; but, pretending to be the Messiah, the Sanhedrim had put him to death. Then he told him that Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews kept in captivity, because they murdered the prophets of God. Wolff thought perhaps Jesus was a prophet, and was innocent. So strongly did these things strike his mind, that he never afterwards passed a church without standing outside to listen. One day he was told by a Christian barber who this Jesus was. "The real Messiah was Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, whom your ancestors have crucified as they did the prophets of old. Go home, and read Isaiah liii., and you will be convinced that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." Wolff did so, and asked his father of whom the prophet spake in that place? His father stared at him, and gave no reply; but he heard him saying to his mother, "God have mercy upon us, our son will not remain a Jew. He is continually walking about and thinking, which is not natural." This striking event took place when Wolff was only seven years old. There seems, therefore, to have been a providential leading of this boy to Christianity.

After this, we are not told at what age, we find Wolff travelling about, learning Latin and French, and maintaining himself by teaching Hebrew at Frankfort, Halle, Vienna, Prague, Presburg. At Frankfort he found the Jews complete infidels; at Prague, Jewish boys turned Christians to spite their parents, when they could not get all they asked for. At a monastery of Benedictine friars at Mölk, Wolff received his first regular instruction in Christianity. At Prague, at seventeen years of age, he was baptized by the Most Reverend Leopold Zalda, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Emaus: he was confirmed by the Bishop of Leutmeritz.

The man that seems to have exercised the greatest influence over Wolff's theological opinions, and while in the Roman Church prepared him for the rejection, afterwards, of its extravagant claims, was the famous Count Stolberg. Stolberg adhered strictly to the *dogmas* of the Roman Church, but troubled himself little about the *opiniones piaæ*. He did not believe in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; saying on one occasion, that if Mary was the mother of Jesus, Eve was his grandmother; nor in the assumption of her body, though he believed that of her soul; nor did he approve of her being called the Queen of Heaven, or of prayers being addressed to her equally with her Son. Wolff's stay with him was only seven months. The sudden return of Napoleon from Elba compelled Stolberg to retire: two of his eleven sons fell at Waterloo. After a short stay at the Protestant University of Tübingen in 1815, he reached Rome in the following year. Here he studied at the Propaganda in company with Count Feretti, now Pope Pius IX.

"Wolff is anxious here to have his opinion of the Roman colleges thoroughly understood. Differing, as he constantly did, from both teachers and pupils in theological views . . . . he must yet uphold to admiration the moral and reli-

gious training he witnessed in those establishments. Neither in the Collegio Romano nor in the Propaganda did he ever hear an indecent observation, either from priests, prefects, or pupils, nor see one single act of immorality."

During his stay at the Propaganda, Wolff was continually shewing an independence of thought and word, by no means consistent with his youth and his position as pupil. He contradicted tutors and professors to their face in a manner which, he confesses himself, was highly improper : his freedom of tongue led to his dismissal. On his first introduction to the Pope, Pius VII., the latter was so taken with him, that he said—

" ' You are my son.' Wolff gently and caressingly patted his holiness on the shoulder, saying, ' I love your holiness; give me your blessing.' Then kneeling down, he received the benediction of that holy man, of which he will always treasure the most pleasing recollection, in spite of those bigoted Protestants who declare the Pope to be Antichrist."

The consequence of this appeared afterwards :—

" One day, indeed, matters became quite boisterous at table in the Collegio Romano. One of the pupils said, ' Wolff, how could you pat the Pope's shoulder ? are you not aware that the Pope is God ? ' Wolff became as red as a turkey-cock, and said, ' How can you dare to say such a thing. The Pope is dust of the earth, *polvere della terra*. If he were God, I could not have touched him.' All the collegians, and the professors, and rectors, and vice-rectors rose from their seats, and exclaimed, ' Wolff, what are you saying ? ' Wolff said, ' This fellow called the Pope God, and I say he is dust of the earth : who is right ? ' One answered, ' Is it not said, Ye are gods ? ' Wolff said, ' Yes, which may be broken in pieces.' Another said, ' He is God on earth, for he has power in heaven, and on earth, and in purgatory.' And again, another said, ' One may call him God in a large sense.' Wolff replied, ' I shall not call the Pope God either in a large or small sense.' And to Wolff's utter surprise, every one of the most learned men belonging to the Court of Rome defended and supported the expression."

This was the cause of Wolff's being sent away from Rome. He returned to Vienna, and then went to a Redemptionist monastery at Val-sainte, where he did not stay long. Circumstances brought him at last to London. There he called on the late Henry Drummond, whom he had before known in Italy, and who, from the first moment of their acquaintance, promised ever to befriend him—a promise amply fulfilled. Drummond took Wolff first to a Baptist meeting-house, then to a Quaker's, with both of which Wolff was disgusted: a Methodist meeting pleased him little better. It was not till he went to the Jewish chapel in Bethnal Green, and heard for the first time the church service, that he found the worship that satisfied him. From that time he considered himself a member of the Church of England, though, as he tells us—

" His view being then (as it is to a great degree now) that the members of the living Church of Christ—*i. e.*, those who in the last days shall compose the Church, which is to be the bride of the Lamb—are to be found among the baptised members of all denominations ; whilst, on the other hand, he maintains that the only divinely-constituted Church is that which has preserved the apostolic succession."

Wolff was sent, by the Society for Promoting Christianity among

the Jews, to Cambridge, where he studied for two years under Professor Lee, made acquaintance with Simeon, who, he tells us, was of Jewish extraction, and read theology with him every Saturday, and other lights of the then great and energetic evangelical party. It was with difficulty that the society was at last induced to send him out as a missionary. It had tried many Jewish converts before, but all had turned out badly: one turned a Mohammedan, another a pickpocket, another a swindler: it felt unwilling to trust Joseph Wolff. At last, chiefly through the influence of Mr. Drummond, he was sent to the East, stopping at Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria: his journey extended through Sinai, Syria, and Palestine, including, of course, Jerusalem.

We have traced out, in order of time, the early life of this remarkable man, and we have done so to put our readers in possession of the leading facts of that great part of his career which is the least known. The subsequent portion, his missionary work, has been published in various periodicals, and is, no doubt, more or less known to all. We shall therefore conclude this notice (to be continued when the second volume comes out) by mentioning a few of the remarkable events in Wolff's missionary tour.

The principal object of his journey was the conversion of the Jews. To these he was to address himself, trying to persuade them that the Messiah had come. We need not tell our readers what little success has attended these efforts, and how very unsatisfactorily most of the converted Jews have turned out: no one bears stronger testimony to this fact than Wolff himself. Many of the German Jews are infidels, who therefore are ready to renounce their own religion and embrace Christianity, in order to gain some temporal advantage. Throughout the East, both among Jews and Mohammedans, covetousness is the ruling passion; for money they will profess Christianity, and for money renounce it. The majority, however, are firm to their fathers' traditions—even more tenacious, as their hopes seem more hopeless. An old Jew from Poland, at least seventy years of age, who was travelling to Jerusalem to spend the rest of his days in waiting for the coming of the Messiah, entered into conversation with Wolff, who told him that he was going to Jerusalem to preach the Gospel to the Jews there. The old man addressed him.—

“Sir, none will be converted; for we have been scattered for more than 1700 years among all nations, persecuted and despised, our holy city destroyed, and the 1700 years spent in constant and continual endeavour by the Gentiles to persuade us that Jesus is the Messiah; but at the end of the 1700 years we disbelieve it still.’ He added, ‘Centuries and centuries have passed since Christians have tried to convert us by pouring out our blood and by persecuting us, and centuries and centuries have passed, and yet we stand a people separated from the nations, and exclaim every day, Hear, Israel, the Lord our God is our Lord.’”

There can be no doubt that the long and cruel persecutions of the Jews in Europe during the middle ages must have left a legacy of bitter hatred against Christianity to their descendants, and a horror of embracing a religion which for hundreds of years persecuted them.

At Saloniki, the ancient Thessalonica, there is a strange sect of Jews which Wolff describes ; the Turks call them "Domna," *i. e.*, "the Turned." Their history is this : Shabatay Zebee, a Bulgarian Jew, a man of great learning, suddenly proclaimed himself the Messiah—one of those false Christs and false prophets against whom our Lord warns the Jews. Thousands flocked to his standard at Aleppo, Smyrna, and Jerusalem, also in Prague and Vienna. He ruled over multitudes who paid tribute to him. The attention of the Sultan being roused, he was sent to Constantinople, where, to save his life, he became Mohammedan : being still suspected, probably with justice, he was beheaded. The leading features of his teaching were the abolition of the law of Moses, the countenancing of every vice, and the practice of some secret rites. His death did not break up the sect, since his followers declared that it was written, "He was cut off from the land of the living." There are about 200,000 of his sect still existing. They are generally very rich and clean, and honest in their dealings ; they conform outwardly to the religion of the country they are in, but they intermarry with none but their own sect, and in secret practise their own rites. The singular feature of the whole—the abolition of the law of Moses—is, Wolff tells us, a common expectation of the Jews. They expect the Messiah will do this, quoting the passage in Jeremiah : "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah." Yet modern Jews reject Christ because he abolished the law. The truth, no doubt, is the dislike the natural man has to the purity and humility which the Gospel teaches. This man's teaching of conformity to the world, joined with his claim of kingly power, at once gratified their vanity and their passions.

We must defer further notice till we get the second volume.

*Sermons from the Quaresimale of P. Paolo Segneri.* Translated from the original Latin by JAMES FORD, A.M., Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral. In Three Series. London : Masters. 1857—1860. 8vo.

MR. FORD has now completed his design in regard to these remarkable sermons, and the third series is now given to the public. We have before noticed the two former, and we are glad of another opportunity of bearing a further testimony to the great value of these discourses, both as striking compositions in themselves and as examples which may be profitably studied by preachers. As Mr. Ford remarks, the attention of the Church (and we may take the word in its widest sense) has lately been called in a remarkable manner to the best mode of enlightening the ignorant and reclaiming the irreligious in our great cities, especially in the metropolis ; and the style of Segneri has been recommended as adapted to that end. We know that men are drawn to the care of their souls in very extraordinary, and often very unexpected ways, but we must conclude that in this, as in all other

departments of the Divine operation, there are means more adapted than others to that end. And nothing can be more worthy of careful and diligent study than the best way of gaining the affections for God, and imparting to men peace on earth and a hope of blessedness hereafter. Mr. Ford would not recommend to his brethren the style and manner of his author in every respect, or on all occasions, but for the purpose of arousing the careless and ignorant, he would press these sermons on their notice, and in this we entirely agree with him. He says :—

" For this particular object he considers that we may copy with advantage Segneri's characteristic excellencies as a preacher ; for instance, his heartiness and zeal for souls, his unsparing reproof of particular sins and of the vices fashionable in his day, his determination to get a hearing and to carry his point ; and then, his close combatting with the wickedness and evasiveness of the human heart ; and above all, his peculiar power—the power of a gifted and well-stored mind—in presenting Scripture truth under so many varied, attractive, and luminous points of view. It was by these means that he exerted and fixed the attention of the ignorant and irreligious. It was thus that he not only succeeded in making himself understood, but so spoke as to prevent the possibility of his being misunderstood by any class of his hearers. And this, after all, is the most useful kind of preaching and the best style of eloquence, when, without lowering our ministry or our sacred subject, we bring ourselves within the reach of the most ordinary capacity ; when we are able to interest while we instruct, and to win while we convince—*delectando pariterque monendo.*"

But Segneri is another instance of what has been so often proved, that no man ever became popular as a speaker without deeply studying both his subject and the mode of its delivery. It is a fatal mistake to suppose that art will produce an appearance of unnaturalness in those who use it, for *ars est celare artem*. " It must not be supposed," says Mr. Ford, " that the eloquence of the Italians consists in the mere fervency of an impassioned imagination as apart from a due exercise of the judgment and reasoning faculties." He informs us, in corroboration of this remark, that an Italian named Malmusi, has published an edition of the *Quaresimale* of Segneri with the object of shewing that every sermon is constructed on the rules of oratory laid down by Cicero and Quintilian. At the close of each discourse, he appends a logical analysis of its contents, and reduces the leading arguments to the form of so many enthymemes, pointing out their force and propriety. In connexion with this careful preparation, there is another thing to be noted in Segneri, and that is his use of illustrations taken from real life, from the known passions and sins of men. He also speaks plainly of hell and its horrors, and in this respect is like divines of the time of the Reformation in England, and the most popular preachers among Christian sects. He exposes the greatness of some sins which are now but little dwelt upon in pulpits, that of slander for instance. He paints its evil in strong colours, and gives illustrations of its punishment which sound almost like exaggerations, but which must have produced a great effect on the minds of common hearers. We will give this passage, and in taking our leave of the work, we most earnestly recommend it to all whose duty it is to instruct others in the great things of Christ's Holy Gospel :—

"This, my brethren, this is the appalling effect which the sin of slander produces on the mind of God; it is as if it rendered Him callous, implacable, inexorable; and therefore it is quite certain that, should you cherish any design of having recourse to Him in your last illness, to get Him to pity you, you will fail altogether; and it will then appear to you an over-stretch of boldness to ask Him to compassionate in you those failings which sprang only from your own want of compassion towards others. Such was the reply made by a certain wretched friar, as it is related by some most creditable writers. He was on the point of death. The bystanders earnestly exhorted him to put his trust in the mercy of God. 'What mercy?' he answered them, 'what mercy? there is no mercy to me who shewed so little to others.' He then put out his tongue, and pointing with his fingers, bade them look at it. 'This tongue it is,' he resumed, 'that has ruined me! This tongue that has so often helped me in your hearing to condemn others, now itself hurles me desperately into perdition.' He spake, and to make it more evident that he had pronounced a judicial sentence on himself, his tongue began to swell most frightfully in his mouth. . . . Another slanderer, a woman, when dying, most savagely with her own teeth rent her tongue into pieces; in another case a man's tongue became palsied; in another, it bred worms; so unserviceable did it become to them in their last extremity in asking God to forgive them their past sins. But what can you say in reply to this? Does it appear prudent for you to expose yourself to a terrible hazard for the sake of giving a little license to an unbridled tongue. *May my mouth not speak of the works of men.* Make then, make then this declaration, I say:—*May my mouth not speak of the works of men!* (Psalm xvii..4, Vulgate.) For much indeed doth it concern you to resolve on this and to do it firmly. How foolish, how blind, how besotted we are! Is it possible we can be so slow in determining, while here, to look to ourselves, considering that, hereafter before the tribunal of God, it will be of ourselves and not of other people that we must give an account?"

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*Charges of Heresy against Mr. Maurice, considered in a Letter to the Members of the Young Men's Christian Association.* Originally published in the year 1854. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. pp. 44.

THE charge of heresy is a serious one to bring against a man, but it is not always a bad thing for him. There are some who will be scared by it, and induced to stand aloof from the accused, as one who has abandoned the ancient ways of truth, and entered upon the novel and perilous paths of error. But there are others who will not think and feel thus; they will suppose, if he be a man of genius, that he may be right; or they will sympathize with him as one whose personal liberty is interfered with, or they will have a prurient curiosity to know what this forbidden fruit may be. Those who at once endorse the reproach of heresy, may do its object a real injustice, by neglecting to inquire into a charge which may not be well founded. But those who are enlisted on his side by the very fact that certain things are said against him may endanger their own well being. In any case the question should be fairly argued between the plaintiff and defendant. If the accuser hesitates or fails to support his charge by competent evidence, the fact ought to be made public, and equal publicity should be given to the defence. There are few public men who can afford to pass over such an accusation in silence when openly made. Mr. Maurice acknowledges in effect that he was under the necessity of defending himself,

and the pamphlet before us is the proof. In two respects it is noticeable. The accusations it refers to were first made some years since, and have been lately repeated ; and the reply itself was first printed a few years ago, and is now republished.

We are not going into this matter at length, although some very important principles and questions are involved. It seems, however, that the immediate occasion of this reprint was as follows :—Mr. Maurice having received the nomination to an important incumbency in the metropolis, was by some deemed unsuitable for doctrinal reasons. The *Record* of July 13th distinctly accused him of four capital errors, and sundry minor ones. The chief points adduced were,—1. That he rejected the doctrine of everlasting punishment; 2. That he repudiated the doctrine of the last judgment; 3. That he denied the resurrection of the body; and 4. That he rejected the doctrine of our Lord's atonement. The lesser objections taken to him were such as these; that his form of teaching was not in accordance with that of the standards of the Church, and that he is accustomed to use old words in a new sense.

Mr. Maurice admits that these charges were made long ago, and greatly complains that they are revived against him. But how does he meet them? He could have distinctly denied them, and published a simple declaration of his faith and practice, with such explanations as would have shewn the harmony of his teachings with the general doctrine of the Church to which he belongs. This would have put his opponents to silence, or at least would have accounted for his apparent peculiarities. There were, however, serious difficulties in the way; he could not affirm his belief in all the doctrines instanced, nor could he say that he followed the beaten track either in the use or in the choice of words. He could not say that he accepted the doctrine of everlasting punishment as it is commonly understood; neither could he say that his views on the other points do not differ from those usually entertained. As an honest man, therefore, he has pursued another course, and has laboured to justify the opinions he holds. We have carefully examined his plea, and are compelled to admit that it has failed to satisfy us. He has defended his opinions without a full and explicit statement of them, so that we are left to gather them in the best way we can. Those who are acquainted with his writings will perceive in a moment the disadvantage which this is to his readers. Mr. Maurice's style is not celebrated for its logical precision and its transparency. It is often positively intricate and obscure, and is sometimes capable of a double interpretation which is calculated to lead us astray. His actual meaning is from time to time so enveloped and encumbered with a crowd of minor arguments, illustrations, and allusions, that an *Oedipus* alone might hope to unravel it. Such at least is our experience, although his admirers will say that the darkness and uncertainty are only in our understandings. It may be so; but it may not. We admit that some portions, nay many portions of this gentleman's writings are very plain and transparent, but it is pain-

fully evident that such is not always the case, for if he is so orthodox, why is his orthodoxy called in question? But it is idle to say he is orthodox in the usual sense of the word, because both he and all his followers declaim against the errors of the age, and profess to teach a purer doctrine both in matter and in form. Perhaps it will be said that it is not new doctrine, not another doctrine that is taught, but only a new and different interpretation of the old doctrine. To this we should reply that a new explanation of a doctrine may constitute a new doctrine. Take, for example, those above named as objected to. The doctrine of everlasting punishment is, that the punishment of the wicked in the world to come will last for ever. The doctrine of the last judgment is, that there will be a simultaneous, public, and universal judgment of men at the end of time by the Lord. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is, that the dead bodies of all men will be restored to life at the end of time, and, re-united with the soul, will be immortal. The doctrine of the atonement is, that the death of Christ upon the cross was a sacrifice on account of which alone God pardons men's sin, and bestows upon them salvation. This is the view we take of these doctrines, and we think it agrees in the main with that usually entertained. Such propositions may be explained, but the explanation ought to be merely a development or variation of their terms in order to make them plainer. When the explanation conveys an idea substantially different from the simplest form of the doctrine, that doctrine is not explained, but explained away, and another is taught.

Now let us see. Mr. Maurice gives up the doctrine of everlasting punishment. He believes in a judgment however. What is it? A present and continuous judgment; one which is carried on, in and by individuals, and which consists very much in mental processes, and what we may call spiritual experiences. There may be nothing erroneous in this, but any tyro knows it is not the doctrine of the last judgment. Nor can we identify this doctrine with the opinion that when a man dies he sees himself as he is, is seen by others as he is, and is awarded honour or ignominy according to his true character. All this may be true, but it is not the doctrine of the last judgment in the orthodox sense. We will not push this further, but proceed for a moment to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The ancient creeds sometimes vary, and hence speak of the resurrection of the body, of the flesh, or of the dead. The sense in which those creeds were understood, is made known to us by hosts of passages in the ancient Fathers, and in the writings of the great Protestant divines. Mr. Maurice admits the resurrection of the dead, but his explanation shews that he has different ideas in regard to it from those usually held. If we do not misunderstand him, he believes in a present and continuous resurrection, one which is moral and spiritual, isolated and individual, not material and universal. The resuscitation of moral and spiritual susceptibilities, the revival of holy thoughts, feelings, purposes, and endeavours, etc., seem to be regarded as the resurrection. We do not

deny it, but only remark that this is not the resurrection of the dead or of the body which all the followers of Christ expect, and to which the creeds refer. This is the resurrection against which Hippolytus wrote more than sixteen centuries ago, and which he said was that taught by the founder of the Nicolaitans. Doubtless conversion, regeneration, revival, etc., are a resurrection, but not what is meant by the doctrine of the resurrection. But Mr. Maurice says plainly that he looks for a future resurrection of each individual. We are not sure that he means a simultaneous and universal resurrection at the end of time. He says it is a resurrection of the senses and living powers. He calls this a resurrection of the body, but he refuses to admit that the material frame of man will rise again. The explanation constitutes him the teacher of another doctrine. We cannot go into the proofs of the old doctrine, but we think we have fairly stated it, and that Mr. Maurice's repeatedly expressed dislike of Bishop Butler justifies our assertion that he does not hold it.

With reference to the doctrine of the atonement, we shall only say, that after a careful examination of various works in which the subject is touched on by Mr. Maurice, we are unable to identify his teachings with the doctrine as it has been held by the greatest divines of our own and other countries. So far as we can perceive, all of us can and ought to offer ourselves in sacrifice in a similar sense to that in which our Lord sacrificed himself. Sacrifice is the opposite of self-seeking, self-pleasing, self-glorifying, self-will, self-indulgence, etc.; it is therefore self-renunciation and resignation to the will of God. The sacrifice of Christ declared God's will that such sacrifices should be offered, it teaches men how to sacrifice themselves, it prompts them to do it; it therefore manifests God's love to man, and has a moral power which overcomes the enmity of the heart and reconciles man to God. This seems to be Mr. Maurice's notion of the atonement. If we are in error, we blame the obscurity of his language, and it is in his power to say what his opinion is. No one of his disciples is authorized to give an explanation which we are bound to receive, because we think others are as likely to be mistaken as ourselves. When the master deems it right to say precisely what he receives and what he rejects of this and the other doctrines, he may render himself a service as well as others. Objectors to this gentleman's opinion are continually told that they misunderstand him. This is by no means improbable, when we consider not only the character of his style already hinted at, but his own confession as to the use of words. He admits that he uses the old words in a new sense.

This principle is one of much consequence in all religious discussions, and our duty to ask for a definition of the terms employed is apparent. If we may use the words of the Creeds, the Prayer Book, and the Bible in a new sense, or in a sense new to our age, we must, to avoid misleading others, carefully explain our meaning. We imagine that Mr. Maurice has often done the first, and seldom the second. But suppose he had diligently pointed out every instance of this kind,

it is incumbent upon him to prove that he only returns to the idea of the compilers and translators. If he has done this, we are not aware of it. If he has not, he has grievously erred. He says indeed, "I have discovered nothing; what I am saying is to be found in every creed of the Catholic Church; in the Prayers and Articles of the Church to which I belong; most emphatically in the Bible, from which they derive their authority, and to which they refer as their ultimate standard." This sounds well, but is superficial, for if he has discovered nothing, why does he profess to have discovered in the documents referred to a sense which has been till now unsuspected? Indeed, he admits that the ideas he attaches to the words employed often differ from those commonly derived from them; and he ascribes this superior intelligence to the Spirit of truth. The mere fact that he ascribes his views to a special illumination is to our mind conclusive. It is manifest that, on his own shewing, he has truths to tell the world which are new at least to this generation.

We shall not pursue our observations further, but we feel assured that, notwithstanding the complaints here made of unfairness and injustice, the appeals to Scripture, inward light and personal experience, Mr. Maurice has adopted principles of interpretation which are novel, and therefore often dangerous. There is a vast amount of mere talking in his assertions, as when he says, "I affirm that when I believe in God the Father, in God the Son, and in God the Holy Ghost, when I give glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, I am escaping from opinions. I believe that I am at the centre of God's revelations of himself; I believe that he has led us out of our crude and miserable opinions about him, to that name which expresses what he is in himself, what he is in relation to me, and to all the universe." No doubt all this is very profound, and of similar matter his books are full. All we can say is, that we do not wish for the multiplication of such oracles, and would rather follow in the wake of the good old divines of whom England may well be proud. There we find all the gravity, earnestness, piety, and talent, to say nothing of learning, which can be desired; and to the sober, reverent, and intelligible views which are propounded by them, our heart and conscience and understanding assent. They had the same Spirit to guide and teach them as that to which our new divines appeal; they sought divine illumination and grace as humbly and as earnestly as any now-a-days, and the solidity and power of their teachings have contributed materially to make our country what it is.

It is right that we should not conclude without saying, that while we differ from Mr. Maurice in his principles of interpretation, and of course in his peculiar inferences, we have no idea that he is insincere. We believe him to be a most earnest man, and probably very few think otherwise, notwithstanding his own apparent conviction to the contrary. Many think him in error, and say he is in error, whether judged by the Scriptures or the recognized formulæ of his own Church. We are of that number, and we regret to say that the letter now re-

printed is but little calculated to set him right with the great mass of Christian men.

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*Pre-Adamite Man; or, The Story of our Old Planet and its Inhabitants, told by Scripture and Science.* London: Saunders and Otley. 1860. 8vo, pp. 320.

THE amiable and well-informed writer of this book, having arrived at certain conclusions about Adamites and pre-Adamites, has delivered his soul by appearing in print. It is not well to tell all our thoughts, although it is well to think, and we are not sure that our author has conferred much benefit upon the world by telling it his thoughts. Our pages are partly taken up in this number with another and a different theory of the early chapters of Genesis, but still one which, like this, claims for the world extraordinary antiquity, and advocates a doctrine of pre-Adamites. The author of this work regards the two accounts of the creation in the two first chapters of Genesis, as capable of a new explanation; he thinks "that the true way of explaining these passages is to refer them to two distinct creations, belonging respectively to periods far removed from one another, and occurring under conditions extremely different." He thinks that the word Adam is to be derived from the root *דָם*, signifying resemblance or likeness, "by prefixing the formative *נָ*," whence he gives us *דָמָן*, "the being who has a likeness." This choice specimen of etymology will illustrate the soundness of our author's canons of criticism. Subsequently we are informed that the creation of angels must have been included in the six days' work, and the proof of it is found in the declaration, "that in six days the Lord *created* the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is." We notice that in the text here quoted the verb is not *created* but *made*, and that we have no right to infer from them that God created nothing except what was created on one of the six days. But our author does not stop here; the former race of men, he says, was called into being out of nothing; the second was formed out of the dust. The first man came into a world replete with plants, animals, etc.; the second race was ushered into a leafless and lifeless wilderness, and the creation of the present forms of animal and of vegetable life took place subsequent to that of man. But how does our excellent author make this destruction of the creatures named in the six days' work, and this new creation, harmonize with his quotation, "in six days the Lord created the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is?" To us it looks like nonsense to quote this text to prove that all things were created in the six Mosaic days, and yet to propound the theory that there has been a subsequent creation of man, animals, and plants. Adam, the father of the second race, is supposed to have been at one time "the only living being that, so far as appears, yet existed in the garden of Eden, or even on the face of the earth." It is supposed that the pre-Adamites had all been removed, body and soul, the good and bad alike (for sin was among

them) and had been transformed into angels. Angels, therefore, are the creatures whom we read of as created on the sixth day. The author pleads strongly for the antiquity of the earth, and among his hypotheses intersperses not a few interesting and instructive facts. His theory of the pre-Adamite character of angels is supposed to remove the great objection to pre-Adamites, that no traces of their remains have been found by geologists. With much of this reasoning our readers will be familiar. It has often been supposed that the earth may have been the abode of rational beings long prior to the creation of Adam, and that such beings were destroyed or removed by Divine agency. Nor is there anything irrational or irreverent in all this. It may be that the traces of intelligent creatures, such as the flint arrow-heads, of which so much has been lately said, belong to the pre-Adamites in question. But all this is beside the chain of theories relating to the past, present, and future, contained in the volume before us. The fault we find with it is, that it makes mystery of a very intelligible narrative, and that it makes the Bible the source or sponsor of hypotheses of purely human invention. When will men learn the proper intention and use of that divine book?

Those who are curious to know more of pre-Adamite man, must read the volume for themselves. It is written in a Christian spirit, and contains a good deal of useful matter, but we cannot find time or space to refute its theories, which we imagine will only make converts of here and there a superficial thinker, to whom novelty is an equivalent for verity.

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*S. Justini Martyris et Philosophi Apologiae.* Editit J. G. J. BRAUNIUS.  
Editio altera. Bonnæ: Habicht. 1860. 8vo. pp. xii, 152.

THE value of the apologies of Justin is acknowledged by all; and it is with satisfaction that we see a second edition of Braun's work make its appearance. Justin was himself a remarkable man, and these apologies, which belong to the second century, are themselves most important contributions to Christian literature. The first was presented to the Emperor Antonine, and the second to the Roman senate. They were intended to justify the followers of Christ in their rejection of heathenism, and in their profession of the Gospel, and are therefore designed as a refutation of the one, and an explanation and proof of the other. The first apology, if we may accept the statement of its author (section 46), was composed about A.D. 150. The second apology is commonly supposed not to have been written before A.D. 162. In the first, Justin shews how wrong it is to condemn Christians unheard when their lives are innocent and pure, their religion so powerfully supported by argument, and their ceremonies so few and harmless; and he implores the cessation of persecution. It closes with several documents: an epistle of Adrian on behalf of the Christians, an epistle of Antonine to the province of Asia, and an epistle of the Emperor Marcus to the senate, in which he attests that the Christians were the cause of their victory in Germany. The second apology is imperfect at the commencement,

and is much shorter than the other. It contains some account of three recent martyrs, and argues in favour of Christianity, from the constancy of its followers. In this edition, the first apology occupies about sixty pages, and the second about twelve, and the remainder of the volume is taken up with notes and a useful index of contents.

We know of no good translation of Justin's apologies. The only one with which we are acquainted was published by the Rev. W. Reeves, in 1709, and this does not contain the second apology, and is on several accounts objectionable as a translation. There seems to be no reason why a good English version should not be produced; it would be very useful and instructive to the increasing class of intelligent persons among us who feel interested in such matters, but whose knowledge of Greek is not profound. There are many peculiarities in Justin's style, both in the use and choice of words, as well as in the arrangement; but we do not think the difficulties in the way of a good idiomatic English rendering by any means insuperable. We shall be glad to hear that the work is undertaken by a competent scholar. The Fathers receive far too little attention in this country. They are left to a comparatively small number of persons, whose scholarship, independent judgment, and good taste have overcome the popular prejudice which has consigned them to unmerited neglect, ever since the irruption of puritanic prejudices two centuries ago. We are tolerably well acquainted with what has been done both in editing and translating some of the best of the Fathers in this country; but after all we feel that justice has not been done the great mass of patristic literature. If, in these days of societies, a body of learned persons would form an association for the study, illustration, and translation of the Fathers, they might correct many popular errors and prejudices, and add materially to our knowledge of this great and fruitful field. In colleges and universities, some attention is paid to the Fathers; but when students come forth into active life they generally lay aside this branch of learning, and only here and there do we find such as continue to consult the early writers of the Church. Yet it is scarcely possible to overestimate their value, as will be apparent to any one who has paid the slightest attention to the history of the Church, and of its doctrines and ceremonies. What do we know of Christianity after the close of the New Testament for many centuries, except from the Fathers? Very little indeed. But instead of going to these, the sources of our information, we rest satisfied with the labours of modern compilers, who themselves draw from one another, as much as from the ancient writers.

We make no excuse for this digression, which is due to our deep conviction of the desirableness of studying the Fathers, and not least Justin Martyr, whose genuine works, with all their peculiarities, we most highly prize. Dr. Braun's edition will facilitate the study of the apologies. His notes are partly original and partly selected: they relate to the verbal criticism and the general elucidation of the text; they contain many references to ancient authors and to modern editors and critics; so that by the light they afford, any one may thoroughly

investigate these venerable documents. At the same time considerable advantage will be found in the consultation of such editions as those of Oberthur, Otto, Thirlby, and Trollope, and above all, of Bishop Kaye's masterly account of Justin's life and writings. We do not pronounce any opinion on the sentiments of Justin, but we do not think they will be well understood without careful study. Neither do we say that Justin is in all respects a fair reflection of the Church of his age; this will be best perceived by the comparison of his writings with those of others who flourished at or about the same period. The information he gives on every subject is invaluable, and, apart from his opinions, he will amply repay the student for all his trouble by the facts which he communicates.

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**JASHAR.** *Fragmenta Archetypa Carminum Hebraicorum in Mosorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tesselata, collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus rediget, Latine exhibuit, Commentario instruxit Joannes Guilelmus Donaldson, D.D., etc. Editio secunda, aucta atque emendata. London : Williams and Norgate. 1860. 8vo. pp. xxviii, 390.*

In the Book of Joshua, chap. x. ver. 13, and in 2 Sam. i. 18, there are allusions to the Book of Jasher. Supposing these passages to be correctly rendered, it has been often asked what the Book of Jasher was. Robert Robinson says, "Some of the rabbins think it is the Book of Genesis; others say it is that called Exodus; and others take it to be the whole Pentateuch. Grotius thinks it was a triumphant song, composed immediately after the defeat of the Gibeonites. Bishop Huet supposes it was a book of moral instructions. Masius, Junius, and Tremellius think it was a book of Jewish annals; and they assign for a reason, that this book is quoted 2 Sam. i. 18, as containing the death of Saul, and the lamentations of David on that account. This was therefore a public record begun before Joshua's time, and continued down beyond the reign of Saul. This book is lost, but it was not canonical." (Translation of Claude's *Essay on a Sermon*, vol. i., p. 144.) In the *Eclectic Review* for December, 1842, there is a notice of "The Book of Jasher referred to in Joshua and Second Samuel. Faithfully translated from the original Hebrew into English. New York." The writer says that various publications which have been declared undoubted forgeries, have appeared under that title. One in 1751, reprinted at Bristol, with slight alteration, in 1829, was manifestly of this character, and is therefore pronounced by Mr. Horne to be "a gross and shameless literary forgery, which has no claim whatever to credence, and is utterly destitute of authenticity." "The original of this book, which is in rabbinical Hebrew, is said to have been saved from the destruction of Jerusalem, and was finally printed at Venice in its original language, in 1613." An account of this book of Jasher will be found in Bartolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabinica*, pt. 3, p. 935, no. 1043, where we are told it was published in 1625, at Venice. At p. 868,

Bartolocci mentions another work with the title of Jasher, on Jewish laws, written by a certain Jacob, and printed at Cracow, in 1586. In his fourth volume, Bartolocci alludes to a third Book of Jasher, by Rabbi Sciabbathai Charmuz, containing spiritual exercises, rules for the discipline of the heart, etc. This was written in the year 5154=A.D. 1394, and a MS. of it was in the Vatican. There may possibly be others with the same title.

We mention these facts to shew that the references to the Book of Jasher have long exercised the ingenuity of different persons. The scheme of Dr. Donaldson differs from all that have preceded it. It is, that the Book of Jasher was the foundation upon which a good part of the Old Testament has been erected; that its materials were employed by the authors of the Pentateuch and of other books, and that he has succeeded in detecting, and extracting, and rearranging them. He does not stop here, but deals in a style of trenchant criticism with various narratives of the Old Testament, and propounds curious and original theories of interpretation. The first edition of his book was published in 1854, and was reviewed with appropriate severity, both in this country and upon the continent. A careful account of it appeared in this Journal, in July, 1855, and we cannot do better than refer our readers to it for the details. The second edition differs a little from the first: the Hebrew text is omitted, the most obnoxious, some would say indecent, passages have been made more endurable, and an appendix has been added. Probably the scanty, skeleton-like Hebrew Jasher was not thought essential; the toning down of the colouring in certain places represents the "emendata" of the title, and the appendix the "aucta."

We do not wish to rake up the mire of the Jasbar controversy, nor to vex our readers with the thorns and thistles of its criticism, and shall therefore not fill our pages with a new discussion of the subject. Nor is it needful; for the book, with the exceptions named, and a preface, is the *alter ego* of the first edition. As to the preface, the lover of literary curiosities will find it a rich treat on several accounts, and especially on account of the paragraphs, "full of sound and fury," in which Dr. Ewald is lashed for his adverse criticism of Jasher. Our opinion of the book has been already recorded; and although Dr. Donaldson professes to despise all his English reviewers, we are not ashamed to say that a volume more replete with misapplied learning, uncritical criticism, and unsound exegesis has seldom come into our hands. The doctor has not handled the Old Testament with reverent hands, but he has taken from it what suited his purpose, and after pronouncing the rest a great deal of rubbish, has set up his fragments after a design of his own, and, like a great architect of old, has exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon which I have builded?" We ask our readers to peruse the book, and to say whether we are right. They will find many things well said, some rare specimens of verbal criticism, and some interesting facts. They will seldom complain of the Latin, but they may possibly think the author would have been

more appropriately employed in matching the scattered fragments of some Greek or Latin oration or tragedy.

There is one respect in which the author thinks he stands much better in the second edition than the first. Before, it was *ego solus*; but the attacks which were made upon the book rendered it very desirable that others should be found to bear him company and to keep him in countenance, if they did not share in his honour. Diligent search among the literary dust of other days has brought to light one or two eccentric heads, which thought of the narrative of the fall more or less as he has done. One of them is paraded in the preface as "Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Nettesheim, who in talent and learning surpassed almost all men of the sixteenth century, who, without at all offending good men, openly professed almost the same opinion," and dedicated it to a Bishop of the Roman Church. We rather wonder that Dr. Donaldson says all this. Agrippa was a man of great ingenuity and learning, but he was eccentric and visionary, and the titles of his works shew that he was reckless, as his style and conduct prove him to have been of an intemperate disposition. To talk of such a man in the age of Luther, Erasmus, Melancthon, Calvin, etc., as excelling almost all the men of his time in talent and learning, is simply a rhetorical flourish of Dr. Donaldson's, as it would be easy to prove. As to the second point, that Agrippa did not offend good men by his interpretation of the narrative of the fall, it is far from the truth, as our author might have seen, if he had only made a little investigation. We will only name two facts in support of our assertion. First, that Agrippa's tract on original sin did more to injure his reputation than almost anything he wrote or did. Secondly, that this tract was removed from all the editions of his works except the earliest. Both these statements are undeniable, and we therefore conclude that our author has been hasty in his judgment respecting Agrippa, as he has been imprudent in claiming such a man as an associate.

The remaining writers appealed to are these:—

The Apostle Paul, in Rom. vii. 7—11, where we cannot trace the remotest affinity with the doctrine of Jashar.

Philo Judæus, who explained the temptation of concupiscence.

Clemens Alexandrinus, who held a similar opinion.

Thomas Aquinas, who refers to pride and lust as the foundation of sin.

Robert Flud, who held that the sin of our first parents consisted in carnal indulgence.

He also refers to Montfaucon de Villars, and John Milton, and Archbishop Whately. But it should not be overlooked that perhaps some of these writers, and certainly some others, when they speak of lust or concupiscence, refer to the desire alluded to in Genesis iii. 6, "A tree to be desired to make one wise." Thus Chemnitius (*de Arbore Scientiae boni et mali*), in enumerating the sins involved in the eating of the forbidden fruit, says, "Ex intemperantia et libidine gulæ vetitum fructum rapiunt, et primævam castitatis gloriam amittunt." And again,

"Pravae concupiscentiae se totos immergunt." We refer Dr. Donaldson to J. B. van Helmont, whom Chemnitz mentions as affirming in his *Ortus Medicinæ* (Amsterdam, 1648, No. 655), "solam carnis luxuriam mortem causatam fuisse." This opinion is developed at some length in passages which we decline to quote (No. 641, 654, etc.), though Chemnitz gives them in part. Not a few writers connect the sin of Adam with lust, and speak of it as "oculorum concupiscentia," "in-temperantiae vitium" (Hulsemann de cap. 3 Genesis).

But we must conclude. There are many matters in the volume of Dr. Donaldson of which a better use might have been made, and those who will carefully peruse it, while they will not be likely to endorse its main principles, will often meet with valuable materials which they may turn to their own account. We have frequently been reminded of the ancient saying, that "out of the eater comes forth meat, and out of the strong comes forth sweetness."

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*Conciliengeschichte, nach den Quellen.* ("History of Councils from Original Sources.") By Dr. C. J. HEFELE. Vol. IV. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 8vo. pp. 864.

We are glad to see the steady progress made by the author of this important work. The first volume came out in 1855, the second in 1856, the third in 1858, and the fourth has been for some time in our hands. Our readers will understand that it is a general history of the councils, and that therefore it covers an immense field. From the nature of the case, however, it is impossible for the author to go into minute details as to the transactions of every synod. Pursuing the chronological order, he intersperses his notices of many minor councils with such facts as serve to explain their occasions and results. Where a council occupies a prominent place, it is made the subject of one or more sections. In special cases, all the canons adopted are given either at length or in an abridgment; but in other instances only a selection is made or a list of subjects. Such a course has been necessary in order to keep up the interest of the work, to make it of general utility, and to restrain it within moderate limits. Perhaps the method will be better understood if we give the commencement of the table of contents prefixed to this volume:—

"Twenty-first Book.—The times of Louis of France and Lothaire I. to the outbreak of the Gottschalk controversy, A.D. 814–847.

"Section 415.—Renewal of the image dispute under Leo the Armenian. 416. Minor Synods in the West in the years 814–816. 417. The great imperial diet Synods at Aix-la-Chapelle in the years 816 and 817. 418. The statutes of Aix-la-Chapelle in relation to the Rule of Chrodegang. 419. The further decisions of the Aix Synod of 817. 420. Synods at Aix, Venice, Vannes, and Diedenhofen, in the years 818–821. 421. Synod at Attigny in the year 822. 422. Synods at Rome and Compiègne in 823. 423. Synods at London, Cloveshoe, Oslaveshlén and Aix between 816 and 825. 424. Fresh outbreak of the image controversy. 425. Louis of France and the Paris Assembly in 825 against images. 426. Synods at Ingelheim, Rome, and Mantua in 826 and 827."

In this way the sections continue to No. 567 ; it will therefore be seen that a vast mass of details are here collected. The period over which the volume extends is from the year 814 to the year 1073, not the least important in Church history. During this period, the image controversy was decided, as we all know, in favour of the worship of images, and the second council of Nicea was ratified in all the countries of the west. The Latins carried the *filioque* clause, which was permanently added to the Constantinopolitan creed in all the churches subject to the Pope. The rupture between the east and west was consummated. Numerous additions were made to the rites and ceremonies of the church. The Popes of Rome successfully asserted their supremacy over all bishops, churches, and secular powers, and the Papacy reached the climax of its arrogance in the person of Gregory VII. The great dispute with Gottschalk on predestination sealed the fate of the old Augustinian system. The Berengarian controversy well nigh completed the triumph of transubstantiation. Barren and desolate therefore as those dark ages were, immense progress was made in them towards the perfection of that marvellous invention which we call Popery, and corruption of doctrine and of manners alienated the Church more than ever from the purity and simplicity of the first ages.

On all the matters just enumerated, more or less will be found in the volume before us, which is in many respects one of deep and painful interest. It gives us such an insight into the character of ecclesiastical persons and movements, as we look for in vain in any ordinary history of the Church. If it leaves out of view numberless events which occurred during the period it belongs to, and which properly find a place in most Church histories, it enables us to see by what means evil was counteracted or patronized and canonized, and how all sorts of errors and abuses were opposed or favoured and elevated to the dignity of doctrine and of law. It shews us the Church in the dark ages, how she legislated, and how she consulted, and enables us to understand the measures by which an ambitious, and for the most part worldly hierarchy, wove the nets of their ambition and power about peoples and princes. It shews us nevertheless that there was still truth and holiness, virtue and honour, in the Church, and that their voice, if seldom, was yet sometimes heard. God had his witnesses in those dark ages, and if princes and prelates usually put them to silence, it was not without a struggle, nor till they had fulfilled their mission.

We refer the reader to the interesting pages of Dr. Hefele, who, although a Roman Catholic, is a very truthful one, and writes as fairly as any person in his position can be expected to do. The work maintains its character for thoroughness and accuracy, and is a most important addition to the literature of a department which ought to be more studied by Protestants than it has been.

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*The Ancient Interpretation of Leviticus xviii. 18, as received in the Church for more than 1500 years, a Sufficient Apology for holding that, according to the Word of God, Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister is Lawful.* A Letter to the Rev. W. H. LYALL, M.A., Rector of St. Dionis Backchurch, from the Rev. A. M'CAUL, D.D., Rector of St. Magnus, St. Margaret, and St. Michael, etc. London : Wertheim and Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 60.

*A Letter to Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood in Vindication of the Ancient Interpretation of Leviticus xviii. 18.* By the Same. London : Wertheim and Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 86.

We notice these two treatises quite apart from the very important social question to which they refer, and which they are intended to illustrate and settle. We would gladly see the law of marriage left as it is, for the tendency of our age is rather to diminish than to increase the sanctity of the bond on which private happiness and public virtue so much depend. But Dr. M'Caul has accumulated a great deal of most recondite and important information of an historical and exegetical character, and the pamphlets may be referred to as the result of much patient and learned investigation. We shall give quotations from such parts of the two letters as contain statements of fact, and are of permanent interest. From a catena of authorities on the interpretation of the verse in Leviticus, before the Reformation, the following is a small selection :—

"In the twelfth century, about 1157, we find it in the commentary of Radulphus Flaviacensis, 'Quod superius de duobus fratribus, ne unam accipient dum advivunt utrique, hoc nunc de duabus præcipit sororibus, ne uni nubant, utraque vivente. Ergo nec fratrum, si primus defunctus fuerit, uni mulieri, nec duarum sororum, si prima obierit, uni viro nuptias contradicit.'

"In the thirteenth century the same interpretation is given in the 'Postilla' of the famous Hugo de Sancto Caro, one of the greatest Bible students of his time—famous as the compiler of the first concordance. On the words, 'Sororem uxoris tuæ,' he says: 'Sed nunquid Jacob duxit duas sorores? Solut. Revera duxit. Sed nondum lex ista data fuerit, vel fraude suppositionis deceptus fuit. Nec esset justam ut priorem dimitteret, secundam adveniente.' And on 'in pellucatum,' he adds; 'Quasi dicat, uxore tuâ vivente non ducas sororem ejus, quia non esset uxor sed pellex.'

"In the fourteenth century, Nicholas de Lyra (died 1343) says:—'In Hebreo habetur, sororem uxoris tuæ non recipies ad anxandum; quia si una sit magis dilecta quam alia, oritur invidia minus dilectæ,' etc.; and on the words, 'adhuc illa vivente,' he says, 'Quia si prima soror sit mortua, talis invidia non oritur, et ideo alia soror tunc accipi non prohibetur.'

"In the fifteenth century, Alphonso Tostatus, called in his own times *Stupor Mundi*, says, in his commentary on the words 'Adhuc illa vivente,' 'Quasi dicat, quod quando vivit soror, quæ primo accepta est in uxorem, non licet accipere alteram, sed cum ipsa mortua fuerit, potest accipi alia soror.' 'Whilst she is still living'—'that is to say, that as long as the sister who was first married is alive, it is not lawful to marry the other; but when she is dead, another sister may be married.'

After giving a long list of similar renderings, Dr. M'Caul says: "I myself can find no one who gives a different translation before the year 1575. Then appeared, so far as I can find, for the first time, that translation found in the Bible of Junius and Tremellius, 'mulie-

rem unam ad alteram ne assumito.' But, he adds, few interpreters of the Old Testament have adopted this modern version." In the second letter, to Vice-Chancellor Wood, the appeal to Catholic antiquity is the principal object of enquiry, and much that is historically valuable is adduced. There is incidentally introduced a valuable disquisition on the value of the marginal readings of the authorized version of the Bible. The Bishop of Exeter had said, "In all instances of a version set in the margin, the translators refuse to give any preference, and declare that, in their judgment, no conclusion ought to be drawn from either;" but Dr. M'Caul denies this, and affirms that the translators gave the greatest weight to the readings which they inserted in the text :—

"So far were the translators of 1611 from inserting in the margin a translation which they regarded as of equal authority, that, in numberless instances, they put into the margin of our present Bible that which they had turned out of the text of the Bishop's Bible, because they thought that it called for amendment. A comparison of the two Bibles will prove this beyond doubt, that the translators preferred the translation in the text to that in the margin."

The following list of examples is then given.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1585.

GEN. IV. 13.

*Text.* My iniquite is more than it may  
be forgiven.

XIV. 5.

*Text.* And the Emims in the plaine  
of Cariathaim.

XVI. 14.

*Text.* Wherefore the well was called,  
The well of him that liveth and  
seeth me.

XXIV. 63.

*Text.* And Isaac was gone out to pray.

XLI. 15.

*Text.* I have heard say of thee, that as  
soon as thou hearest a dream thou  
canst interpret it.

AMOS VII. 14.

*Text.* And a gatherer of wilde figges.

VIII. 5.

*Text.* When will the new moneth be  
gone?

V. 26.

*Text.* But ye have borne Siccuth your  
king.

AUTHORIZED ENGLISH BIBLE OF 1611.

GEN. IV. 13.

*Text.* My punishment is greater than  
I can bear.

*Margin.* My iniquity is greater than  
that it may be forgiven.

XIV. 5.

*Text.* And the Emims in Shaveh  
Kiriathaim.

*Margin.* The plain of Kiriathaim.

XVI. 14.

*Text.* Wherefore the well was called  
Beer-lahai-roi,

*Margin.* The well of him that liveth  
and seeth me.

XXIV. 63.

*Text.* And Isaac went out to meditate.

*Margin.* to pray.

XLI. 15.

*Text.* I have heard say of thee, that thou  
canst understand a dream to  
interpret it.

*Margin.* When thou hearest a dream  
thou canst interpret it.

AMOS VII. 14.

*Text.* And a gatherer of sycamore  
fruit.

*Margin.* wild figs.

VIII. 5.

*Text.* When will the new moon be  
gone?

*Margin.* month.

V. 26.

*Text.* But ye have borne the taber-  
of your Moloch.

*Margin.* Siccuth your king.

## BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1585.

## AMOS IX. 6.

*Text.* He buildeth his spheres in the heaven.

## MATT. X. 23.

*Text.* Yee shall not ende all the cities of Israel.

## XXIII. 18.

*Text.* He is a debtor.

## XXVII. 9.

*Text.* Whom they bought of the children of Israel.

## ROMANS VIII. 22.

*Text.* For we knowe that every creature groaneth.

## IX. 33.

*Text.* Whosoever believeth on him shall not be confounded.

## XI. 8.

*Text.* God hath given them the spirit of remorse.

## AUTHORIZED ENGLISH BIBLE OF 1611.

## AMOS IX. 6.

*Text.* It is he that buildeth his stories in the heaven.

*Margin.* spheres.

## MATT. X. 23.

*Text.* Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel.

*Margin.* end or finish.

## XXIII. 18.

*Text.* He is guilty.

*Margin.* He is a debtor.

## XXVII. 9.

*Text.* Whom they of the children of Israel did value.

*Margin.* Whom they bought of the children of Israel.

## ROMANS VIII. 22.

*Text.* For we know that the whole creation groaneth.

*Margin.* every creature.

## IX. 13.

*Text.* Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

*Margin.* confounded.

## XI. 8.

*Text.* God hath given them the spirit of slumber.

*Margin.* remorse.

We have now said enough to shew the value of Dr. M'Caul's letters.

*Critical Annotations, additional and supplementary, on the New Testament; being a Supplemental Volume to the Ninth Edition of the "Greek Testament with English Notes," in two volumes 8vo.* By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D., Canon of Peterborough, etc. London: Longmans. 1860. 8vo. pp. 360.

THE compilation of this volume was a great undertaking for Dr. Bloomfield, who has already spent a long life in the service of Biblical science and literature. But he has grappled with his task with the freshness and vigour of youth, and made his edition of the Greek Testament far more valuable by this result of his labours. It appears that the design of this volume was formed when the ninth edition of that work was published. "Bulky as were those volumes, he found it quite impossible to effect fully what was called for by the circumstances of the case, in order to carry out the widely extensive plan which he had laid down in his mind, and which rendered it almost necessary that nearly the same amount of space should be allotted to the critical, as to the philological and exegetical departments of the work." To remedy the defect which was felt to exist, this supplementary volume is published, and it gives, under almost every important various reading, the opinion of the author for or against any proposed alteration. At first sight it would appear a disadvantage to have so much critical matter apart

from the text and its comment ; but on consideration it will be seen to have something in its favour. The two volumes are already heavily laden with matter, and it is not every reader who desires to enter into all the critical evidence for or against a reading. Those who do wish to learn all that can be known on the subject, can easily refer to this volume. "Whoever shall carefully examine the contents of the present work, will not fail to find that it goes far to carry out the original idea of the author, containing as it does nearly the advantages contemplated in the originally proposed separate critical edition, and being alike calculated to form what should present the fruits of a *nova recensio* of the text, propounded in such critical annotations as should be essential to the justifying of the course taken in laying down that text. This plan, the author flatters himself, has been competently carried into effect, and on so ample a scale that, taken in conjunction with the series of critical notes contained in the ninth edition of the Greek Testament, it may go far to accomplish all that is really necessary ; nay, may, we trust, contribute materially to the settling of much in the criticism of the New Testament that has hitherto been left undecided."

How far this latter opinion may be correct, we will not attempt to decide. We fear it will be very long before scholars agree on a new *textus receptus*. But Dr. Bloomfield certainly provides the materials to enable others to form their own opinion, and that is as much as can reasonably be expected. "Besides the important results of widely extended collation, employed by the author on the 23 Lambeth MSS., and such of the British Museum copies as were uncollated or ill collated, forming together little short of seventy MSS.; the present work has had the additional advantage of a large mass of matter communicated to it by the incorporation of highly valuable materials, derived from the two volumes of Mr. Scrivener's collations of seventy MSS." We therefore leave Dr. Bloomfield's latest researches and conclusions to the judgment of those who may use them, and with an expression of our respect for his industrious exertions in the best of causes. In the language of the author,—

"He feels warranted in announcing the present work as the result of a thorough examination, for the last time by himself, of the whole text of the Greek Testament, to pave the way to its final settlement, and, of course, as involving a critical examination of the readings introduced into the text by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Alford ; in which investigation the external testimony of MSS. *for and against*, presented on a scale far greater than any previous editor could furnish—has, he trusts, been faithfully stated ; and the *internal evidence*, quite indispensable to turn the wavering scale, has been, he trusts, weighed in a just balance."

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*Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible, from the Authorized Version, with Notes.* Vol. I. Genesis to 1 Samuel. London : Cassell and Co. 1860. Large 4to. pp. 450.

WHEN the *Pictorial Bible* appeared, it introduced a new era in Biblical literature, and that work was thought to be a prodigy of cheapness ;

but the present one goes far beyond it in that particular. A volume like this, well printed, on good paper, with between three and four hundred engravings, and strongly bound in cloth, is published for seven shillings and sixpence ! and we feel it our duty to chronicle the fact in our pages.. It must not be supposed however that the present work can be compared with that of Dr. Kitto. Its aim is different, being less scientific and more practical. Indeed, we wish that a little more of *science* had been given to its contents, for the pictures might have been made much more really illustrative of the sacred text than they now are. They are all interesting, but more as things attractive to the eye than as throwing light on the Bible; and even those engravings which would be explanatory of Holy Scripture, are made less effective by the want of any reference to their sources or authority, as those from Assyrian and Egyptian sources, which appear without a word as to their origin and intention. This might easily be amended in a second edition, which we do not doubt will be required. As it is, these illustrations will be attractive to young persons and readers of the humble class, and will draw attention to the Bible itself.

The notes are expository and practical : they have also the merit, in a work like this, of being brief. The editor says, "The notes are purely exegetical or explanatory [not so, for many are *practical*] ; they are not designed to supply what is commonly called a commentary, but rather to give the deeper meaning of certain words and phrases, to illustrate certain images and allusions in the sacred text by a reference to the manners, customs, laws, and religious rites of the eastern world, and to embody in a few words the vital truths and practical lessons of the Word of God. . . . They are written in the spirit of that Christian love which breathes grace, mercy, and peace unto all who, in every place, call upon the name of Christ our Lord." We wish prosperity to this valuable undertaking.

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*The Works of the Rev. John Maclaurin.* Edited by W. H. GOOLD, D.D. In Two Volumes. Edinburgh: Maclaren. 1860. 12mo. pp. 540, 530.

MACLAURIN was famous in his day as a man of warm evangelical piety and much energy of character, at a time when both seemed to be wanting in the Church of Scotland. He was born in 1693, and ordained in 1719, after studying at Glasgow and Leyden. His life, which is given in the first volume, presents a pleasing picture both of his private and official career, and he was much beloved and respected. His works consist of six carefully-written sermons and essays on the following subjects :—on Prejudices against the Gospel ; on the Scripture Doctrine of Divine Grace ; on Christian Piety ; on the Prophecies relating to the Messiah ; a Philosophical Enquiry into the Nature of Happiness. Dr. Goold says of Maclaurin, "He is the Evangelical Butler : he has in his leading treatises done for Evangelical theology the service which Butler has done for Christian theology in general. His penetration into human motives was as keen as his knowledge of

the moral economy under which we are placed was extensive and profound, while few men have surpassed him in his sagacious apprehension of the scope and essence of the Gospel."

*The Annotated Paragraph Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version; arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms. With Explanatory Notes, Preface to the several Books, and an entirely new Selection of References to Parallel and Illustrative Passages.* The Religious Tract Society. Large 8vo. pp. 1480.

AMONG all the commentaries on the Bible in a moderate compass and for popular use, this must be considered the best. It is not perfect, but it is adapted for usefulness, is catholic in its tone, and may be used with advantage by all classes of Christians. There are some good maps and illustrative engravings, and the mechanical execution of the work is excellent.

*The Journeyings of the Israelites.* By the Rev. J. EASTWOOD, M.A. The National Society's Depository. 1860. 12mo. pp. 28.

This is a small treatise, but it contains much satisfactory information. A short quotation will convey a good idea of the plan.

"I. On the 20th day of the second month of the second year after leaving Egypt, the Israelites departed from Sinai, and went three days' journey into the 'wilderness of Paran.'"

"Two places named Paran are mentioned in the Bible. This is mentioned again (Deut. xxxii. 2, and Habak. iii. 3); the other was somewhere on the southern border of Palestine.

"II. Their first halting place received the name of Taberah, 'burning,' from a fire of God, which destroyed some in every part of the camp, for having murmured for some cause not stated.

"III. After the fire was quenched, at Moses' earnest prayer, the murmuring soon broke out afresh among the mixed multitude, who were weary of having nothing but manna to eat, and longed for flesh and the varied food of Egypt. The disaffection spread to the Israelites, who loudly set forth their complaints, until, as Moses heard them, he began to be disheartened. Upon this, God directed him to choose out seventy men<sup>a</sup> as his counsellors or assistants, promising to put upon them the same spirit which He had put upon him.<sup>b</sup>

*The Holy Bible, with Engraved Illustrations, and Ferrier's Patent Index.* Various sizes. London: Dean and Son.

THESE Bibles are very beautiful, and the index is a novelty which will be useful to many readers. Most Christians ought to know the sequence

<sup>a</sup> "This is generally considered to have been the origin of the Jewish Council of Seventy, afterwards called the Sanhedrim.

<sup>b</sup> "Eldad and Medad, two of the persons chosen, remained in their places in the camp when the rest went up to the tabernacle to receive the divine commission—perhaps through humility, or indifference in their own powers; but God shewed them that he could make his strength perfect in their weakness, by causing them to prophesy in the camp where they were; thus giving proof that the appointment did not come from Moses, but from God himself."

of the several books of the Bible ; but they often do not, nor is the list at the beginning of the authorized Bibles paged for reference. This patent index at once points out the book wanted, by an ingenious mode of printing the names on the front edges of the book, invisible when it is shut.

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*The Words and Works of our Blessed Lord, and their Lessons for Daily Life.* By the Author of *Brampton Rectory.* Two Volumes. London : J. W. Parker and Son. 1860. 18mo. pp. 396, 382.

A very superior practical comment for ordinary readers. The results of much learned thought are given without its machinery.

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*A Greek and English Dictionary: comprising all the Words in the Writings of the most popular Greek Authors, in the Septuagint and New Testament; designed for the use of Schools and the Under-graduate Course of a Collegiate Education. With an English and Greek Vocabulary. All the Inflections in the New Testament, and many of the more difficult that occur in other Greek Writings, are to be found in this Work.* Fourteenth Edition, considerably enlarged and carefully revised. By the Rev. JOHN GROVES. Mozleys. 1860. Large 8vo. pp. 698.

For those who instruct themselves, and those who wish to revive their forgotten knowledge of the Greek Scriptures, this lexicon will be found valuable. It has long been popular, and the present edition has many features of a new and improved character.

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*Religion in the East; or, Sketches, Historical and Doctrinal, of all the Religious Denominations of Syria.* Drawn from original Sources. By the Rev. JOHN WORTABET, Missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, Aleppo. London : James Nisbet and Co. 1860. pp. 422.

*Sects in Syria; or, Notices of the different Forms of Religion professed in Syria and Palestine. With Observations on the recent Outbreak, its Causes, etc.* By B. HARRIS COWPER. London : Tresidder. 1860. 12mo. pp. 48.

SYRIA has attracted much attention lately, and these works (the latter in a popular and very cheap form) will give the reader much important information on the various sectarian and zealous parties by whom intestine anarchy is fostered. Mr. Wortabet has supplied all that we can need to know on the Greek Church, the Maronite Church, the Mohammedan sects, and the Druses, and we recommend his volume as amply repaying a careful perusal. We will give a few quotations from it.

"The independence, however, for which the Maronite hierarchy is struggling, is only an outward or ecclesiastical liberty, which concerns not the faith, but the integral polity of their community. They have gone too far in adopting the apostate Christianity of Rome to be able to recede and take the ground of a sepa-

rate theology ; all the obnoxious doctrines of the schoolmen having been thoroughly interwoven with all their ideas of religion, and incorporated into all their books and services of Divine worship. While, therefore, they may succeed in overthrowing the yoke of ecclesiastical bondage, it is another and much more difficult task to expunge the doctrinal errors into which they have been gradually but effectually drawn. Nor does it at all appear that a reformation in doctrine is thought of by the Maronites. Since Protestantism has made its appearance in Syria, and though attended as it has been by all the means which ensure for it a clear understanding of its evangelical character and a respectful hearing among the Oriental Churches, it has always been viewed by them only as a formidable opponent, whose aggressions must be opposed with prompt, constant, and vigorous action. If a movement towards Protestantism exists among the more intelligent laics of the Maronites, it is probably prompted not so much by an attachment to the saving doctrines of the Gospel, as by a desire for liberty from the yoke of Rome and of their own hierarchy.

"The Druses believe in the existence of one eternal and supreme Being. The attributes of God, which they evidently borrow from the Koran, and in expressing which they even assume its language, are the same as the Mohammedans in general hold. *Unity*, in its most significant sense, is the prominent idea attached to the Deity in both creeds, but in the sacred books of the Druses it is made so exclusive that every other attribute seems to be lost in God's oneness. Their worship of God consists chiefly in a thorough apprehension of this idea; and the highest degree of perfection in religion is a mystical absorption of the thinking and feeling powers of man in the unity of the Godhead. Hence they call their religion Unitarianism, and its followers Unitarians.

"The grounds on which they argue in favour of this article of their faith, the transmigration of souls, aside from its being plainly recorded in their sacred books, are the following : 1. Many are born to a life of doomed suffering and misery, while others enjoy an opposite condition of health, affluence, and happiness ; now, this cannot be consistent with the goodness and justice of God, unless on the supposition that their moral actions during the migration of the soul in a previous body had been such as to necessitate the present dealings of God with them. 2. In arguing this point with Christians, they produce two passages from the New Testament, which in their estimation conclusively prove it. The first is where our Saviour says that John the Baptist was Elijah. The second is the enquiry of the disciples, with regard to the man who had been born blind, whether *he* had sinned or his parents ; for if *he* had sinned, so as to be born blind, he must have been in a previous body. 3. It is affirmed that instances are not wanting in which a person among them is conscious of the connexions and circumstances which had been his lot in a former body ; and that these professions, in some cases, have been thoroughly tested and found to be true. Why *all* should not have the same experience of this consciousness they are unable to say, except that this is a matter which is subject to the Divine will only."

Mr. Cowper gives the following account of the religion of the Druses :—

"As far as their religion has been found out, it appears to be a compound of Mohammedanism, Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism. Mr. Thompson says, 'They are known to worship the image of a calf.' It is but fair to them, however to say, that when they have been accused of this, the accusation has been denied. Mr. G. Wortabet, himself a native of Beyrouth, says : ' Of the Druses I can say that they are a brave people, but exceedingly cunning and crafty ; of their religion little is known, and I am inclined to doubt if they know it themselves—sure I am of one thing, that the majority of them do not. They are divided into two classes : those who are supposed to know the tenets of their creed are called *Akkals*, or wise men (they are by far the minority) ; and the *Djehhals*, or ignorant men, who absolutely know nothing of their religion, attend no place of worship, but bow their heads before the *Akkals*, in the depth of their ignorance. They have a sort of high priest, who lives at Ba'akleen, a village not far from Deyr el-Kamar, and to his will all the *Akkals* bow. Now these

*Akkals* may be of either sex, and may be termed the priests and priestesses of the Druses, though what it is they teach the people I cannot well conceive, since none but the initiated are allowed admission to the *Khaloué*—a small edifice, plain in its appearance, exceedingly simple, being nothing more than a room, with nothing of note to characterize it, save that it is detached from the village, and erected on an eminence. Here the *Akkals* meet on stated occasions, but what they do there has never yet been truly known. It is supposed they spend the time in talking about politics. One feature of the *Akkals* is to dress with great simplicity : they must wear no articles of gold or silk.' It is stated, however, that their staple article of commerce is silk ; and some years since, a traveller saw about twenty looms at work round one of their squares. The *Akkals* must not addict themselves to swearing and abusive language, and must on all occasions deport themselves as becomes their sacred character. It is admitted that among the articles of their creed are included the Divine unity and the transmigration of souls. They believe that the Hâkem above named was the incarnation of God, and his most perfect manifestation. Mr. Wortabet thinks, after all his enquiries, that the dictates of conscience are their code of morals as to what is right and wrong. One of their articles makes it lawful for a Druse to dissemble his faith by professing to accept that of any person with whom for the moment he may be conversant. Mr. Ameuny, himself a Syrian, states that he has read some of the books of the Druses, who, he says, consider it to be their most sacred duty to murder every one, not a Druse, who is known to possess or to have read their books, or to have gained any knowledge of their mysteries. This gentleman says that their most secret and important mysteries have not been entrusted to writing, and that a distinguishing article of their belief was an exaggerated doctrine of fatalism ; but they believe none will be saved except the few who are initiated into their mysteries. They believe that God created seven orders of beings, who inhabited the world in succession—as angels, devils, genii, etc., and finally man. They hold that God has at different times manifested himself in Adam, Noah, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, and Hâkem. They teach that all souls were created at once, and whenever a person dies his spirit passes into the body of a new-born infant. The fate of all these souls was decided when Hâkem appeared. With reference to their revenges, Mr. A. observes, that if any one of them is killed, his friends generally kill, not the murderer, but the best man of his family. It is commonly said, that in war they eat the hearts and drink the blood of their enemies. Even if this is untrue, it indicates the fierceness of their character."

*Notes, Questions, and Answers on our Lord's Parables.* By the Rev. A. WILSON, M.A. London : The National Society. 1860. 18mo. pp. 156.

THIS excellent little volume will be found a useful aid to those who wish to improve themselves, as well as to be teachers of others. We will give a specimen from the notes to the Parable of the Sower :—

" Our Lord having left 'the house,' probably at Capernaum, where he commonly dwelt during his ministry, and finding the multitude pressing upon him, withdrew with his disciples into a ship on the Sea of Galilee, from which he could continue his instructions without obstruction or inconvenience.

" He now delivers Divine instruction under the form of comparisons drawn from *natural* objects ; and his teaching on this day is more fully recorded than on any other occasion, except when he spake the 'Sermon on the Mount.'

" This parable most probably originated in our Saviour having seen a person engaged in sowing seed near the borders of the lake. It may, however, be observed that the analogy between the *sower* and *seed* on the one hand, a *teacher* and *doctrine* on the other, is both natural and beautiful, and is, therefore, frequently met with in Holy Scripture (1 Pet. i. 23—25; Eph. v. 9).

"Our Lord treats this parable as one upon the correct understanding of which by his hearers would depend their comprehension of those which were to follow (St. Mark iv. 13).

"Mankind is the field to be improved for the production of the fruits of wisdom and holiness. In order to see the condition of this field before Christianity had exercised an influence upon it, compare Rom. i. and 1 Cor. vi.

"Christ himself, his apostles, and disciples, are the *sowers* (Heb. ii. 3; 1 Cor. iii. 6; Acts xix. 20). The seed sown is the Word of the kingdom, *i. e.*, the truths and doctrines of God's revelation.

"The efficacy of instruction will always be in proportion to the degree of attention, application, and candour with which it is received; just as the same seed and the same amount of labour will have different results, according to the nature of the soil.

"The first kind of soil was the 'wayside,' or footpath across the field; which, though it might be good in itself, was rendered unfruitful by two causes: *viz.* (1), by its hardness, which was daily increased by every traveller who walked upon it; and (2), by the large flocks of birds which usually follow the husbandman to pick up the seed which he has just scattered.

"From 'not understanding it' we are not to conclude that God's Word is ever unprofitable to men from the natural weakness of their understandings, or from any obscurity in the Word itself. If so, then the preacher, and not the *hearer*, would be to blame.

"When inattention and listlessness are persisted in, they at length end in aversion to instruction, and an incapability of receiving it; when, as in the case of the trodden pathway, the best seed can produce no fruit. In addition to which, Satan labours with unwearied zeal to harden the heart still more by evil thoughts, by worldly desires, and carnal lusts, and to eradicate any good impressions that may have been made (Eph. ii. 2).

"The second kind of soil was 'stony places,' 'upon a rock,' *i. e.*, upon a thin coating of mould barely covering the surface. The seed here 'sprung up,' putting forth his energy in the *stalk*, as the rock prevented the root from being nourished and strengthened.

"The second class of hearers understand the doctrines and seek to appropriate the privileges of the Gospel; but they overlook the cost and the sacrifices which they are called to endure in their warfare with the devil, the world, and the flesh. See St. Paul's caution to such, 1 Cor. x. 12, and contrast the finding of the 'Hid Treasure' (St. Matt. xiii. 44) and the conduct of our Lord himself (Heb. xii. 2).

"Against this class Satan brings hostile influences from *without*, here represented by the heat of the sun. These are persecutions and tribulations, which strengthen a *true* faith (1 Pet. i. 7), but which cause a temporary or spurious faith to fail.

The root, which was wanting, is strength to bear up under these trials. We are elsewhere exhorted to add to our faith 'virtue,' *i. e.*, courage. This grace was exemplified in St. Peter standing firm when so many others fell away (St. John vi. 68), and also in the Hebrew Christians (Heb. x. 34). We have a noted example of the absence of this 'root' in Demas, who forsook St. Paul when in circumstances of trial and danger (2 Tim. iv. 10).

The third soil was overrun with thorns, not full grown, but whose roots had not been properly eradicated. There was no lack of soil, perhaps good soil, to nourish the seed, nor were the elements at all unfavourable. The process accordingly went further than in the two former cases. But the soil being foul, careful husbandry wanting, and many noxious weeds springing up with the seed, prevailed against it, and prevented its coming to maturity.

"This represents the most numerous class of hearers, *viz.*, those who retain their profession to the end, but who, being distracted by worldly cares, or drawn aside by the deceitfulness of riches, are Christians in *name* only, and not in *reality*."



**INTELLIGENCE AND CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS,  
BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.**

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CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS.

*The Codex Vaticanus (B).*<sup>a</sup>—To the Rev. the Principal of St. E— H—. My dear Principal—There is hardly any object in Rome which I was more desirous of becoming acquainted with than that famous Greek manuscript of the Bible about which we had often spoken together, and which scholars designate by the second letter in the alphabet. Though I saw it several times, I never but once had the opportunity of carefully and critically inspecting it. How it happened that this one opportunity was but of an hour and a half's duration, and fell on the very last morning of my stay at Rome,—so that I had literally to decide whether I would leave Rome without packing up my things, or without making a hasty collation of Codex B,—I forbear to explain. It were an uncongenial task: an ungracious as well as a most ungraceful proceeding. Rather would I record that I owed the privilege entirely to the prompt kindness of one of the most enlightened scholars and accomplished gentlemen in Rome—the Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi; concerning whom I may have occasion to speak in some future letter, in connexion with the Roman Catacombs, of which he is the best living interpreter. But lest my foregoing allusion should seem to convey a stigma where really none is intended, let me state in the plainest manner that, as a general rule, I experienced the greatest possible indulgence, liberality, and consideration from all persons who came in my way at Rome; and that if my Vatican experiences, on one occasion, presented somewhat of an exception to this remark, there had been enough of kindness already shewn me to make me wish to forget what took place *then*. I allude to the hour and a half so markedly, because it constitutes the only apology I am able to offer for having made such a very partial collation of the MS. in question, and examined its contents so very slightly. An hour and a half soon goes when the eye has to find its way through a forest of uncials. This was, moreover, such a very anxious and hurried hour and a half, that I cannot feel as confident of the accuracy of all my observations, as I should have been had there been leisure for a second glance at the page before passing on. Thus (to begin with what I am convinced was an inaccurate observation) I find it hastily noted that the Codex begins with the words πόλιν εἰς γῆν (Gen. xvi. 28), and ends with ἀμωμον τῷ θεῷ κατα (Heb. ix. 14); whereas it is evident that I ought to have written that last word with a Θ.

This famous Codex, then, which is numbered (as all the world knows) No. 1209, is a quarto volume, bound in red morocco, about four and a half inches thick; the vellum pages being ten and a half inches high, and ten inches across. Every page contains three columns, and there are about seventeen or eighteen letters in a line. The calligraphy is exquisite, and the MS., though it has not been always well used, is in admirable condition. The letters are very unlike what is commonly represented; thus, ten lines go into the space occupied by seven which Tischendorf has imitated.<sup>b</sup> As for the uncouth woodcut in Horne's *Introduction*,<sup>c</sup> it scarcely gives any idea of the Codex Vaticanus at all. And the same must be said of the fac-simile which Mai has given of an entire column. It gives quite a wrong notion of the original, which more resembles in the general character of the letters one of the ancient rolls found at Herculaneum

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<sup>a</sup> [The following observations on this celebrated Codex are by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and are reprinted from the *Guardian*.]

<sup>b</sup> Ed. 7ma, 1859, p. cxxxiv.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ii., p. i., 102.

than anything else. There is no space between any of the words; nor was there, I believe, originally, a single capital letter to be seen in the volume from one end to the other. No part of the MS. has at any time been miniated. There is an occasional division into paragraphs; but for several consecutive pages the writing is often continuous. Thus, although every descent in the genealogies (St. Matt. i. and St. Luke iii.)—each of the Beatitudes (St. Matt. v.)—and each of the parables in St. Matt. xiii.—is, if I remember rightly, contained in a separate paragraph; there is no break, I think, after St. Matt. xvii. 22, and 24, until you reach chap. xx. 17.

The plan of the transcriber was to write each book steadily on, column by column, until he finished it. There he broke off, leaving the rest of that column blank; and (with one memorable exception, to be specified hereafter) he began the next book at the head of *the next column*. There is, therefore, *only one* entire column left blank in the whole MS.

Such is the celebrated Vatican Codex; and even from this description, its very high antiquity may be inferred. It is essentially unlike our famous Codex Alexandrinus (A), preserved in the British Museum. Even externally, the two codices present many points of striking contrast. The pages of the latter are thirteen inches high, though but ten across. There are but two columns in a page; and every line, on an average, contains twenty-four letters. The space occupied by sixteen lines of B are occupied by only fifteen lines of A; but the letters in the latter Codex seem much larger than those of the former. The whole of Codex A is broken up into paragraphs, corresponding with the sections of Eusebius, to whose canons the margin contains conspicuous references. Capital letters of different sizes abound; not, however, at the beginning of the first word of each section, but at the beginning of the first *entire line*. Vermillion is introduced abundantly. Thus, the first verse of St. John's Gospel is miniated; the beginning of the Acts, down to the first syllable of οἰδότειν, etc. But the most striking discrepancy, after all, is in the general style of the two codices. Thus, though there is a pen-and-ink ornament at the end of every book in Codex A (and that at the end of St. Mark has a singular family likeness to that at the end of St. John in the Codex B), you see at a glance that they are executed in quite a different spirit. The general style of the writing and shape of the letters is of an essentially different character. In short, I am not at all surprised to find that Verceilone claims for the Vatican MS. an early place in the fourth century. He argues that it must have been written at Alexandria; and the remarkable correspondence of its text with that of Cyril of Alexandria in his commentary on St. John, supports this view. He is of opinion that it is one of the very codices, fifty in number, which Eusebius (at Alexandria) procured by order of the Emperor Constantine,<sup>4</sup> for the use of the Church of Constantinople; and it may reasonably strengthen him in this opinion, that it does not contain the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel—a peculiarity which Eusebius insists upon as exhibited by the best codices of the Gospels.<sup>5</sup>

The first thing which strikes even an unpractised eye with surprise in looking at this extraordinary MS. is the fact that the words are carefully accentuated throughout, and the initial vowels as invariably and carefully marked with their proper breathings. (Even the monogram IC has its breathing added.) This was of course the addition of a much later age—the seventh, eighth, or ninth century, for example. Furnished with this clue, one examines the MS. more attentively, and speedily becomes aware of another and a far more striking phenomenon—namely, that (for the most part) a very careful scribe has gone over the MS. a second time from one end of the volume to the other. This was evidently the work of the same skilful pen which added the accents: and not only must a most accurate hand have guided that pen, but a most scholarlike eye and critical judgment must have informed that hand. The scribe (or critic rather) to whom the

<sup>4</sup> Vit. Const. iv. 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Quæstiones ad Marinum*, in Mai's *Nova Bibl. Patt.*, vol. iv., p. 254.

book belonged, finding himself in possession of a beautifully written MS., but of which the writing was already growing somewhat faint, when he set about deepening the colour of the ink, availed himself of the opportunity in that way to corroborate certain readings, and to express his condemnation of others. Thus, did the Μ ἐφελκυστικόν before a consonant offend him, or the Ε in such a word as ἀκρεβος? He simply left both letters in pale brown ink. Did he disapprove of the spelling of τεοτεράκοντα? He retouched every letter except the second Ε, and wrote Α immediately above it. Did he wish to condemn a whole sentence? Instead of drawing his pen through it, he simply left it pale, and withheld from all those words the honour of accentuation. Thus, happily, one is able to form an exact notion how the MS. must have appeared before it underwent revision: for, as Vercellone ingenuously admits (and that learned man is far better acquainted with the MS. than any other person living)—“The mistakes which the original scribe has made are of perpetual recurrence. They almost all, however, consist of simple omissions; omissions of one, two, or three words; sometimes of half a verse, a whole verse, and even of several verses.” After accounting for this on the well-known principle that the eye of a copyist is constantly led astray by the proximity of a like word or expression (which fully explains the omission of such a verse as St. Matt. xii. 47), the learned author adds—“I hesitate not to assert that in the whole Codex, which at present consists of upwards of 1,460 pages, it would be easier to find a folio containing three or four such omissions, than to light on one which should be without any.” Let me only remark on what goes before, that *all* the omissions in the present Codex (1 St. Pet. v. 3, for instance) are not by any means to be attributed to oversight; on the other hand, the *repetitions*, which are very numerous indeed (and of which neither Cardinal Mai, nor the learned writer from whom I have been quoting, take any notice whatever), are clearly, one and all, mere instances of infirmity.

I must also mention that the ancient critical owner of the present Codex has been guilty of the weakness of partially scratching out the small initial letter of each book—(originally, an uncial undistinguishable from the rest)—and inserting into the margin, instead thereof, a painted capital letter (blue and red), about three-quarters of an inch high. The style of this letter, and of the broad green bar (surmounted by three little red crosses) at the top of each book, seems (in the judgment of those who are best qualified to pronounce on such a subject) to indicate the same period, and even to point to the same scribe who produced the accentuation of the volume. On the other hand, a particular ornament, delicately and skilfully executed with a pen, which is found at the end of Lamentations, Ezekiel, St. John’s Gospel, and the Acts, is reasonably presumed to be of the age of the original MS. It is surmounted by a peculiar monogram of Christ (the letter P with a bar drawn horizontally across the prolonged shank), on which the Cav. De Rossi has offered some ingenious remarks.

From what has thus been said, it will, I think, appear, that when the Codex B is quoted, it is a matter of no relevancy whatever, that we should be presented with what is found written 2. m. (*secunda manus*) as it is called. It is interesting, no doubt, to be put in possession of the text of this venerable Codex as it was corrected by a critic of the seventh, eighth, or ninth century; but our respect and attention are not divided between 1. m. (the original scribe) and 2. m. (the comparatively modern critic). They are reserved wholly for the witness borne by the former.

What need to relate to *you* the recent history of Codex B? For the sake of others, however, it should be added that after the scholars of Europe had been put off for so many years with a few meagre, unsatisfactory, and contradictory collations of this famous Codex—with promises which still lacked fulfilment, and with assurances which were still destined to remain without proof,—to the gratification of all, there appeared in 1857 Cardinal Mai’s long-promised reprint of the Codex, in five quarto volumes. What effectually damped the satisfaction with which this splendid contribution to Biblical criticism was received was the discovery that it was not a faithful reprint of the Codex, after all. There was, in fact, no making out *what* it was. Mai died in September, 1854. Accordingly,

the editorship of his labours (originally undertaken in 1828), devolved upon Vercellone, from whose preface we learn what had been Mai's method. The learned Cardinal had been able to bestow on this great work only the hours which he had stolen from more engrossing duties; so that his five volumes were not finished until 1838. Once in possession, however, of the printed volumes, Mai made the notable discovery that the text of the precious Codex had been far too inaccurately followed to make his editorial labours available for severe critical purposes. One would have thought that he might have anticipated such a result with tolerable certainty, seeing that the text which he had put into the printer's hands was *not the text of the Codex at all*, but another; and that he had been in the habit of simply correcting the proof-sheets of that other text by comparing them with the Vatican MS.! A singular, and almost incredible method, truly—as his learned editor admits. In the New Testament portion, Vercellone was compelled to cancel several sheets, and to make out a list of errata. Finally, with many expressions which shewed tenderness for the Cardinal's reputation, and regard for his memory, he gave his friend's five volumes to the world. It was the first time the Greek Testament had ever been published at Rome. What, in the meantime, made it difficult to judge of the merit of Mai's performance, were the many indications of minute and scrupulous accuracy which every page discovered. Vercellone's candid account of how the work had been executed at once disarmed censure; while Mai's many previous claims to our gratitude conciliated indulgence. On the other hand, what was one not led to expect from Mai's own announcement—"nos in edendo *ad litteram* Vaticano Codice (quod nemo antea fecerat, quodque maximi momenti utilitatisque est), multa reprehendimus Birchii et Bentleii sphalmata," etc.; the fifth of these being that Birch had read ἔστησεν for ἔστησεν? Where a wrong accent, or the omission of an iota subscript was noted, who could suppose that whole sentences would occasionally be exhibited inaccurately; and that one word would sometimes be printed for another?—The New Testament portion of this work was instantly reproduced at Leipsic for a London house, and with a fresh crop of typographical inaccuracies,—e.g., in 1 St. John iv. 10.

This was followed by a revised and corrected octavo edition of the New Testament portion of the same Codex, which edition Cardinal Mai had prepared and printed before his death, and which it fell to the same learned man who had edited Mai's other labours to put forth with a short preface about the middle of last year. This Roman reprint was a great boon, being cheaper and smaller than its predecessor. It has the (modern) pagination of the original Codex noted in the margin, which is of incalculable convenience for purposes of collation. But what makes it immeasurably more valuable is Vercellone's assurance that it is more accurate than the quarto edition. On this important subject I shall have a few words to say by and by.

Like its predecessor, however, the octavo reprint is open to many obvious objections. Why is the text interpolated throughout—as the sign (†) shews? Of the entire good faith of Mai and his editor, no one doubts: but, *humanum est errare*: and who can repress a sense of misgiving when it is discovered that the object has been to produce a text, not to print a codex? What mean the provincialisms in the verse interpolated at St. Matt. xxiii. 13? Why, again, is the original reading often thrust into the margin, while the correction of the recent scribe is adopted into the page? Graver questions arise on a more careful examination. For the present, I am content to ask only why the whole has been broken up into chapters and verses in the manner of an ordinary English Bible? Of such an important MS. as the present, a fac-simile like that which Mr. Scrivener has exhibited (facing the title of his recent admirable labours), would be most welcome. Next best, it would be best to see the Codex reprinted, page by page, column by column, capital by capital, in the same style as Baber's or even Woide's, reprint of our own Codex Alexandrinus. But there could be no difficulty, at least, in publishing a faithful exhibition of the text, somewhat as follows:—

τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον  
 ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων  
 ὁ θεόφιλε ὃν ἤρξατο  
 τοῖς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκει  
 ἕχρι ἵς ἡμέρας ἐντείλα  
 μενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις  
 διὰ πνεύματος ἄγιου οὐς  
 ἔξελέξατο ἀνελήμφθη  
 οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν εαν  
 τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ πα  
 θεῖν ἀντὸν ἐν πολλοῖς  
 τεκμηρίοις διὰ ἡμερων  
 α  
 τεσσεράκοντα ὥπτανο  
 μενος ἀντοῖς καὶ λεγώ  
 τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τον θῦ.

Invent, if you will, some method of indicating that the letter M (in ἀνελήμφθη) has been left in pale brown ink by the learned corrector of the MS. Call attention to it, if you please, by repeating that letter ( $\mu$ ) in the right-hand margin. Make us aware that a comparatively recent hand has numbered the sections, by inserting the letter A, in a different type, over the initial T. Nay, for convenience sake, let small Roman and minute Arabic numerals, on the opposite side, inoffensively indicate the division into chapters and verses. But you have thus, surely, had sufficient license allowed you! I fear that the method here advocated will offend some critics. But pray let me ask, where is the license of editorship to stop? Manifest errors (we shall perhaps be told) may be corrected. But is it so? How then is any one but the editor to form an accurate opinion of the character of the Codex? And further—what certainty have you and I that the said editor's judgment or learning are trustworthy? But there shall be no doubt on either score. He shall be at least competent to omit the perpetual diphthong ( $ei$ ) where a single letter ( $i$ ) should appear. Is he not, however, thereby depriving us of a well-known means of judging where the Codex was written? And if γενάσκεται may be corrected, why not δνομαι (St. Matt. xxvi. 53), and είχοσσαν (St. John xv. 22),—forms of orthography which are retained by Cyril of Alexandria, in whose city this MS. is supposed to have been written? But what can be the use (it will be rejoined) of printing the infinitive termination, εσθαι, as it is so often found in very ancient MSS.—εσθε? The use of being accurate, I reply, it is impossible to foresee. But (to give a single example) one use of printing ἐργαζεσθαι in St. John ix. 4, as it appeared in Mai's quarto edition, and not (as it appears in the octavo) after the modern method, is, that it actually serves to explain the reason of the form in which Origen quotes that very place in vol. iii., and vol. iv., p. 201, and vol. iv., p. 27: Jerome also on Jer. xiii. (vol. iii., 592); on Gal. (vol. iv., 313); and on Eccles. (vol. ii., 767). In the meantime, what can be the use of misrepresenting the text of a Codex which you propose to exhibit? Well, but anything unreasonable—for example, spelling *Felix*, in Acts xxiv. 22, Φίλιξ—this, at least, may be corrected. So, I suppose, Mai reasoned; for he prints the word Φῆλιξ, as it usually appears. Yet Vercellone appeals to this very peculiarity as a convincing proof that this MS. was written at Alexandria! His words are—"L'altra cosa è, che il nome del preside Romano di cui si fa menzione negli Atti apostolici (xxiv. 22), cioè *Felice*, nel nostro codice è scritto Φίλιξ, come appunto si scrive nei frammenti della versione copta pubblicata dal Woide."

Two Roman editions of the text of the Codex Vaticanus of the New Testament being before the world, the question immediately arises—(1) What is the

superiority of the one over the other? and (2) With what amount of accuracy does either represent the original Codex?

Now, on comparing the two books only superficially together, one is made aware of many points of dissimilarity between them. The earlier (quarto) edition is printed in paragraphs; the later (octavo) is divided into verses. But, unfortunately, the paragraphs of the printed book do not correspond with the paragraphs of the Codex. Next, the marginal annotations in the two editions are not the same.

(1) Some are found to be most perplexingly at variance. Thus, ἐγενήθησαν (St. John i. 13), is first said to be written ἔγενν. 2. m.: afterwards, we are told, "alters N. (!) verbi ἔγενν. superponitur a 1. m."—We are left to infer (from the margin of the octavo) that διηρυγμένους is found 1. m. at Acts vii. 56. But the margin of the quarto informs us expressly that the reading of the Codex is διεννυ. Hopeless is the confusion in St. Mark ii. 4, 9, 11, between κράβατον, κράββατον, κράβαττον, and κράββαττον, occasioned by the conflicting evidence of the two editions and the table of errata.—The text of the quarto (at Acts xx. 16) exhibits Κέκρικε: the margin, "1. m. κεκρεῖ;" the octavo, Κεκρίκει,—and nothing in the margin! Which of the three is right?

(2) That the second edition should often supply valuable information where the first edition is silent, was to have been expected. But it is perplexing to find that occasionally a valuable secret, which was duly recorded in the margin of the quarto, disappears entirely from the octavo. Thus, for τὸ εἰτόν (St. John i. 15), we are told (in the quarto) that the Codex reads, "1. m. mendose, ὁ εἰτόν" On so important a subject, why is the octavo edition silent?—In the quarto, against Νεικόδημος (St. John iii. 4), it is noted, "ita. 1. m. Νεκ. Sed antea Νυ." Why are those last three important words dropped when that note comes to be reprinted in the octavo edition?—Why is the statement of the first edition concerning the last half of Acts xxiii. 28—" sequentia verba sex in margine codicis sunt"—suppressed in the second edition?

On closer inspection, the existence of many discrepancies in the text (of which no notice is taken in any part of either edition) becomes apparent. A specimen of these will be most conveniently exhibited in two parallel columns:—

*Mai's First Edition.*

*Mai's Second Edition.*

1. St. Matt. iii. 14. καὶ σὺ.	om. σὐ.
This place I referred to, and found that the reading of the Codex is καὶ σὺ.	om. σὐ.
2. St. Matt. vi. 4. σὺν ἡ ἐλεημ.	om. ἡ.
I found in the Codex—σὺν ἡ ἐλεημ.	ἐν τοῖς οὐρ.
3. St. Matt. x. 32. ἐν οὐρανοῖς.	ἐν τοῖς οὐρ.
I found in the Codex—ἐν τοῖς οὐρ.	αἰτήσηται.
4. St. Matt. xiv. 7. αἰτήσεται.	αἰτήσηται.
I found in the Codex—αἰτήσηται.	αἰτήσηται.
5. St. Matt. xviii. 14. μον τοῦ ἐν.	om. τοῦ.
I found in the Codex—μον τοῦ ἐν.	ἀραι τὰ.
6. St. Matt. xxiv. 17. ἀραι τὰ.	ἀραι τὰ.
I found in the Codex—ἀραι τὰ.	ἐξηράνθη.
7. St. Mark v. 29. ἐξηράνθη.	ἐξηράνθη.
I found in the Codex—ἐξηράνθη.	ἐστέναξε.
8. St. Mark vii. 33. ἐστέναξε.	34. ἐστέναξε.
I found in the Codex—ἐστέναξε.	ἀπελάθοντο.
9. St. Mark viii. 14. ἐπελάθοντο.	ἀπελάθοντο.
I found in the Codex—1. m. ἐπελάθεντο,—2. m. ο written above the third ε.	συνέιτε (marg.)
10. St. Mark viii. 17. συνέιτε (marg.)	συνέιτε (marg.)

I fear my observation here is not trustworthy; for I have made a memorandum to the effect that one line ends thus—οὐδὲ συνί (the last two letters being beyond the column); and that έτι, in the next line (a word which Codex B is said to omit, but which exists in the *textus receptus*) is spelt with a diphthong (ει).

At all events, συνέιτε is certainly the reading of the Codex,—not συνεῖτε.

11. St. Mark viii. 19. Έτε.	καὶ θε.
I found in the Codex—θτε, without the καὶ.	
12. St. Mark xii. 4. ἐκεφαλίωσαν.	ἐκεφαλίωσαν.
I found in the Codex—ἐκεφαλίωσαν.	
13. St. Luke vii. 1. Ἐπειδὲ.	Ἐπειδὴ.
I found in the Codex—ἐπειδή.	
14. St. John viii. 23. ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τούτου.	ὑμεῖς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ.
I found in the Codex here—τούτου τοῦ.	
15. St. John viii. 23. εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.	εἰμὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου.
I found in the Codex here—τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.	
16. St. John ix. 10. ἡνεψχθησάν.	ἡνεψχθησάν.
I found in the Codex—ἡνεψχθησάν.	
17. The title of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians is thus exhibited by the two editions:—	

## ΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΙΣ.

(marg.) 2. m. Κολοσσαῖς.

## ΚΟΛΟΣΣΑΙΣ.

(marg.) al. m. Κολασσ.

But why “alia manus?” Why not “1. m.?” The first edition of Mai presents the truth of the Codex—both in its title and in its subscription.

The result of this collation is not very satisfactory. Out of the seventeen places enumerated above, in *seven* instances the earlier (quarto) edition of Mai is the more accurate: in *ten*, the later (octavo) edition exhibits the truth of the Codex. As for the marginal capitals, often omitted in the first edition, and supplied in the second, I believe they may be assumed to be always correctly supplied. I verified three in St. Matthew—viz., PIZ, PM, PMB. And now, let us endeavour to look a little further.

In several points of discrepancy which I had not leisure to verify, it is easy to perceive that the *second* edition of Mai must almost infallibly exhibit the truth. Such are the following:—

St. Mark xiv. 37. (marg.) 2. m. εἰσχ.	(marg.) 1. m. εἰσχ.
St. John vi. 13. (marg.) 2. m. κρειθ.	(marg.) 1. m. heic κρειθ.
St. John xiii. 27. (marg.) 2. m. τάχειον.	(marg.) 1. m. τάχειον.
2 Cor. xii. 11. (marg.) 2. m. λείαν.	(marg.) 1. m. λείαν.
Col. iii. 7. (marg.) 2. m. νυνεὶ.	(marg.) 1. m. νυνεὶ.

In all these cases the diphthong is doubtless the original reading of the Codex.

St. Luke ix. 12. Ή δέ.	Ήδη.
St. Luke xv. 29. πατρὶ.	πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.
St. Luke xxiii. 35. ἐκ λεκτὸς.	ὸ ἐκλεκτὸς.
St. Luke xxiii. 38. βασιλεὺς.	ὸ βασιλεὺς.
St. John i. 50. Ἀπεκρίθη.	Ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ.
St. John iv. 5. Στιχάρ.	Συνχάρ.
St. John iv. 9. σαμαρείτιδος.	σαμαρείτιδος οὐσῆς.
St. John iv. 42. ὅτι οὐκέτι.	οτ. ὅτι.
St. John xiii. 8. Ἰησοῦς αὐτῷ.	οτ. Ἰησοῦς.
St. John xvii. 6. οὐς δέδωκας.	οὐς ἔδωκάς.
St. John xx. 17. πατέρα μου. πορεύον.	οτ. μου.
Acts vii. 56. διενοιγμένους.	διηνοιγμένους.
Acts xvii. 20. θέλοι.	θέλει.
Acts xxiii. 28. γνῶναι.	ἐπιγνῶναι.
Acts xxiv. 11. ἡ δώδεκα.	οτ. ἡ.
Acts xxv. 26. γράψαι.	γράψω.
Acts xxvi. 4. μου τὴν.	οτ. τὴν.

St. James iii. 4. βούληται.

βούλεται.

St. James iv. 10. ἐνώπιον τοῦ.

ομ. τοῦ.

Either Birch, or Bartolocci, or both, confirm the readings found in the second column, which represents Mai's second edition.

1 St. Pet. i. 14. συσχηματίζομενα (so  
corrected by hand.)

συσχηματίζομενοι.

The margin of the octavo edition happily explains that the actual reading of the Codex is—*vati*.

2 St. Pet. ii. 18. (marg.). 1. m. ματαιότης.

cod. ματαιοτητής.

1 Cor. iii. 2. δύνασθε.

ἐδύνασθε.

The reading of the earlier edition of Mai, in both the above places, was clearly a typographical error.

1 Cor. xii. 19. τὰ πάντα.

ομ. τὰ.

Birch confirms the reading in the second column.

Gal. iii. 29. σπέρμα.

σπέρματος.

I infer from Tischendorf that σπέρματος is the reading of the Codex.

Eph. v. 14. ἔγειραι.

ἔγειρε.

Eph. v. 19. ὡδαῖς πνευματικαῖς.

ομ. πνευματικαῖς.

Phil. ii. 9. ὄνομα.

τὸ ὄνομα.

2 Thess. ii. 16. ὁ θεὸς.

ομ. ὁ.

Birch confirms the readings found in the second column.

In the foregoing thirty-three places, therefore, I think it may be assumed that the second edition of Mai exhibits the truth of the Codex. Of its superior accuracy in Acts xxvii. 14, Vercellone twice assures us (p. v. and p. 201); and eight or nine places he corrects in his preface; (where, by the way, for προφῆτας αὐτοὺς we are doubtless to read προφῆτης αὐτοὺς). In the following places, I suspect that the first edition is right:—

Acts xvii. 34. (marg.) 2. m. ἀρεωπαγίτης. (marg.) 2. m. ἀρεοπ.

Acts xxi. 28. (marg.) κεκοινώνηκε. (marg.) 2. m. κεκοινώνηκεν.

1 St. John iii. 21. ἔχομεν. ἔχει.

Certain words in either edition I pass over; assuming them to be mere typographical errors. As, in the quarto—ἀλεξανδρηνᾶ (Acts xxviii. 11). In the octavo—φυλάδελφοι (1 St. Pet. iii. 8); ἀδειαλιπτῶς (1 Thess. i. 3); 2. m. ὑμεῖν (St. John viii. 24), etc. In both,—ἀγωπῶν (St. John xiv. 24); τὸ (Rom. vii. 22); τοῦτο (1 St. John iv. 10), etc.

A discrepancy between the two editions of Mai is also found (as you have yourself shewn me, by furnishing me with the result of our friend H.'s patient collation), in the following places, where it would be agreeable to know which is the actual reading of the Codex:—St. Matt. xxvi. 60. St. Luke ii. 33; iii. 14; vi. 17; viii. 51; ix. 10, 37; x. 39; xii. 20; xvi. 4; xvii. 24; xviii. 9, 30; xix. 8; xxii. 30, 42; xxiv. 21. St. John v. 10; x. 6; xii. 40. Acts vii. 11; x. 11; xiii. 26; xvi. 11, 31; xvii. 21; xviii. 21; xx. 9, 16, 23, 29; xxiii. 22; xxvii. 21; xxviii. 11. St. James iii. 5. 2 St. Peter ii. 12. 1 St. John iv. 10. Rom. viii. 5; ix. 20, 33. 1 Cor. i. 11. 2 Cor. x. 10. Eph. iv. 20; v. 11. 1 Thess. iii. 8. Heb. vii. 4; viii. 11.—How easily might this list be extended! and in how many places must there still lurk an error in both editions! Such I suspect to be the following:—

(1) St. Luke viii. 12. ἀκούσαντες.

(2) St. Luke viii. 16. λυχνίας τιθησιν.

(3) Acts xx. 32. δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν.

- (4) 1 St. Pet. iii. 13. εί̄ τοῦ.
- (5) 1 Cor ii. 13. διδακτοῖς πνεύματος.
- (6) Phil. ii. 3. μη̄ δέ.
- (7) Col. i. 4. ἀγάπην εἰ̄ς.
- (8) Col. i. 16. πάντα ἐν.
- (9) Col. i. 18. ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ.
- (10) Col. i. 20. ἐπὶ γῆς.
- (11) Col. i. 27. ὁ ἐστιν.
- (12) St. Matt. xxvi. 17. ἡτοιμάσωμέν.

Muralto says that in the above places he himself read as follows:—(1) ἀκούοντες. (2) λ. ἐπιτίθ. (3) No art. (4) ἐὰν τοῦ. (5) διδακτῶ πν. (6) “Birchius, et Majus nobis retulit μηδὲν.” (7) ἀ. τὴν εἰ̄ς. (8) π. τὰ ἐν. (9) No art. (10) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. (11) ὁ ἐστιν.

Most of these observations are, as you may easily divine, the result of subsequent study. Had I been as familiar when I was at Rome with the text of Codex B as I have become since, I should have examined it to far better purpose. Let me, in conclusion, state what else struck me in the Codex, and so dismiss the subject.

At St. Matt. xxi. 4, one's eye is arrested by the following inaccuracy of the original scribe. I place between crotchetas what has been left unaccentuated:—

τὸ ρῆθε [δια τον πληρωθη το ρηθεν] δὰ τοῦ.

At St. Matt. xxvi. 56, I read—ἔφυγον [οι δε κρατησαντες τον Ιησουν εφυγον] οι δέ, etc.

At St. Luke i. 37, the words—στι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει—are repeated. They make a line.

At St. John xvii. 18, 19, I found—καγὼ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς εἰ̄ς τὸν κόσμον. [καγὼ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς εἰ̄ς τὸν κοσμό] καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔγιν. κ.τ.λ.

It would have been desirable, I think, for the editor to allude to this class of errors. It helps a man to form his own judgment of the amount of care with which a Codex has been copied.

In St. John ix. 4, the reading is—δεῖ ἐργάζεσθε, 1. m. Above the final ε is written (2. m.)—ατ. . . In ver. 11, can the reading of the Codex be τὴν Σειλωὰμ; or is my hasty pencilling incorrect?

In St. John viii. 24, the reading, I think, is εἰπον οὐ νμεῖν,—not 2. m. but 1. m.

In St. John xvii. 15, the Codex reads οὐκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα ἀρης αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, δλλ' ἵνα τηρησης αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. (Then comes a line 1. m. which has been so tampered with 2. m. that without more time than I had to bestow it was impossible to decipher the words. The next line goes on,) οὐκ εἰ̄σιν καθὼς, κ.τ.λ. . . . Not a hint of all this is given in either of Mai's editions of the text,—which is certainly to be regretted. It creates an uneasy misgiving as to what may exist of the same kind elsewhere. And this place in St. John is not a mere error of the transcriber. Athanasius quotes the words, *as they are found above*, at p. 1035 (*al. edit.*, p. 825) of his works.

You have now before you the sum of my observations on Codex B. My eye was arrested by several other peculiarities which interested me not a little, and which I very carefully noted; but which, on obtaining access to a copy of Mai's reprint, I found were before the world already; so that it would be of no use to repeat them. You may imagine, for example, how perplexing it was, amid an unbroken page of uncials, to observe that the only commencement of a fresh paragraph was with the words—Μέλλων δε ἀναβαίνειν Ιησοῦς εἰ̄ς Ιερουσαλῦμα: a formula which, as every one knows, occurs *nowhere* in the Gospel! Elsewhere,

to light on the word *συστρεφομένων*,—which I was *sure* is not found in the Gospels at all. So at St. John ix. 11, I could hardly believe my eyes when I read —ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰησοῦν, etc., etc. And so in other places.

To conclude. The more I reflect on this celebrated Codex, the more convinced do I feel of its very remote antiquity. After comparison with other of the oldest extant codices, I see not how it can be thought more modern than the middle, or even the beginning, of the fourth century. The fact that it has marginal references to a system of sections wholly diverse from those of Eusebius, is in itself a strong evidence of its very high antiquity. But the antiquity of a codex and the authenticity of its text are very different things. I have always thought that the text of Codex B is one of the most vicious extant. It abounds in most important omissions, a vast number of which are not to be accounted for by the carelessness of the transcriber; and in the peculiarity of some of its readings it is found to be supported by none but the Cambridge Codex D, the character of which (and a very bad character it is) may be seen at the end of Middleton on the Greek Article. Tischendorf, I am aware, makes the text of the Vatican MS. the foundation of his own (7th) edition. This is not the place for inquiring whether he has acted judiciously in so doing, or very much the reverse.

That Codex B omits St. Luke xxii. 43, 44; St. John v. 3, 4, and vii. 53 to viii. 11—as well as the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel—is a matter of general notoriety; but it is not so generally known, with reference to this last omission, that, besides the blank remainder of the column after the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, it leaves a *whole column blank*; thereby intimating, in the most eloquent manner possible, that there has been something consciously left out. For *that* blank column at the end of St. Mark's Gospel is the only blank column in the whole Codex.

As for the two editions of the text now before the world, enough has been said to enable you and others to form some idea of their value. They are of the utmost importance (the octavo edition especially), and, for the most part, they are trustworthy. (That there has been no *intention* to deceive, what need to state?) But the possession of neither renders the other quite superfluous. Nor are they, both together, such a faithful exhibition of the Codex as to supersede the necessity of further collation. A singular illustration of the difficulty of achieving perfect accuracy in such undertakings is furnished by the enumeration of 211 errors charged against Birch by Mai, in his Appendix, whereof no less than *fifteen* are corrected by Mai in his second edition, in a manner inconsistent with the actual readings of that edition of his own text! Vercellone could render no more acceptable service to Biblical scholars than by presenting them with the text of the Codex Vaticanus in a new and corrected form, somewhat after the fashion recommended in my former letter,—*verbatim et literatim*.

Some words of Vercellone were quoted above. They are found in his Dissertation “Dell' antichissimo Codice Vaticano della Bibbia Greca” (Rome, 1860), which is a pamphlet worth your reading. I cannot name this learned person without recommending to your notice the very laborious and admirable edition of the Vulgate which he has now in hand, and of which part has already appeared. It ought to have a place in all our college libraries. He assured me, by the way, that it is a mistake to suppose that there was no established Latin text of the Bible before Jerome's Vulgate. There *was* a “Vetus Itala,”—which, in the main, has continued the Vulgate text of the New Testament to this day.

Here I lay down my pen on the subject of Codex B. I did not imagine, when I took it up, that I was going to write such dry, and long, and unreadable letters,—dry, I mean, to the generality; for to the initiated I trust they will not prove unacceptable. I felt so entertained myself, that I flattered myself I was going to be entertaining. It is impossible, in truth, to approach the subject, without being transported in imagination back to the gorgeous Library of the Vatican, in which the Codex is preserved. And *who* that has ever surveyed that long suite of apartments, (there are forty apartments in all, and I think nineteen in a suite,)—those ceilings and walls glittering with arabesque paintings,—and those many

mysterious presses full of MSS., of which only a few choice specimens are ever produced to vulgar eyes—such as yours and mine: *who* can recollect it all,—the costly objects of art displayed within, and the delicious gardens spread without,—unconscious of a thrill of pleasurable emotion—of sincere admiration and delight? So present have those many gorgeous accessories been to my own memory, all the time I have been writing, that I can hardly divest myself of the delusive expectation that they will have suggested themselves to the reader also, and compensated in part for my own dryness and dulness.

Houghton Conquest, August 8, 1860.

J. W. B.

*The Missionary Spirit of the Psalms and Prophets.*—To some it may seem strange that a missionary spirit should be spoken of as belonging to the Old Testament. They may have accustomed themselves to think of such a spirit as peculiar to the new dispensation of the Gospel, in contrast with the stern exclusiveness of the Mosaic economy. In one sense this is true. If a missionary spirit be understood as including a regularly organized plan for the conversion of all nations, this is an idea first developed in the New Testament. No one of the ancient prophets ever received from God a command to go and preach the institutions of Moses, or even the fundamental doctrines of revealed religion, to all nations. Christ himself, who came as the Saviour of the world, confined his labours mainly to his own countrymen. It was only in an incidental way that he bestowed his benefactions upon those who were not Israelites. When, early in his ministry, he sent out his twelve apostles to preach, his commission was: “Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Matt. x. 5, 6). It was not till after he had completed the work of making expiation for the sins of men, and was about to ascend to heaven, that he gave his disciples the broad commission: “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature” (Mark xvi. 15).

But while all this is true, we must never forget that the original covenant with Abraham had respect to the salvation of all nations. Though made with him and his seed after him, its end was to bless all families of the earth: “In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed” (Gen. xii. 3); “Seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him” (Gen. xviii. 18). “In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed” (Gen. xxii. 18). Although God, for a season, “suffered all nations,” outside of Abraham’s posterity, “to walk in their own ways” (Acts xiv. 16), it was still with reference to their final recovery and salvation. His plan was, first, to bring one family into covenant with himself, and, having multiplied it to a great nation, to manifest to that nation, by a series of stupendous miracles, his unity and infinite perfections, and subject it, for many successive centuries, to a system of laws and institutions of his own appointment; and that, too, under a remarkable providential guidance in connexion with a series of prophets directly commissioned by him to rebuke the people for their sins and instruct them respecting his will. Having in this manner moulded one nation into the knowledge of himself, and thus prepared the way for a universal dispensation, he revealed to that nation the gospel of Christ, that it might be propagated thence, as from a common centre, over all the earth. The Mosaic economy, then, though itself exclusive, was the divine foundation for a nobler dispensation, which should know no distinction between the nations of mankind. It was a *partial*, preparatory to a *universal*, dispensation. So far, therefore, as the benevolent design of God is concerned, all objections drawn from the exclusive character of the Mosaic institutions fall to the ground. It remains for the objector to shew how a universal religion, like Christianity, could have been wisely and successfully introduced without a previous work of preparation; and, if he cannot do this, what better method of preparation could have been pursued than that devised by the wisdom of God.

The attitude of the Mosaic economy towards the Gentile nations was indeed severe, but it was the severity of love and good will. It had for its object, not their

destruction, but a speedier preparation of the way for the advent of Christ, in whom the promise, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," was to find its fulfilment. Here the words of a well-known author are in place. In his argument to shew that "a kindly sentiment *towards the human family at large*" pervades the writing of Moses, and of the poets and prophets of succeeding times, he says : " *Separation*, it is true, was the fundamental principle of the Jewish polity ; but then it was separation on the ground *only* of those corruptions and enormities that prevailed in the surrounding countries. The sole intention of the national seclusion was to preserve in the world the prime elements of morals and religion. And to secure this intention, and to secure it in the actual condition of mankind at the time, an extraordinary line of policy, in particular cases, as well as unique institutions—civil and religious, were indispensable. This race of true worshippers, planted, as it were, on the confines of mighty and splendid idolatries, must needs assume a front of defiance and of universal reprobation. But then this reprobation had regard to *nothing* but the errors and the vices of idolatry ; consequently it was always true that, whoever among the nations, afar off or near, would renounce his delusions and ' cleave unto the God of Israel,' was welcomed to the bosom of the state."<sup>f</sup> It was not till the last period of the Jewish theocracy, when, having accomplished the work assigned to it by God, it was on the decline—in the language of inspiration, had "waxed old," and was "ready to vanish away" (Heb. viii. 13),—and when the light of inspiration had been, for several centuries, withdrawn from its teachers and rulers, save as it existed in the records of the past, that the fanatical spirit which breathed hatred and contempt towards all other nations, attained to such a rank and poisonous growth in the bosom of the Jewish commonwealth.

The final end, then, to which the old dispensation looked, was the salvation, not of one isolated nation, but of the whole human family. If we can find, in the writings of the Old Testament, longing anticipations of this end, then we find in them the true missionary spirit. Now, in perfect harmony with the high result to which the old dispensation looked, are two very noticeable facts, respecting these writings. *First*, we find, scattered throughout their pages, allusions, more or less clear, to the glorious consummation which the Abrahamic and Mosiac covenants had in view. *Secondly*, these allusions increase in number and definiteness, as has been observed by several writers,<sup>g</sup> after the period when the Mosiac theocracy, having passed its zenith of power and splendour, was now in a state of decay. While the institutions of Moses were in their primal vigour, accomplishing the very work appointed to them by God their author, it was not necessary that the minds of the covenant people should be, to any great extent, directed towards the future. The struggles and triumphs proposed to them were emphatically those of their own divinely constituted state, in its conflict with the surrounding heathen nations. To them the great animating idea was the full realization of the Mosiac institutions as an all-pervading power, in the very form in which God had given them. But the theocracy, with all its divine splendour, was only a temporary arrangement destined to give place to a more perfect dispensation. From its very nature and office, it could not be always advancing. Always preparing the way for the high end to which it was subservient, it might be ; but not always increasing in outward power and glory. Everything temporary must reach its culminating point, as did this theocracy under David and Solomon : under David, in vigour and conquering power ; under Solomon, in wealth and peaceful splendour. From the days of these two monarchs, it was destined to decline, till in the fulness of time, its great Author should fold it up, as a worn out garment, and lay it aside for ever. This was a hard truth to an Israelite, perhaps the hardest of all truths. The institutions of Moses, with their glorious history in the past, which he had received from the fathers as his peculiar patrimony, mingled themselves with his very being, and he clung to them as to

<sup>f</sup> *Fanaticism*, by Isaac Taylor, sec. ix. See for a striking illustration of this last assertion, 1 Kings viii. 41—43 ; Isaiah lvi. 3—8.

<sup>g</sup> See, among others, Alexander, *Introduction to Isaiah's later Prophecies*.

life itself. That they should fall into decay and pass away never to return, was a thought which he could not endure. He was always hoping and praying for a renewal of the ancient glory of Israel. But this, *in its outward visible form*, he was never to witness; but rather the increasing humiliation of his nation before the surrounding heathen powers.—*Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1860.

*Bunsen and his English admirers.*—In the second paper of the Oxford essays, Bunsen's *Biblical Researches* are described and extolled by a congenial spirit—Dr. Rowland Williams, Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, and the well-known vindicator of 'Christian Freedom.' In his eyes Baron Bunsen seems to be, in many respects, the foremost man in Christendom, 'who, in our darkest perplexity, has reared again the banner of truth, and uttered thoughts which give courage to the weak, and sight to the blind,'—one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of those champions of light and right to whom we are to look for the salvation of Protestant Europe from those shadows of the twelfth century which, with ominous recurrence, are closing around us. Let us sum up the Teuton's claims to this championship, as they are here dilated upon by his reverent and affectionate admirer or pupil.

The war-cry of Bunsen's assault upon the powers of modern darkness is the question, 'How long shall we hear this fiction of an *external* revelation?'—language which his coadjutor in the Anglican Church admits may be thought 'too vehement for good taste,' but which he classes with other *very bold* sayings of the prophet, as 'burning words needed by the disease of our time.' The 'Bible for the Church' is intended to be the final and effectual panacea for all those particular symptoms of a disease which may be classed under the head of *Biblio-latry*. In this 'Bible-work,' we shall have the latest—we fear, not the last—German reconstruction of the Word of God. That there was a Bible before our present Bible; and that some of our present books, as certainly Genesis and Joshua, and perhaps Job, Jonah, Daniel, are expanded from simpler elements, is indicated in this book rather than proved, as Dr. Williams thinks it might be. The great merit of Bunsen is, that he has gathered into himself all the light of the Illuminist criticism of the Scriptures, from Eichborn to Ewald, which has been the glory of the past century; that he has entered into the heritage of past scholarship; that is to say, that he has given up all the symbolism of the types, all the predictions of prophecy, and the distinctive inspiration of the whole Bible, and yet does not despair of Hebrew prophecy as a witness to the kingdom of God.

Hebrew prophecy, however, as it is here criticized down to its legitimate dimensions, is worth very little, whether as a witness to its own age, or as a witness for ages to come. Woeful is the havoc made of the prophets, both the greater and the less. The 'older Isaiah' is left with some fragments of the earlier part of his book; the rest he must be content to share with the interpolaters. As to the latter part of his roll, he must surrender it with all its glory to a *pseudo-Isaiah*. With all its glory, we have said; but in truth its glory is departed; for there is no one greater in the very sanctuary of the book, where the man of sorrows is, than Jeremiah, or one of the prophets, or the idealized afflicted people of God. This may suffice instead of a multitude of examples; when once Scripture, in the person of its greatest mortal prophet, is thus broken, it matters not that Daniel with his visions is lost, that Jonah is a 'late legend, founded on misconception,' that Jeremiah gives place to Baruch, that Zechariah must yield the best part of his prophecies to Uriah or some one else, and that a multitude of mutilations, dislocations, and violences are done to all the rest; for, indeed, which of the prophets has not this criticism persecuted and dishonoured? Far as Bunsen, the inheritor of the illumination of a century of criticism, goes, Dr. Williams sometimes betrays a little impatience with his master's comparative tardiness and restraint. The German faintly endeavours to make a compromise with his conscience, by appealing to a certain mysterious principle of insight in human nature, which in Hebrew prophecy may have been exalted beyond its range in other men. The Englishman is hardly fair in his translation of the words; but he cannot concede, even to Bunsen, anything more than presentiment

or sagacity. For himself, he reduces the Christology of prophecy to this: as John the Baptist answers the question, *Art thou Elias?* by his express, *I am not*, while yet Jesus testifies that in spirit and power this was Elias; so by the help of a little reflection, we may come to perceive that the grief and triumph of Isaiah liii. have their highest fulfilment—but we forbear to go any further with the quotation. ‘We must not distort the prophets to prove the Divine Word incarnate, and then from the incarnation reason back to the sense of prophecy. Loudly do justice and humanity exclaim against such traditional distortion of prophecy, as makes their own sacred writings a ground of cruel prejudice against the Hebrew people, and the fidelity of this remarkable race to the oracles of their fathers, a handle for social obloquy. The cause of Christianity itself would be the greatest gainer if we laid aside weapons, the use of which brings shame.’ This simple sentence of our Hebrew Professor, pursued to its fair conclusions, annihilates Christianity, and shuts the Bible at once.

He, however, thinks very differently. To him the great result of all is to vindicate the work of the Eternal Spirit, that abiding influence which underlies all others, and which is the common source of inspiration to all good men, good thoughts, and good books. ‘The sacred writers acknowledge themselves men of like passions with ourselves, and we are promised illumination from the Spirit which [not who?] dwells in them.’

The doctrines which, under this illumination of the sacred influence, Bunsen and his English panegyrist derive from the Scriptures, are in harmony with this lax view of inspiration. Doctrines they are not at all, strictly speaking; for this kind of theology admits of no definitions and formal statements of truth. As the Holy Spirit is an influence, and the Scriptures of truth (so called) are simply the voice of the Church of all ages, there can be no dogmatic truth apart from its influence upon every individual mind; the objective is merged in one everlasting and ever-varying subjective reproduction of the ideas of truth; and what men call ‘doctrine’ must needs change from generation to generation. ‘Almighty God has been pleased to educate men and nations, employing imagination no less than conscience, and suffering his lessons to play freely within the limits of humanity and its short-comings.’ The elements of good were to be found in all the more ancient or more modern religions of India and of Arabia, and even in those of Hellas and Latium. Thus revelation widens its range, to comprehend the truth of every system; and at the same time relaxes its rigour, in accommodation to the errors of every system. All the religious books of the world are one great Bible, of which the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures contain certain sublime but loosely-preserved books. Some of them exhibit more adulteration of error, some less, but none are altogether without error. There is no positive revelation of truth adapted to every age. All that is fixed and stable in Divine truth belongs rather to natural than to what we call revealed religion. And for the one as for the other we have in ourselves a supreme verifying faculty; a secret, individual, absolute test; the *witness in ourselves*.

It is in his *Hippolytus* (or the work which came out first under that name) that Bunsen approaches nearest to the exposition of his dogmatic views. That work is commended to us as ‘a congeries of subjects, but yet a whole, pregnant and suggestive beyond any book of our time. To lay deep the foundation of faith in the necessities of the human mind, and to establish its confirmation by history, distinguishing the local from the universal, and translating the idioms of priesthoods or races into the broad speech of humanity, are amongst parts of the great argument.’ With this sentence, so far as we understand it, we agree; it is a fair character of the most astonishing work which has amazed the present generation. But it is very sad and very suggestive to mark in what way the learned renovator of Christianity proceeds in his task of translating the idioms of Apostles into the broad speech of humanity.

Jesus the Christ of God is in this translation the perfect embodiment of that religious idea which is the thought of the eternal, and without conformity to which our world cannot be saved. The incarnation is purely spiritual; the son of David by birth is the Son of God by the Spirit of holiness. The kingdom of

God is the realization of the Divine will in our thoughts and lives; this expression of spirit, in deed and form, is generically akin to creation, and illustrates the dogma and fact of the incarnation. For though the true substance of Deity took body in the Son of Man, it is a mistake to interpret this in any other sense than that in which we understand the declaration, that he who abides in love abides in God, and God in him. Hence the doctrine of the Trinity is a 'philosophical rendering of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. The profoundest analysis of our world leaves the law of thought as its ultimate basis and bond of coherence. This thought is consubstantial with the Being of the Eternal I AM.' The Trinity, or rather triad, is will, wisdom, and love; the Divine consciousness or wisdom, consubstantial with the eternal will, becoming personal in the Son of Man, is the express image of the Father; and Jesus actually, but also mankind ideally, is the Son of God. If all this has a Sabellian or almost Brahmanical sound, these divines are not careful to defend themselves from an imputation which, as they think, must equally fall on some of the earliest and best of the Fathers of the Church.

With the dissolution of the Holy Trinity, and the idealizing of the incarnation, it follows of necessity that the blessed doctrines which revolve around our redemption must suffer loss, irreparable loss. It is utterly impossible to put into language the ideas which are represented to this class of theologians by the words 'atonement,' 'propitiation,' 'justification,' 'heaven,' and 'hell.' In fact, they are quite consistent with themselves and their principles in entirely rejecting all positive definitions; to them St. Paul's 'form of sound words' has no meaning whatever. It will almost invariably be found, that their statements of doctrine—or what should be such—are no more than negations, generally sarcastic and most unfair, and sometimes irreverent negations, of the doctrines which have represented for ages the faith once delivered to the saints. This volume contains a multitude of illustrations of what we mean; but the essay before us will furnish as many as we have space to refer to. Christ is 'the moral Saviour of mankind,' and in this adjective 'moral' lies a world of vague protest against the truth; but no adjective in either the German or the English language has a less definable meaning than this one, and therefore is it chosen. Salvation is 'deliverance, not from the life-giving God, but from evil and darkness, which are his finite opposites (*διάτυπειανερος*).'<sup>1</sup> Now, 'redemption' should be the word here, but 'redemption' is by no means a favourite expression, and might be very conveniently spared altogether by this divinity. But is it true, that our 'irrational interpretation' represents the Saviour's work in delivering us from the 'life-giving God?' How can it be so, when the most rigid doctrine of satisfaction declares that the Redeemer is God himself, and that he came to manifest God's eternal love by the very sacrifice of himself, which manifested his own eternal wrath against sin? And is it worthy of one of our greatest masters of Greek—for it is Dr. Williams, and not Bunsen, who is speaking here—to suggest, even in the most passing manner, such a reference to that masculine adjective of St. Paul as applicable to 'evil and darkness?' Propitiation is 'the recovery of that peace, which cannot be while sin divides us from the Searcher of hearts.' Now this equivocal phrase is either a designed and deliberate perversion of the plainest teaching of the whole Scripture, or it is a most unworthy evasion of the matter by the use of plausible words which mean nothing, or it is a wilful substitution of the effect for the cause, because that cause is hateful to the new theology. Justification by faith is 'that peace of mind, or sense of Divine approval, which comes of trust in a righteous God, rather than a fiction of moral transfer.' It is 'neither an arbitrary ground of confidence, nor a reward upon condition of our disclaiming merit, but rather a verdict of forgiveness upon the offering of our hearts.' Regeneration is a 'correspondent giving of insight, or an awakening of forces of the soul.' Original sin declines the exaggerated definition which 'makes the design of God to be altered by the first agents in his creation, or destroys the notion of moral choice and the foundation of ethics.' This is suggestively negative; but the fall of man has its positive definition: 'It represents with him ideally the circumscription of our spirits in limits of flesh and

time, and practically the selfish nature with which we fall from the likeness of God, which should be fulfilled in man.' These and other such rhetorical flourishes of definition involve miserable parodies of the doctrines which they supplant, and in themselves betray—as every one must perceive, who weighs them for a moment—most hopeless confusion of thought and expression. Did the exact apostle, for instance, mean by justification at once a sense of approval, and a verdict of forgiveness? Is his language wont to waver thus? But it is to Dr. Williams of very little moment what St. Paul intended; for the instincts of natural religion are the final appeal with him, and 'the antagonism between nature and revelation vanishes in a wider grasp and deeper perception of the one, or in a better balanced statement of the other.'—*London Review*, July, 1860.

*Professor Jowett on the Interpretation of Scripture.*—The last, and perhaps the most important essay in the volume of *Oxford Essays*, is that by Mr. Jowett, *On the Interpretation of Scripture*, which appropriately follows up the previous reasonings of his coadjutors in this remarkable enterprize, and crowns the argument. After dwelling at some considerable length on the uncertainty that prevails in the explanation of Scripture, and the multitude of various and opposite meanings that have been put upon the text, and referring to different causes,—such as the bias of religious parties, the prevailing theories of interpretation, etc.,—he truly remarks, that there are "deeper reasons" which have exerted a dominant influence in this matter; and that "no one would interpret Scripture as many do, but for certain previous suppositions with which we come to the perusal of it." What these previous suppositions are, Mr. Jowett hastens to explain, as well as the fatal influence they have had in the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Scripture. "*There can be no error in the Word of God*: therefore, the discrepancies in the Books of Kings and Chronicles are only apparent, or may be attributed to differences in the copies. *It is a thousand times more likely that the interpreter should err than the inspired writer.* For a like reason, the failure of a prophecy is never admitted, in spite of Scripture and of history; the mention of a name later than the supposed age of the prophet is not allowed, as in other writings, to be taken in evidence of the date. The accuracy of the Old Testament is examined not by the standard of primeval history, but of a modern critical one, which, contrary to all probability, is supposed to be attained; this arbitrary standard once assumed, it becomes a point of honour or of faith to defend every name, date, place, which occurs." . . . "It is better to close the book than read it under conditions of thought which are imposed from without. Whether those conditions of thought are the traditions of the Church or the opinions of the religious world, Catholic or Protestant, makes no difference. They are inconsistent with the freedom of the truth and the moral character of the Gospel." pp. 342—3. With such views as to the injury done to free inquiry and unfettered criticism in connexion with Scripture by the previous conditions of thought under which interpreters approach it, Mr. Jowett feels the necessity of examining into the source of them, and has no difficulty in recognizing it in the doctrine of the inspiration of the sacred volume. The views commonly entertained by the Church as to an inspiration of Scripture which secures for its statements the two elements of infallible truth and Divine authority, are the fountain of evil out of which have proceeded almost all the mischiefs of the false doctrine and unsound interpretation which have been imposed upon its text. That theory necessarily demands a mode of interpretation which shall conserve both the entire infallibility and supreme authority of the Bible; while the rejection of that theory at once opens the door to unfettered freedom in the way of the application to the sacred text of a criticism which may find error as well as truth, and obsolete ideas as well as unchanging wisdom in its teaching. The question of, whether or not the Bible is from God in the sense of its embodying his truth and his authority, is a question which Mr. Jowett rightly regards as intimately connected with our understanding of its historic truth, its doctrinal announcements, and the general force of its precepts. If there is no such inspiration, the accuracy, and even the reality of its historic statements are of no practical importance, and it becomes an unnecessary, and

even unmeaning attempt, to labour at the reconciliation and vindication of those discrepancies and mistakes which the condition of knowledge and the unavoidable infirmities of its human authors might lead us to anticipate in their writings. On the same supposition, the doctrinal statements of Scripture lose much of their meaning and importance in relation to us of the present day;—such dogmas being the truths of the men and the age when believed, but long since obsolete in consequence of the progress of thought, and no longer applicable in their primary sense to our beliefs: “the growth of ideas in the interval which separated the first century from the fourth or sixth, makes it impossible to apply the language of the one to the explanation of the other.” And in like manner, if there is no such inspiration, the general force and sense of Scripture precepts must be altogether different from what the Church has universally believed them to be; there can be no Divine authority in them to bind us with the obedience that is due to God, or even the inferior obedience that is due to well-ascertained truth; and Scripture commands and example are evacuated of all power to lay the conscience under obligation, and become obsolete and inapplicable in their bearing upon succeeding times.

But while Mr. Jowett is clear and decided in his rejection of the doctrine of a plenary inspiration as “a condition of thought,” under which, as a ruling principle, the interpretation of Scripture is to be conducted, he is not equally explicit as to what idea of inspiration he would substitute in its place. His announcements are negative rather than positive, and much more destructive as to the ancient and received doctrine of the Church than explanatory or decided as to his own. He is quite sure that *inspiration* did not exempt the writers of the Bible from error in their writings. He has no doubt that their inspiration, whatever it might be, was quite consistent with historical inaccuracies and doctrinal mistakes, and did not convey to their teaching any supernatural wisdom, or any infallible authority binding upon us. But he is prodigal of explanation in attacking the common views of the Christian Church, rather than in announcing those he himself has adopted. He holds that the Bible, in some sense or other, is the fruit of inspiration. He tells us that all Christians agree in the *word* which use and tradition have consecrated to express the reverence which they truly feel for the Old and New Testament. But this veneration “is not less real because it is not necessary to attribute it to miraculous causes.” p. 426. It is an inspiration which, whatever influence it might have in directing the parties who possessed it, was not of a supernatural kind. If we understand Mr. Jowett aright, it was an influence of the spirit of God identical in character and effect with that which Christians now enjoy, leaving them liable not less certainly to error in thought and word; and the Scripture, which is the fruit of that inspiration, is not different in kind from writings of the present time which contain the embodied beliefs and feelings of the wise and good. He announces, and apparently with approbation, that theory of inspiration which is explicitly adopted by some of his coadjutors in this volume, and which is commonly advocated by a certain school of rationalist theologians in the present day,—that “the apostles and evangelists were equally inspired in their writings and in their lives, and in both received the guidance of the spirit of truth in a manner not different in kind, but only in degree, from ordinary Christians.” p. 345.—*North British Review*, August, 1860.

*Buddhism and Roman Catholicism.*—A third suggestion, which has been frequently put forward both in this country and abroad, is that Christianity is borrowed from Buddhism. A more unfounded assertion never was advanced, nor one that will less stand the test of even the hastiest examination. It may be safely asserted that there is not a trace of Buddhism in the Bible itself: all that is Buddhist is found in mediæval and more modern Christianity. It was introduced long after the age of the Evangelists, and if we are not mistaken, can be traced to the barbarous nations who were incorporated with the Roman Church at the downfall of the Roman empire.

It is not necessary, even if it were possible here, to enumerate all the similari-

ties between Buddhism and Roman Catholicism. A few of the principal resemblances and easiest to be understood will suffice for our argument. One of the most prominent is found in the institution of an infallible head, who is not only the chief of the hierarchy, but the vicegerent of God on earth. The idea of conferring infallibility by election to an office did not exist either in the religions of Greece or Rome, nor in any of the religions of the West; nor is it, so far as we can judge, sanctioned by anything in the New or Old Testament, but belongs essentially to the Buddhist principle that man may conquer godhood by force of his own exertions and the practice of certain virtues. In Thibet the Delai Lama is chosen when a child; in Italy the Pope is selected in mature age; but in both cases the infallibility, which is the essence of the office, is attained by the transmission of some not easily-defined virtue, supposed to be inherited from the founder of the religion.

A far more striking and exact parallel is found in the segregation of the clergy from the laity, and the institution of the monastic orders, which formed so important a part of the arrangements of the middle ages, and has done so in all times in Buddhist countries. Practically, the two institutions are absolutely identical;—established for the same purposes, governed by the same laws, exercising the same powers, and developing the same results. In both institutions, all parties joining them give up all worldly possessions, have all things in common, take vows of celibacy, and live apart from the rest of men. Poverty and absolute dependence on alms have always been the rule in Buddhist countries, as they were with the mendicant friars of the West, and were more or less professed, if not practised, by all orders of monks. The establishment of a hierarchy of priors, abbots, bishops and cardinals, and of the corresponding offices in the East, is perhaps a necessary consequence of the organization of any large body of men among whom it is indispensable that discipline must be maintained; and is common to the two institutions as a consequence of the segregation of so large a body of individuals into a separate class, rather than as a preordained part of the institution.

Canonization is another remarkable institution common to these two religions, and to these only. It has frequently been attempted to draw a parallel between the demigods of Greece or Rome and the institution of saints in the mediæval church; but the argument has always broken down, as in fact there is no essential similarity between the two. The minor gods of the heathen Pantheon, though remarkable for their power or virtues, were all more or less connected by birth or marriage with the great Olympic family, and owed their rank rather to their descent than to their virtues. It is true that, in later times, the deification of Roman emperors, and others of that class, which the abject flattery of a corrupt age introduced, was a nearer approach to the usage of Buddhism which was then flourishing in the East. But, when the custom is adopted in its purity, the attainment of Buddhahood, or of saintship, is owing neither to birth nor to office, but to the practice of the ascetic virtues in the church, or of piety or charity towards the Church on the part of those outside its pale.

If we turn from the hierarchy to the material forms of worship, we find the same novelties and the same striking resemblances. As is now perfectly well known, the principal object of worship in all Buddhist countries is and always was the veneration paid to relics. As early as the time of Clemens of Alexandria it was known in the West that the followers of Buddha worshipped a pyramid, which was supposed to contain a bone, a relic of their god. The true old Tartar form of this was the homage paid to the bodies of the dead; but the Buddhists have refined on the primitive practice. No bodies are venerated but those of persons who have attained Buddhahood in some shape or other, and then it never is the body as buried that is revered, but some bone or utensil, or some spot rendered sacred by the presence of a saint, or where some miracle was performed by some holy person. The worship of holy places and of holy things rose in the middle ages to be the most prominent of all forms of devotion, but did not exist before, and has died out to a great extent since, though, while thousands flock to see a holy coat at Trèves, or the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or to worship at

Loretto or Compostella, it cannot be said that this Buddhist formula is yet extinct in modern Europe.

The similarities of the liturgies may to some extent be accidental, and have no doubt been caused by the similarity of institutions; but it can hardly be considered an accident that the great act of devotion in one church should be the endless repetition of "Ave Marias" and "Paternosters," and in the other a still more continuous utterance of "Om mani Padmi Hom," or such like formulas; though it must be confessed that in no age did the Romish Church carry this so far as is done in Buddhist countries through the invention of the praying-wheel, by which mechanical means are employed to say the prayers of those who are too lazy to perform that office themselves.

It would be tedious to dwell on the many minor points of resemblance between the forms of the two religions. It must be already clear that the Reformation in the sixteenth century was nothing more than a rebellion of the Arian races of Europe against the Buddhism which the Celtic races had superinduced upon the Christianity of the Bible; and that all the corruptions which the reformers attacked were (with the single exception of transubstantiation) Buddhist doctrines or formulas, such as popery, monachism, relic-worship, etc. After that great struggle it was found that all the Teutonic races of Europe—who never had been genuine Buddhists—had thrown off the Buddhist institutions and forms; but that no Celtic race had become Protestant, but "held their old faith and old feelings fast." So it remains at the present day. Europe is Protestant in the exact ratio of the purity of the Arian blood in any race, and Romish in proportion as the people in any country are Celtic. The inference seems to be inevitable that the Celts were Buddhists before their conversion to Christianity. The Teutons were not, nor did they ever heartily adhere to the unfamiliar forms that had been forced upon them. The Buddhism which crept into the medieval church did not come by any of the usual routes of travel or of trade. No Buddhist missions were established in Asia Minor, or Palestine, or Egypt, whence, by their preaching, their doctrines were spread into the Roman empire, and thence communicated to the nations who were gradually converted to Christianity. The very contrary, indeed, seems to be the fact. The Greek Church, although in immediate contact with Buddhist countries, has infinitely less of Buddhism in its formulæ or faith than the Romish, and there is no trace of Buddhism having passed through it to the West. Nor can we trace it as proceeding from Rome itself, but, on the contrary, we find all the peculiarities we have enumerated springing up gradually among the barbarians who overwhelmed the Roman empire, and it was by them forced on the Church at Rome by the pressure of circumstances. Nor is it difficult to see how this arose. The policy of the Roman Church, as set forth in Pope Gregory's celebrated letter to Bishop Mellitus, was, to get the barbarians to allow themselves to be baptized, and to acknowledge Christ in any form. Even although the first converts were allowed to retain the worship of "trees and stones," the missionaries hoped that many would be weaned from their idolatries, and at all events that their children would forsake the *Kirk*, and take to the *Ecclesia*. This policy was to a certain extent unsuccessful, for the simple reason that the barbarians outnumbered the Romans as a thousand to one; that they were too illiterate to comprehend the arguments on which the new faith rested, and too rude to see its beauty, or to appreciate the doctrines of peace and love which it inculcated. If a few were truly converted, the mass still adhered to their old superstitions; and as the Roman element died out, the old faith came again more prominently to the surface, and was mixed up with the higher and holier faith, which it leavened, but neither destroyed nor superseded.—*The Quarterly Review*, July, 1860.

*Plato and Christianity.*—There is a noble use of Plato yet to be made, and the work should be undertaken not by men, who indirectly, if not directly, would seek to substitute for the inspired dogmas of the Catholic Church, the statements of any uninspired philosophy, however pure and exalted; but by men, who walking unswervingly along the "ancient paths," still believe that the course may

be enlightened here and there by torches kindled at a shrine not wholly alien to their own. We are accustomed to commend the labours of such men as Lightfoot and Schöttgen, who would illustrate the Gospel by the Jewish writings and ritual; of scholars like Wetstein, Schleusner and Elsner, who apply classical authors to the explanation of the New Testament text: our theologians are slowly working back again to the older use of *cataena*, by which the collective opinions of the fathers are brought to bear upon particular texts. With these facts before us, we may well ask why the vast body of philosophy which admits of a Christian application—which formed the only faith of earnest men for many centuries,—should not be redeemed and consecrated, as it might be, if used by us aright. The merest details of Plato's teaching are oftentimes capable of this higher use. Take for examples; his use of the word *ἀληθεία*, in connexion with that subjective truthfulness so often dwelt upon by him; how nearly akin it is to David's "truth in the inward parts," and to St. Paul's *ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ*, which he speaks of to the Ephesians (Eph. iv. 15), or to his relation to the Galatians (Gal. iv. 16), *ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν*. Again, what an exalted interpretation of several passages of Holy Scripture can be derived from Plato's marked antithesis between *εἰμί* and *γίγνομαι*, the former expressing the *being*, essential, eternal, necessary, having no dependence on time and space; the latter a phenomenal, temporal, contingent, dependent being, generated in time and space. Passages in which this antithesis is plainly shewn can be found in the *Theætetus* (153 E., 155 A., 157 D.), in the *Phædrus* (247 C. D. E.), in the *Parmenides* (138 E., 141 c., 154 C.D., 161, 162 A.B.), in the *Hippias Major* (294 B.C.), and in several others, in the *Republic*, the *Phædo*, and the *Timæus*. In the Dialogue to be mentioned directly, the *Philebus*, pleasure of sense or physical pleasure, is ever defined as a *γένεσις*, but never as an *οὐρα* (53 c.). So we do not read *ἐν ἀρχῇ γένετο δὲ λόγος*, but we do find our blessed Lord saying that "before Abraham was," *Ἄβραὰν γένεσθαι* came into being,—received his *γένεσις*. "I am," John viii. 58 (*ἐγώ εἰμι*), eternally, essentially, am, was, and ever shall be, which words have generally been considered to have reference to God's own designation of himself in Exodus iii. 14, according to the LXX. "*Ἐγώ εἰμι δὲ ὁ*;" it was the *δὲ ὁ*, and not the *δὲ γίγνομενος* that sent Moses; and similarly we regard the *δὲ ὁ* of Romans ix. 5, as a Divine name, and not as a mere participial copula; as finding its correlative in the description of the *Almighty* given by St. John the Evangelist (Rev. i. 8), "the *δὲ ὁ*, καὶ *δὲ ἦ*, καὶ *δὲ ἐρχόμενος*." This Platonic distinction between the *εἰμί* and the *γίγνομαι* seems fully borne out in the Scripture references to life and being (e. g., Acts xvii. 28), but this is too extensive a subject for us to notice in detail now.

But not alone in its more refined and subtle ethical analysis does this power of illustration hold good; it extends itself to the broader and to the more homely moral lessons of the new dispensation. Take for instance our Lord's own appellation of himself, as the Good Shepherd, an expression, as a modern has observed (Manning's *Sermons*, vol. iv., pp. 1, 2), which "is full of figures and analogies of loving-kindness;" "almost sacramental in its depth and power;" an epitome of "all care, love, providence, devotion, watchfulness, that is in earth or in heaven, in the ministry of men or angels;" which "has expressed, as in a parable, all men's deepest affections, fondest musings, most docile obedience, most devoted trust;" a title in which all other titles meet, in the light of which they blend and lose themselves. Priest, Prophet, King, Saviour, and Guide are all summed up in this one more than royal, paternal, saving name." Now, when, in the *Critias* (109 c.) Plato romantically describes that Atlantis in which the primeval life of the Athenians passed through its ruder stages of culture and development; he speaks of that blessed isle as of the chosen settlement of the gods, wherein they reared the Athenian people, who were to them as the flocks and herds, over which they were the shepherds. Twice in the laws (Book x. 902 B., 906 A.), are men spoken of as "*the flocks of the gods*;" and in the *Phædo* (62 B.), he lauds the older saying, "that the gods are our keepers, and that we men are among their flocks." We may well place Ps. c. 3, and Isaiah xi. 11, side by side with such expressions as these, noting, that the use of the word *ποικιλῶ* in the old Homeric poems

points out most conclusively the analogy that existed between a shepherd and a king, as a traditional notion common in men's minds from the beginning, altering in character as time went on, gradually assuming its aristocratic sense as pastoral life faded away, and as fixed in its later meaning in sundry passages of the New Testament (*e.g.*, Matt. ii. 6; Rev. ii. 27; vii. 17; xii. 5; xix. 15).

Again, does not St. Paul ever make reference to a certain class of men, the ἄγιοι, the separate, the peculiar, the elect, men who have by their baptism been ecclesiastically elected into the graces and privileges of the Church? The coincidence is not a little remarkable when we find Plato (*Phædo*, 79 D., 82 B.) speaking of men who have entered into the family of the Divine, and describing the holy place, whither they go away, as the pure, the ever-being, the immortal, the unchangeable; a place where the soul of the ἄγιος would abide, and cease from its restless wandering, where it will be lastingly engaged in the contemplation of the eternal. And when he further dwells upon the holiness required of those who shall enter thither, the stern assertion of Heb. xii. 14, rises before us in all its force and significance. *Au ἄγιοντος* is indeed demanded of us, if ever we would hope to see the Lord. We cannot afford space, but for one or two more examples, out of the very many which a casual thought even of this subject suggests. Plato, more than once, refers to a *type* or form of life, to certain knowledges and intentions that is, which raise life above the moral chaos,—which give a meaning to it, that it would not have unless some intelligible form were impressed upon it: and from the notion of a type came in the doctrine of the τύπος in its various significations. Usually this doctrine was but an expansion of the teaching of Solon, who shewed that the type of life for the blessed man, depended not alone upon the end of his own life, but upon the bearings which this life of his had upon the great *oὐρανός* of the economy or cosmos of which he forms a part. Plato advanced a step even beyond this, in the *Republic* (Lib. ii. 319 B.) he speaks of the "types of the theology"—intimating that there were certain first principles respecting the divine nature which were ever to be kept in mind. St. Paul then uses language which was not by any means new at the time he wrote, language the ethical sense of which had been fixed long before; when he thanks God that the Romans (vi. 17) had "obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine (τύπον διδάχῆς) which was delivered" to man; when he tells St. Timothy (II. i. 13) to hold fast the form of sound words (δοκοτύπωσιν) which he had heard—to preserve the symbol, or creed, or tradition given to him by St. Paul, to be careful in short that the τύπος or the *imortálwos* might not degenerate, but be preserved intact.

Further, if we rightly remember, Dean Trench regrets that in Acts xxvii. 4, the "vengeance" should be so written without a capital letter, as to give to the English reader of the passage no adequate representation of the ὁ Δίκην of the original; a deity by no means peculiar to the οἱ Βάρβαροι whom St. Paul met with on the island of Melita. In the tenth book of the laws (905 A.) Plato is most explicit in laying down the doctrine of divine justice. "You shall never be forgotten by it," he says, nor yet being insignificant, shall you so descend into the depths of the earth, nor being raised aloft shall you so fly to heaven, but that you shall pay the penalty which is meet, whether abiding here, or having gone through life to Hades, or having been carried into a wilder region than these." Let this passage on the Divine Justice in law be compared with Ps. cxxxix. 7, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?" with Job xxxiv. 21, 22, "His eyes are upon the ways of man," etc., with Amos ix. 2, 3, "Though they dig unto hell," etc., and the similarity of expression, as well as of doctrine, will be recognized at once. Again does St. Paul (Rom. i. 20) treat of Atheism as the corruption and degeneracy of our earlier and better state. Plato says that a smaller or greater number of men there have ever been who have had this *disease* (ταῖτνη τὴν νόσον); disease being a departure from the normal type of health. Is the aid of God invoked by Christian men before they undertake not only great enterprises, but their daily duty? Let the reader turn to Plato's (*Laws*, iv. 711 B.; *Timæus*, 27 C.; *Phæd.* 117 B.; *Phædrus*, 279 B.) invocations of the Deity, and he will be struck with a tone of mind that might well put to shame many a modern legis-

lator among ourselves. The *Philebus* (25 B.) contains a very good example of such invocations.

But once more. Life in the New Testament is ever represented as a *πάλη*, an *ἀγών*, a struggle, a battle, a race, in which all are called upon to press forwards towards our supernal calling (Philip. iii. 14). God is above uttering the loud *κέλευσμα* (1 Thess. iv. 16), saying to each successful candidate, "Come up hither" (Rev. xi. 12). "I will give thee the crown of life" (Rev. ii. 10). Homer has, as we know, some valuable passages on this subject (*Iliad*, xx. 47): he represents the conflict between order and disorder, light and darkness, truth and error, knowledge and ignorance. Plato carries on the theme in a loftier style, and shews an almost unlimited application of the *τύρων*. It is manifested in medicine fighting with diseases, agriculture with barrenness, art and science with rude and barbarous life. Then it is carried on to the moral regions, personified virtue is in dire strife with personal sin, while righteousness and temperance are ever combatting their opposites. And above all, is God himself, and his heavenly ministers—a vast army of the glorified ones—engaged in a mighty *πάλη* with spirits of sin and death, with Satan the lord of hell. Now Plato (*Laws*, I. 906 A.) speaks so very plainly about this *μάχην θεῶν* that both St. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 593 B.) and Eusebius (*Prep. Evan.* xi. 26) place down Ephesians vi. 12 as a parallel passage to this; they look upon it as an old Judaic notion, derived from the books of Job and Deuteronomy, and wrought up again by Plato and put to a new use,—as one of those traditions of earlier nations which, as Bacon so exquisitely expresses it, have come down to us again "in tones made musical by Grecian flutes."—*The Ecclesiastic*, September, 1860.

*Water as an object of worship.*—It would be foreign to my purpose to dwell on the offerings, whether of this or any other kind, which have been paid to standing or flowing waters, most probably in every part of the world. The ancient prevalence of the usage in the East is indicated by the sacrifice of white horses with which the Magians sought to propitiate the Strymon at the passage of Xerxes. And for my own part, I am strongly persuaded that it is to a like propitiatory offering that Achilles alludes in the twenty-first *Iliad* (v. 132), where he speaks of the horses which, beside the sacrifice of bulls, the Trojans were used to cast alive into the Scamander. Mr. Gladstone indeed (*Studies on Homer*, iii. p. 158) thinks it possible that the true explanation may be, that the river "carried away, in sudden spates, many of the horses that were pastured on its banks." I must own that I am quite unable to reconcile this explanation either with the language of the verse itself, or with the context. I do not understand how the ravages of the river could be described as the act of the Trojans themselves, nor how the loss of their horses, which they suffered on such occasions, could be represented as one of the grounds on which they might hope that the river-god would protect them from the wrath of Achilles. We have already seen, when we were considering the Arcadian legends, that the symbolical character of the horse rendered this animal, even more than the bull,—which we know is similarly significant of the might of rushing streams—an appropriate sacrifice for such a purpose. But to return to the Magians. Their sacrifice of the nine boys and as many girls, whom they buried alive in the Nine Ways (*έννεα δρόοι*), an island formed by the branches of the river, was probably intended for it, no less than for the land. And I am inclined to surmise, that the lock of the hair of Achilles which Peleus vowed to the Spercheius on the event of his son's return from Troy, and which was to be accompanied with a hecatomb, and the sacrifice of fifty rams, at the spring where the river-god had his grove and altar, was, no less than the hair with which the corpse of Patroclus was covered by his comrades, the symbol of a dedication, which at an earlier period was sometimes accomplished in a more real and less innocent manner. It may not be uninteresting to compare the form which this worship took among the aboriginal inhabitants of Spanish America, as it appears in a very curious Spanish work, published for the first time last year at Vienna, from a manuscript found by the editor, Dr. Scherzer, in the library of the University of Guatemala, being a translation of an ancient Chronicle of Guatemala out of the Quiche

language into the Castilian, together with some Scholia, or notes (*escolios*) by the translator, Father Ximenez, relating to the social condition of the primitive race. One of these Scholia is headed, "Of the places where they of Guatema used to sacrifice, as at fountains, rocks, caves, and under trees." There we read, among other things, "Likewise they used to sacrifice under trees of very thick foliage, under which it was their custom to shed blood from various parts of their bodies; likewise they used to sacrifice at fountains, especially when they were seeking to obtain children, and if they found any very thick-headed tree, that had a fountain under it, they held that place to be divine, because there two deities met, he of the tree and he of the fountain." When we hear that the first cuttings of the child's hair were burnt with incense, we may be reminded partly of the vow of Peleus, and partly of the obsequies of Patroclus. But when it is added, that they used to sacrifice in caves and dark places, and in the meetings of roads, and on the peaks of rocky hills; and farther, that in any great danger or strait, they were used sometimes to vow the sacrifice of a son or a daughter, one cannot but remember the prophet's description: "Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the cliffs of the rocks. Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering. Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set thy bed."

But returning from this little digression, in which however I have not altogether lost sight of my main subject, to the point from which I turned aside, I would observe, that the whole system of what, in the largest sense of the word, may be termed water-worship, in all the endless variety of its forms, springs from one root—the universal experience of the value of water. But this root sends out two branches, each of which bears its several fruit, in a distinct set of usages and legends. On the one hand there is the experience of the purifying, strengthening, refreshing, and wholesome properties of water, in its immediate application to the human frame; and on the other hand, the sense of dependence upon it for the fruits of the earth, and the first conditions of private and public well-being. Examples of both may be found, though mixed up together under the one head of water, in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*. To the first division belongs the Heilawag-water, drawn from a spring at certain seasons—now especially at Christmas, Easter, and Midsummer (St. John Baptist's day)—which was supposed to remain fresh all the year round, and to possess wonderful medicinal virtues. Also the numberless Heilbronn's and Holywells, some of which were believed to restore not only health but youth to the bathers, and even to re-unite severed limbs to the mutilated body, and to change the sex. The eve of St. John Baptist was, and is to this day at Copenhagen, the season specially appropriated to such ablutions. On that day Petrarch found a great concourse of women at Cologne, bathing in the Rhine, and on inquiry was informed that it was a very ancient usage, and according to the vulgar belief, a safeguard against all calamity impending for the year to come. Petrarch was not aware that any such custom existed in Italy. But Grimm produces an example from an Italian work of the sixteenth century, where it is related, that at Naples there was an ancient usage, which even then was not wholly abandoned, for men and women to bathe in the sea on the eve of St. John Baptist, under the persuasion that they were thereby purified from their sins; and he quotes passages from St. Augustine, in which that Father speaks of the very same custom as prevailing in his day in Africa, and condemns it as an unhappy remnant of Pagan superstition. Peculiar efficacy for the like purpose was attributed to water collected from the droppings of mill-wheels.—Bishop of St. David's, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.

*Coverdale's Bible in Gloucester Cathedral Library.*—This work shares with a copy in the possession of the Earl of Jersey the honour of being perfect in all its parts, with the title-page of 1536, which we shall call the second title. It is dedicated to King Henry VIII. and his "dearest just Wife and most vertuous Princesse Queen Anne;" and at the end of the volume we find this notice:—

"Printed in 1535, and finished the fourth day of October," i.e., nearly six months at least (as the title shews) before this copy was issued. But we are enabled to shew that the title of 1536 was not the original title of the book as it came from the press; for the copy in the British Museum, identical with ours in every other respect, is dated a year earlier, and purports to have been translated out of "Douch and Latin," which words are wanting in the title now exhibited.

The opening paragraph of the dedication suffices to explain to us the motive of this seeming incongruity. It is addressed, as we have seen, not only to Henry VIII., but to his dearest just wife, Queen Anne. The book was all in type, and not only so, but issued, when the ill-fated Queen was in the zenith of her prosperity. Great things were expected from her influence and patronage. But in a few short months the scene changes, and the name of Anne Boleyn, so far from being a passport to the capricious monarch's favour, would damage any cause with which it might be connected. What then was to be done to meet the altered circumstances? The dedication (it is true) might altogether have been cancelled, but these were the days of dedications, and the whole success of the edition depended on the royal fiat, and the sole motive of the dedication hangs on the remarkable words, "I thought it my duty not only to dedicate this translation unto your Highness, but wholly to commit it unto the same, to the intent that it may stand in your Grace's hands, to correct it, to amend it, to improve it, yea, and clean to reject it, if your godly wisdom shall think it necessary." Words like these ought never to have been written; but once deliberately published, they could not be withdrawn.

But the King's third marriage, in a very short time, suggested a solution of the difficulty. The sunset of Anne's espousals had indeed been dark and dismal; but the morning of Queen Jane's coronation had dawned at least with promise, so the alteration of two letters was deemed sufficient to meet the case. For *Anne* was substituted *Jane*; and the type, thus amended, is found in existing copies, among which those at Sion College and at Lambeth may be cited as the most accessible.

But did this alteration dispose of every difficulty? Obviously far from it. A date upon the title-page is usually understood to mark the completion of the volume. Here, then, was a Bible completed in 1535, but dedicated to a Queen whose new-born royalty dated only from the year following its issue. This contradiction, therefore, could only be obviated by the printing of a new title-page, in which 35 was changed to 36. And seeing that these changes were all forced upon the publishers after the commencement of the issue, we need not feel surprise that some confusion had arisen among the two title-pages, the two dedications, and the main body of the work, appended differently to each, perchance by the negligence of the binder.

Our glance at these Bibles may very profitably be extended to illustrate two malpractices, which we cannot too strongly reprobate, whether of restoration or destruction. Take, for example, the Coverdale in Sion College library. We find that in 1772 it was borrowed by the British Museum, in order to supply mutually-existing defects in each. Accordingly, it came back with the wood-cuts of its title-page supplied by "an ingenious penman," the style and execution of which we will not severely criticize, seeing them to be the performance of probably a clever school-boy. But the ground of our objection is, that the title thus inserted is the title of 1535, which we hold to be improperly prefixed to a dedication inscribed to Queen Jane, as it involves nothing less than a manifest anachronism. And, speaking as archaeologists, we cannot too strongly deprecate that sort of restoration to which Coverdale has been subjected. Nine-tenths of the Coverdales which the wreck of time has spared came down to us without titles. Their possessors, in many instances, have wished to do them honour, after their own fashion, by making good the deficiency; but the power, rather than the will, was wanting. Till the discovery of the Holkham Bible, no perfect title of 1535 was accessible. The British Museum copy had lost all the woodcuts of its outer side completely; but, as a similar pattern had been used in Matthew's Bible of 1539, it was thought that a skilful amalgamation would well serve the

purpose. However, after all, it was but the junction of the *humanum caput* and the *cervix equinus*, for Matthew had adopted Latin texts to illustrate his wood-cuts, but Coverdale's were all in English. To make the matter worse, a late eminent bookseller prepared at some expense a wood-block, to perpetuate the pretended fac-simile, which has thus found its way into many libraries. Thus much for restorations injudiciously carried out. And, if we would see destruction, we have only to call for the copy in the British Museum. There we shall see "specimens of the initial and capital letters used in the work cut from another copy, and pasted on a separate leaf!"—Mr. Lee-Warner, at Gloucester Archaeological Institute, reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

*Darwin's Origin of Species*.—We think we have ample cause to say, that though Mr. Darwin disclaims development, his theory tends to it inevitably. He deems it very unsatisfactory to refer the analogies and differences that subsist between all living forms to the Creator's immediate purpose and plan. He asks, Why this, and why that? But however far he may thrust back a personal agent, if he recognizes Him at all, he has still to face the "why." Mr. Darwin does not trouble himself with this part of the question; but others, who have gone farther in the same path, have felt the necessity of pausing somewhere. Even the author of the *Vestiges of Creation* put in a disclaimer: "You must not think," he said, "that I have the slightest intention of denying a First Cause; I am but differing on the mode of the Creator's operations. You say, He made these living forms; I say, He made the laws that formed them; and where is the peculiar impiety of my opinion?"

The impiety consists, first, in denying his express word, but still more in denying *Him*, the personal Interposer, the personal Judge. This system of law, this determination to look on creation as nothing but law, wonderful, harmonious, but unchangeable law; and the system which denies the interference of the Creator leaves no room for the responsibility of the creature. Mark how these truths or falsehoods hang together. Robert Chambers openly avowed that it was the prevalence of law over the inorganic world which forced him to the conviction that it must be equally prevalent over organic powers. But he did not stop there: he saw that organic powers were closely linked with instincts, and that instinct was nearly allied to intelligence; if laws produced the one, laws might produce the other: in truth, if law be the only power at work in the world, there is no escape from this conclusion. But is not this materialism? Not so, said the author of the *Vestiges*; not so, implies Mr. Darwin; all corporeal and mental endowments may tend to perfection, and immortality itself be the medium of progress. Aye, but what then? How shall we then divest ourselves of the principle that has animated us, the atmosphere we have breathed? If for ages and ages we have seen and known nothing but law, how can we be sure that there is anything more to be known? We too, poor mortals, are but the offspring of law: will our immortality find any other parentage? Surely if earth have only borne witness to this, we may well doubt if heaven will contain aught beside. No Father, no Saviour, no Sanctifier, nothing but a First, fixed, inexorable law, with which our developing existence will work in harmony, as the ancients deemed the universe moved to the music of the spheres.

All men do not follow out their own logic; but if we regard this world only as a scene for the manifestation of law, it is difficult to find any line of separation between the lowest result and the First Cause that produced it. The mineral presses closely on the vegetable, the vegetable on the animal, the animal on the instinctive, the instinctive on the intelligent, the intelligent on the moral, the moral on the immortal, the immortal on the Divine. But it has been the great error of men of science to look on creation as a manifestation of but one half of the Deity, forgetting that He is not only the source of law, but of freedom; and that just in proportion as his creatures approach his throne, they too become free. We do not find this principle in some fields of creation: mineral combinations are wholly without it; vegetable organisms do not possess

it, though they form an intermediate link between the forces of chemistry and the movements of life. The lowest forms of animal existence are almost destitute of it; but as creatures advance in the scale of being, it begins to dawn upon them, first in freedom of motion, then in freedom of choice. We may not be able to demonstrate that the bird, which flies here and there at its pleasure, and which chooses its own mate, and tree, and food, is not following a law as blindly as the sulphur and copper which rush into chemical combination, or the lightning that flies across half the earth: we may not be able to prove this; but we believe in the spontaneity we cannot prove. Next comes instinct, another intermediate link between law and liberty,—a shackled intelligence pointing on to the intellect that is free. And rising above instinct, there is the teachableness of domestic animals, their endeavour to understand us, their power of yielding to or resisting temptation, their consciousness of having disobeyed,—all speaking of an imperfect choice and will, which they seem to derive from their intercourse with man. Yet, in spite of all this, we cannot fail to see how little each animal's welfare depends on the exercise of choice. The brute is at best an enslaved creature; but when man comes on the scene, he comes as the ruler of his own destiny. He is not a better and wiser beast formed to conquer others by a law of natural advantage, but the appointed heir of dominion, which he is free to keep or lose at his pleasure. Look at the educated Englishman and the Australian aboriginal; the one gaining more and more mastery over the laws of this world, the other almost as helpless a victim of those laws as the brutes around him. Never in nature's kingdom do we see this immense gulf between individuals of the same species: we see it in man alone, because he alone in creation was free to rise or fall. We need scarcely say how closely this freedom, in working out his own physical destiny, is associated with that higher freedom which belongs to the knowledge of good and evil. We conceive that in the creation of man God's attribute of freedom and earth's law of natural sequence were accurately balanced in the fact of probation. We know the fatal result; man used his free will to destroy his freedom, and thrust himself back by deliberate choice upon that law of natural sequence, which adds to sin the fruits of sin, and leaves no room for escape. And it was because man had upset God's balance, and subordinated advancing freedom to the old law of natural sequence, that it needed a manifestation of God, in which his free agency should triumph over natural sequence, to set the matter right. Hence the whole human economy becomes a system of most gracious interposition; for what is it we call grace and mercy, but God's direct interference with natural results? He interposes no less between cause and effect when he frees his enslaved creatures, and saves them from the fruit of their own sin, than when he saved their bodies from the Red Sea by causing the waters to stand on either side. We marvel that those who own the greater wonder should shrink to grant the less; as if God might dare to interfere with immortal nature, yet hesitate to meddle with that of the physical world. He has not destroyed the system of natural law;—why should he, when it reflects half of himself?—but he has chosen to arrest its uniform action by special interference. By grace, by providence, by miracle, he proclaims our whole economy to be one of merciful interposition, even while he permits the general operation of his laws to go on undisturbed. His compassion does not shrink from the stern behests of famine and pestilence. He strikes down his most useful servants, if they neglect the laws of health. He carries retribution with a high hand over the world, to remind us that His free interference shall not always arrest the course of law. As yet, it is forcibly arrested; the two principles are not now in harmony, but are working out their separate results in sheer defiance of each other. God saves by free interference with law, law inexorably destroys in spite of God's interference. But a time will come when the balance of law and liberty will be restored, when, standing before our just Judge, we receive the complex result of God's free mercy and our own life's doings. But whether we are advanced to the throne of God, or thrust out from his presence, the award of law will be given, not because we had been bound onward by development to either fate, but because we had been free to choose between them; because the Son of God had interposed between man

and his natural destiny, and given back to his creatures a renewed power of choice, by which, when his Spirit called, they might have followed him and been free. More than that even the Son of God could not do; for though it is conceivable that an Almighty Being might force men to be righteous, it is inconceivable, nay, it is a contradiction in terms, that any power could force men to be free. In our share of that essential attribute of Deity doubtless lies the whole mystery of good and evil. We catch a glimpse of moral necessity; a "needs must be" that the creature which rises above the enslaved brute towards the free God, shall share the attribute of freedom, not as an arbitrary gift of the Creator, but as a necessity of our nearer approach to him. Then cometh the end. We know not yet how the union of perfect stability with perfect freedom will be secured in a higher sphere; but this we know, that we shall share the nature of Him who is equally the source of liberty and the origin of law,—the Sovereign Ruler who is *bound* by righteousness, the Almighty One who *cannot* err.—*London Review*, July, 1860.

*Rare Bibles, etc.*—The following rare books, printed and in manuscript, have been sold in London during the last quarter at the prices affixed:—

*Antiphonarium Cum Notis Musicis.* Manuscript on vellum, with illuminated capitals, having musical notes written in Neuma or Neumes (without staves), red morocco. Sæc. xi. This venerable and highly interesting relic of antiquity is similar in character to the Graduale, bearing date of 1071, and probably came from the same Church. For the history of sacred music, this is one of the most important volumes, as in the Antiphonarium are preserved those magnificent chants which the venerable Bede was so anxious to introduce into our cathedrals, and which admirers of solemn grandeur consider were no way improved when Guido d'Arezzo introduced, in this same century, his newly-invented system of sol-fa-ing. £17.

*Sacra Biblia Latina.* 2 vols. Manuscript on vellum, in a large hand, half russia. Sæc. xi.-xii. This truly important manuscript, formerly in the convent of St. Cecilia, in Transtevere, was only very partially collated for his "*Variae Lectiones*" (published at Rome in 1860, and where a facsimile is given) by the Barnabite C. Vercellone, and we have his authority for stating "il Manoscritto e giudicato per merito di Antichità e di sicura Lezione il secondo Codice Biblico che Roma conservi dopo il famoso Codice del Monastero Ostiense di S. Paolo che si attribuisce alla Eta' di Carlo Magno." He considers it to belong to the revision by Alcuin ("Textus ad Recensionem Alcuinam pertinet," see his "*Variae Lectiones*," p. 91, No. 19). Unfortunately, as is generally the case with our oldest Bibles, it is not quite perfect, but, notwithstanding its imperfections, it must ever be regarded as one of the most precious relics of antiquity, not only for its caligraphy, but also for the pureness of its text. £134.

*Biblia Latina* (Gen. xxxv. 11, usque ad 4 Reg. xviii. 27). Manuscript on vellum, in the original oak boards, covered with stamped leather. Sæc. xii. This important and valuable manuscript is that cited by C. Vercellone in his "*Variae Lectiones Vulgata Latinae Bibliorum Editionis*" as Codex U. It belongs to what is usually termed the "Recensio Alcuina," with which it generally agrees, but exhibits some few important readings not to be found therein. £24.

*Byble (The)*, black letter. Folio. Lond.: T. Day and W. Seres. 1549. Matthewes' translation revised and edited by E. Becke, extremely rare edition. £8.

*Biblia Hebraica, nova Seb. Munsteri tralatione.* 2 vols. Folio. Basilæ. 1546. Volumes of most extraordinary interest. They appear to have been presented by the editor, Sebastian Munster (author of the celebrated "*Cosmographia*," etc.) to Philip Melanthon, whose autograph annotations and inscriptions of various kinds are to be found at great length throughout the volumes. £80.

*Byble (The)* in Englysh, black letter, excessively rare. Printed by Eduard Whitchurch, finished the xxviii daye of Maye, 1541. Of the seven or eight distinct editions of this great Bible, commonly called Cramner's version, printed 1539-41, this one of May is the only one that has the name of the month on the title-page. £50.

*Byble (The)* in Englyshe. Folio. Printed by Richard Grafton, MDXL.

[Colophon] Fynished in Apryll, 1540. This is the first edition of Cranmer's Bible printed in England, and with some slight exceptions a perfect copy. £55.

Bible (The) in Englyshe. Large folio. Prynted by Rychard Grafton and Edw. Whitchurch, 1539. The first edition of Cranmer's version. £46.

Bible (Holy) authorized version. Ogilby's Illustrated Edition, with some additional plates inserted. A fine specimen of old English binding, contained in an oaken box. Cambridge. Printed by John Field, 1660. This edition was severely censured by Bishop Wetenhall, in "Scripture Authentic and Faith Certain," 1686. And in reference to this edition, Butler writes, "the Independents were literally so, having corrupted that text, Acts vi. 3, from whom ye may appoint, to whom we may appoint." It has been asserted that the printer received £1500 for allowing this corruption to pass in the editions issued by him. The New Testament has the date 1659, a peculiarity in one of the Duke of Sussexf's copies as particularized by Dr. Cotton in his list of the editions of the Bible. £10 10s.

Bible. The Bible in English. Cranmer's version, black letter in double columns. 4to. Printed by Edward Whytchurch, 1550. It is the first edition of the great Bible in small quarto, a cheap form, and has been stated by some bibliographers to have been printed for circulation in Ireland. In a perfect state like this copy, it is believed to be much more rare than the folio editions of 1539-1541 of the same version. This is the edition containing a device in the initial letter to the Epistle to the Galatians which, if not indelicate, is at least beneath the dignity of the subject. £65.

Biblia Sacra Latina. Manuscript on pure vellum, very distinctly written by an Italian Scribe at the end of the thirteenth or quite in the early part of the fourteenth century, with numerous illuminated capitals, in beautiful preservation, in old red morocco, g. e., having the sides covered with the large arms of Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo stamped in gold. Sæc. xiii.-xiv. (circa 1300.) £12 12s.

Byble (The) in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume. Cranmer's edition, black letter, title and prologue wanting (4 leaves); and in the New Testament wants three leaves of the last sheet, and portion of the last leaf having on it the Colophon. £6 10s.

Byble (The). Folio, 1537. This first edition of Matthew's version, of the greatest rarity. But two or three perfect copies are known. The present copy is large and sound, but imperfect. £7 7s.

Biblia. The Bible, out of the Douche and Latyn into Englyshe (by Miles Coverdale), 1535; Gothic letter. Folio, 1535. £95.

Bible (Holy), Royal version. Two vols., large paper, royal folio. Oxford: J. Baskett. 1717. A most magnificent edition, called the "Vinegar Bible," from an error in the running title at Luke xx., where it reads "the Parable of the Vinegar," instead of "the Parable of the Vineyard." Copies really upon large paper such as this, are very rare. £7 10s.

Bible (The Holy) conteyning the Olde and Newe Testament, whereunto is joyned the whole service used in the Church of England, black letter, with woodcuts. Imprinted at London by Richard Jugge, 1577—The Whole Booke of Psalms in Englyshe Metre, by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, black letter. At London, printed by John Daye, 1574. In 1 vol. £12.

Bible (Holy) containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal books, in the earliest English versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, now first printed entire. Edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir F. Madden. 4 vols., imp. size. Oxford. 1850. £4 16s.

Biblia Græca. Sacræ Scripturæ veteris novæ que omnia (Græce, juxta Septuaginta excusa, cura Andreae Asulanii), editio princeps, very fine copy, rare. Venet. Aldus. 1518. £30.

Biblia Sacra Latina, e translatione et cum præfationibus S. Hieronymi. Two vols. Extremely rare. Moguntiæ, per Jo. Fust et P. Schoiffher de Gernsheim. 1462. First edition of the Bible, which contains the date, the place of printing, and name of the printers. £165.

The Byble in Englyshe, with a prologue thereinto, made by Thomas (Cranmer) Archbyshop of Cantorbury. Black letter, with woodcuts, extremely rare. Prynted by Rychard Grafton, Fynished in Apryll, 1540. £28.

The Bible in Englyshe, of the largest and greatest volume auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundement of our moost redoubted Prynce and Soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henrye the VIII. Oversene and perused at the commandement of the kynges hyghnes, by the Ryghte Reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert (Tontstall), Byshop of Dunesme, and Nicolas (Heath), Bishop of Rochester. Black letter, woodcut title after Holbein. The arms of Thomas Lord Cromwell struck out; very fine copy, clean and sound, a few margins and portion of a corner only restored, in old blue morocco, g. e. Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541. £59.

Breydenbach (B.) *Sanctarum Peregrinationum in Montem Syon ad Venerandam Christi Sepulchrum in Jerusalem, Opusculum*, illustrated with wood engravings. Gothic letter, first edition, very rare, a fine and tall copy, with the frontispiece and all the folding maps, but portions of some of them are admirable fac-similies. Folio. Moguntia, Erhard Reuwich, MCCCCCLXXXVI. It is believed that the first instance of "cross hatching" in the art of wood engraving occurred in the frontispiece to this work. £6.

Caxton's Chronicle, viz.: The Chronicles of Englund, Westmynstre, June 5, 1480; the Descripcion of Britayne, Westmynstre, August 18, 1480; together in 1 vol. morocco extra, by F. Bedford, large, sound, and fine copy, measuring 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The preceding are generally regarded as two entirely distinct works, though often, as in this instance, bound together. There are, indeed, two editions of each, distinguished respectively by the use of a comma of long form in the one, and of short form in the other. In the present copy the Chronicle is of the "long comma," and the description of the "short comma" edition. Of the former we believe no perfect copy is known, and amongst all those of which we have any record, this copy must be allowed a high rank, being perfect at beginning and end, its only imperfections being in the Chronicle, v. 3, 4, 5, 6 (4 leaves), and in the description of Britain, folios 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 (6 leaves). These few leaves are supplied in matchless facsimile, but the collector may not unreasonably hope, sooner or later, to secure the original leaves, and with them enjoy the satisfaction of possessing the only complete copy of Caxton's chronicle extant. This copy contains many more leaves than the copy in the British Museum, and is much larger. This important work may justly be regarded as the most interesting of any which have proceeded from Caxton's press. £180.

Eliot's Indian New Testament, second edition. Extremely rare. 4to. Cambridge: Printed for the Right Honourable Corporation of London, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England, 1680. £6 15s.

Erasmi (D.) *Adagiorum Opus*. Fine copy, ruled. Lugduni, 1550. A magnificent specimen of contemporary binding. £91.

Ephrem Syri Opera, Graece. Manuscript on vellum in a large clear hand, with very few contractions, and having the initial letters and headings in red, half russia. Sec. x.-xi. This important and valuable manuscript, written at the end of the tenth or very early in the eleventh century, deserves great attention, more especially for its presenting an early and very accurate text never collated by Assemanni, who spared neither expense nor trouble to obtain the various readings of all known manuscripts. £52.

Fox (Joannis) *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, maximarumque, per totam Europam, persecutionum à Vuicleni [Wiclef] temporibus ad hanc usque æstatem descriptio liber primus*: Item, *Opistographia quædam ad Oxoniensis, the marginal notes of one leaf a little injured, otherwise in good sound state*. Argentorati, Vvendelinus Rihelius. 1554. Excessively rare. This is Fox's earliest compilation towards the "Martyrology," and was published five years prior to the rare folio, long thought to be his first essay in that direction. Lowndes, in quoting this edition, does not refer to any known copy of it, but mentions one of 1556, as being in the Grenville library. The editions prior to the before-named folio are almost unknown to bibliographers. £4 4s.

Graduale, cum Notis Musicis. Manuscript on vellum, red morocco, gilt and painted edges. Sec. xi. (1071). One of the most important manuscripts of the Graduale ever offered for sale, and presenting us the real Gregorian Chant, written

in Neuma or Neumes (the old style employed before the discovery of Guido d'Arezzo, in the same century of using staves), as chanted by the priests since the days of Gregory the Great, who, about the year 600, sent Pietro Maestro (or first singer of St. Peter's) to introduce it into England. It is written in Carolingian and rustic characters, with very elegant ornamented capitals in the usual style of the time, and was executed in the time of Pope Alexander II., namely 20th May, 1071. £80.

*Hora Beatae Mariæ Virginis Secundum Usum Sarum, cum Calendario.* Magnificent manuscript on vellum, by an English scribe, and remarkable for the beauty of the fifty-six miniature paintings (including a full-length portrait of Henry VI., Henry VII. and his family in prayer, Archbishop Becket, St. Ninian, etc.), having also the exquisite borders and the numerous splendidly illuminated capitals all executed in gold and colours in the best style of English art, red velvet, g. e. Sæc. xv.—xvi. For an English collector this splendid volume presents extraordinary attractions, not only as a work of English art, but also as a memorial of the monarch whose iron will, when he himself became Protestant, swept from every church in the land this ancient Service Book, and condemned all the copies thereof that could be discovered to be destroyed, as relics of superstitious rites. In this beautiful work of art, some of the prayers and several of the rubrics are in English, and the calendar is perhaps the most perfect for its enumeration of British and Irish saints. £84.

*Heures à la Louange de Dieu de satres sainte et glorieuse mere et à l'edification de tous bons catholiques, avec un almanach de 1488 à 1508.* Gothic letter, printed upon vellum, embellished with the series of larger illustrations of the life of Christ and other sacred subjects, commencing with a curious one of the Creation illuminated in gold and colours, every page surrounded with woodcut borders, with subjects from the life of Christ, the Sybils, Saints, etc.; the woodcut at the commencement of the Prayers for the Dead represents Death with a coffin over his shoulder, leading off a Pope and other personages. A very rare and curious volume, large 8vo. Anthoine Verard, 1488. £14 10s.

*Hora in laudem Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, ad usum Romanum, cum Calendario,* illustrated with thirteen beautiful wood engravings the full size of the page, every page surrounded with beautiful woodcut borders of varied and very elegant design, most brilliant impressions, a charming volume, fine, large, and clean copy. 4to. Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinæum, 1543. Probably the Duc de Rohan's copy. On the recto of M 1 will be found two small woodcut portraits of Francis I. and his Queen. £34.

*Isaaci, Magnæ Urbis Ninivæ Episcopi Patriarchæ Hierosolymæ et totius Palestinæ, Sermones XC, Græce, adornati a Patricio et Abraamio Monachis S. Sabæ Monasterii.* Valuable manuscript on Bombyx paper, in beautifully written Greek characters, in the original oak boards. Sæc. xii.—xiii. This highly interesting volume contains ninety sermons, by Isaac the Ninevite, patriarch of Jerusalem, who flourished about A.D. 548, translated into Greek from the Syriac by the two monks named above, of which thirty-seven have never been edited. £11 11s.

*Josephi (Flavii) Historia de Captivitate Judeorum et Eversa Hierosolyma ab Rufino aquileensi Presbytero in Latinum linguam conversa.* Manuscript on vellum, with name of scribe and date, beautifully written. Sæc. xv. (1492.) In the original red morocco, gilt gaufré edges, the sides richly ornamented with gold tooling, and having the arms of the Cardinal de Medicis, afterwards Pope Leo X., painted as centre ornaments. £240.

*Kempis (Thomas à) L'Imitation Jesus Christ, IV. livres.* A most sumptuous edition, the text printed within borders, extending to upwards of four hundred pages, each of which is decorated with elegant designs, copied from exquisite specimens in early Byzantine, Greek, Oriental, Flemish, Italian, or French art; and coloured according to existing originals in missals, books of devotion, poems, etc., etc., many pages finished in gold and silver. Colombier size. Paris: Curmer. 1856. £13 13s.

*Missale Monasticum secundum Consuetudinem Ordinis Vallisumbrosæ, cum Calendario.* Beautifully printed on vellum in semi-Gothic letter (the rubrics in

red), with the numerous elegant engravings on wood uncoloured, and musical notes. Extremely rare, old red morocco. Venetis: L. A. Giunta. 1503. In addition to this work being the most splendid production emanating from the Giunta Press, and of the greatest rarity, whether printed on vellum or even on paper, the existence of the edition having been totally unknown to Bandini, the historian of these celebrated printers, this copy is invaluable on account of its having belonged to the celebrated Saint Charles Borromeo, and has at end, entirely in his autograph, manuscript prayers, etc. A similar copy sold for £78 15s. in Sir Mark Sykes' sale. £120.

Officium Beate Marie Virginis, secundum Consuetudinem Romane curie, cum Calendario. Officium Mortuorum, septem Psalmi Penitentiales. Officium Sacratissime Passionis Domini Jesu. Officium Beatissime Crucis. Manuscript on vellum, exquisitely written, having the capitals alternately in gold and colours, with the rubrics in red. Sæc. xiv. A splendid and rare work of the Florentine School, of the highest quality, with illuminations remarkable for exquisite beauty of design and brilliant colouring. £170.

Psalterium et alia Cantica Biblica, Æthiopice. Most valuable manuscript on vellum, written in a beautiful hand. Sæc. xv. The great rarity of Æthiopic manuscripts is too well known to require any comment. This valuable codex is one of the finest ever offered for sale. £12 5s.

Psalterium. Novum Beate Marie Virginis Psalterium de dulcissimis nove legis mirabilibus divini amoris refertis noviter ad Teucri conteritionem confectum (opus ab Hermanno Nitzschewitz . . . anno 1489 confectum, Imperatori Frid. ex Lunenburg delatum et anno 1492, . . . cesareo sumptu ad imprimendum commisum, nunc et in Zzenna cistirciensis ordinis devoto claustro non sine modico sumptu impressum), Gothic letter, illustrated with very singular zylographic engravings on almost every page, printed within borders, the margins of a few leaves slightly wormed, else a beautiful copy of a most curious volume of extraordinary rarity. 4to. £21.

Testament (The Newe). Black letter. 4to. In Southwark, by James Nicolson, 1538. First edition of Bishop Coverdale's Translation of the New Testament. The six preliminary leaves, and the first leaf of St. Matthew, are supplied in well-executed facsimile. In all other respects this is a fine and perfect copy of one of the rarest books in the English language. £18.

Testament (The New). The six preliminary leaves, folios 1 and 2 in Matthew, and the last leaf of table at the end in admirable facsimile. Folios 3 to 8 in Matthew wanting. 8vo. Printed in Paris by Francis Regnault, for Richard Grafton and E. Whitchurch of London, 1538, in Novembre. This is Coverdale's revised or authorized edition, printed in Paris, while he was then superintending the printing of the Great Bible. £5 5s.

Testament (The Newe). Black letter. 4to. In Southwark, by J. Nicolson, 1538. The second edition of Bishop Coverdale's Translation, from the original Greek. The six preliminary leaves, two leaves of table, and last leaf of text supplied in exact facsimile. £12.

Testament (The Newe), translated by M. Wil. Tyndall, yet once agayns corrected. Black letter. Extremely rare. 12mo. 1549. £11 10s.

Testamentum Novum, Latine, cum Calendario. Manuscript on vellum, with elegant capital letters illuminated in gold and colours in the earliest style of Italian art, written at Milan at various dates between 1200 and 1204, with the name of the patron and scribe. Sæc. xii.-xiii. (1200-4). A most important manuscript, containing many very valuable various readings, written in a beautiful clear hand. £65.

*The Rival Editors of Epiphanius.*—It may perhaps be interesting to students in patristic theology to know that two rival editions of Epiphanius are in the course of publication in Germany, and that a very fierce contest has arisen between the editors, viz., F. Oehler and W. Dindorf. The latter has attacked Oehler in Gersdorf's *Repertorium* (1859, Band I. Heft v.), in an article which he has thought it worth while to reprint separately. The personal differences between these scholars is no concern of ours; we can only lament the occurrence

of such quarrels between men whose high attainments and dignified pursuits ought to preserve them from contests carried on with so much acrimony. The main points in Dindorf's attack upon Oehler are a charge of utter incompetence and carelessness. He charges him with reprinting many of the blunders of the edition of Cologne, 1682, which is a very faulty reprint of the Parisian edition of 1622. He accuses him of neglecting the Venetian MS. (written A.D. 1057), of which a great scholar of the last century said, "Ex quo infinitæ, eæque maximi momenti lectionum varietates erui possunt." Dindorf declares it to be inexcusable to print a volume of the text without a collation of this MS., and accuses Oehler and the publishers (Asher and Co.) of promising to print in an appendix the various lections of this MS., merely to satisfy the discontent which appeared likely to arise when the importance of this omission was pointed out. From some of the instances adduced in Dindorf's remarks, there appears certainly to have been considerable carelessness on the part of Oehler; but as we have not yet examined the portions of this author already printed by the rival critics, we cannot undertake to decide between the merits of the two editions. We can only lament the occurrence of such contests. We mention the circumstance, however, that English readers may make enquiries about the matter, if they are disposed to take in either of these editions of Epiphanius. We were not prepared, from Oehler's former works, to expect a charge of incompetence against him. The edition of Dindorf is in the course of publication by Weigel, of Leipsic—that of Oehler, by Asher and Co., of Berlin. There is a manifesto by Oehler on the subject in *Berliner Vossische Zeitung*, No. 61, March 13, 1859, which we have not seen.—*Literary Churchman.*

*Bible Referencing.*—From the report of Mr. Charles Knight's examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, we take the following additional passage, which explains itself. "Chairman: Have any improvements in the mode of printing or binding the Bible been introduced into Scotland, where the monopoly has been abolished, which are not known in England?—I have a very imperfect acquaintance with what has been done in Scotland; I do not think that I have ever seen more than three or four Scotch Bibles, because they are not allowed to be sold in England, and I have not been in Scotland for some time; but I was visiting a clergyman only a fortnight ago, in his rectory in Suffolk, and there was a Scotch Bible lying upon his table. 'Aye, how is it that you have this?' 'Well,' he said, 'it has this great advantage: look here.' Upon the front of the book, what the binders call the fore-edge, there was nicely impressed a G as far as Genesis went, and so on; not exactly as it is done in the *Post Office Directory*, but more neatly done, very prettily indeed, so that throughout the whole Bible he could turn to any book he wanted. If he wanted Job, he could turn to Job instantly by finding J upon the edge of the book. He said it was such a convenience that he preferred it to any other ordinary Bible. That, of course, is not a question of printing, it is merely a question of binding. Any English bookseller might buy the books of the Queen's printer and do the same, but still it has not been done. It is an example of one of the minor advantages resulting from competition."

We can announce the approaching publication of an excellent and generally available edition of the New Testament portion of the Codex Alexandrinus. Those of our readers conversant with such subjects know that in 1786 Woide printed in facsimile type the New Testament, which was followed some twenty years afterwards by a similar reprint (under the editorship of Mr. Baber, of the British Museum) of the Old Testament portion of this celebrated codex. It is obvious, however, that a facsimile reprint is in many respects a mere curiosity of literature, and that a carefully got-up edition, printed in the ordinary type, must be infinitely more useful to the student. The task, one of no little difficulty, has been completed by Mr. B. H. Cowper, the well-known Syriac and Biblical scholar, and the volume will soon be published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate. It comes very opportunely, at a time when attention is being directed to these matters by the publication of the Vatican Codex. From the specimen of the

work which we have seen, Mr. Cowper has discharged his editorial duties with the utmost diligence and success. Apart from other and important improvements, it might be almost enough to say that, by a careful comparison of Woide's text with the original manuscript, numerous errors have been discovered in the former, which are all corrected in Mr. Cowper's edition, and many of them are of no small Biblical importance. An elaborate and exhaustive introduction adds considerably to the value of this, the first generally available edition of the New Testament portion of the Alexandrine Codex.—*Critic.*

*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*—The Foreign Translation Committee of this Society have just issued their Annual Report for 1860. It states that at a meeting held some time since, it was suggested that it would be a great convenience if the Society would supply its members with a Greek New Testament on the principle of Mr. Frederick Field's adjustment of the Greek text of the Old Testament to the order of the chapters and verses of the received Hebrew. The Committee, feeling that it was beyond their province to throw upon the Society even the appearance of responsibility that would be involved in the adoption of any one of the texts presented in the editions of the Greek Testament put forth by more recent critical scholars, directed their attention solely to reprints of the *textus receptus*. Of this text, after mature consideration, they decided that it would be expedient to adopt two different editions, namely, one with marginal references, published at Oxford, and generally known as Bishop Lloyd's Greek Testament, and another with a valuable apparatus of various readings, edited by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, and recently published at Cambridge, and these had been placed in the Society's list. The new edition of the Society's German Bible had been completed. It was explained in the report for last year that the printing of the revised text of Cipriano de Valera's Spanish version of the Bible at Oxford, under the care of the Rev. Lorenzo Lucena, was necessarily a work of considerable labour and time. This edition was now printed to the end of the eighth chapter of Isaiah. In the meantime the revision of the New Testament by the Greek was far advanced, and the copy was prepared on such a plan as would render the carrying of it through the press a much more expeditious process than the printing of the Old Testament had proved. The printing of the Pentateuch and the Book of Isaiah in the Ogibwa language had been proceeded with, as had a new edition of the Dutch New Testament for use among the Dutch-speaking population of the island of Tristan d'Acunha. Portuguese, Danish, Italian, and other versions of the Book of Common Prayer, had also been prepared, as well as a Maori Prayer-book for New Zealand.

*Archaeological Discovery at Beaugency (Loiret).*—The French correspondent of a contemporary states that some workmen employed in excavating the side of a hill at Beaugency, were surprised by a fall of earth mixed with cinders, charcoal, and calcined bones, from a pit, the wall of which they had destroyed. At the bottom of the heap they found a vase in a good state of preservation, which they broke, hoping to find coins in it, but were disappointed. Shortly afterwards, twenty-three similar pits were successively discovered, and the fragments of urns which they contained were smashed and dispersed. One vase only, which is now in the Orleans's museum, was saved by the care of M. Desjobert, notary of St. Ay, who put the pieces together. This discovery threatened to be for ever lost to science for want of some one who could appreciate it, when chance brought the Viscount du Faure du Pibac on the spot. The Viscount, who has made Gallo-Celtic remains his study, heard of the pits of Beaugency. He went to the spot, examined the workmen, and soon began to suspect that he had under his eyes a real Celtic cemetery. Through the intervention of the Mayor of Orleans, he was enabled to superintend in person certain excavations. New pits were opened, and his conjectures were changed into certainty. The whole present analogous characters—all have an average breadth of 50 inches, and a depth of 3½ yards—all contain a mixture of earth, cinders, and calcined stones, underneath which is constantly found the jaw-bones of pigs, and

the bones of other domestic animals; then occur fragments of vases, like flower-pots narrowed at the top; finally, all these pits terminate in a small circular hole, hollowed like a basin, and destined to bear the cinerary urn. The Celtic cemetery of Beaugency is one of three important archaeological discoveries made of late years in the department of the Loiret. The two others were the Roman city explored by M. Marchand, near Ouzouer-sur-Trézée, and the Gallo-Roman baths of Montbuoy.

M. Auguste Mariette, an eminent French archaeologist, writes from Egypt that he has discovered the remains of a large palace in granite in the immediate vicinity of the Sphinx. He takes this palace to be that of Chephrem, who built the great pyramid. No less than seven statues of this prince have been found in the palace.

Although a little out of our rôle, we venture to refer to a discovery which is reported as having taken place quite recently on the *Quai des Etroits* at Lyons. Some workmen, in making excavations there, "found an antique tombstone with the following inscription in well-formed characters of the second century: 'D. M. et memorie æternæ Valeri Vallonis fratri(s) marini quondam d. c. Julius Firminus d. c. Lug. questor amico incomparabili de se bene merenti, de suo ponendum curavit et sub ascia dedicavit.' Which may be translated as 'To the gods Manes and the eternal memory of Valerus Vallo, a fellow mariner, formerly decurion [of Lyons]. Julius Firminus, decurion, questor of Lyons, has caused to be erected and consecrated under the axe, at his expense, this monument to his incomparable friend and benefactor.' An urn was also found containing the ashes of the departed, but it was broken. The stone has been presented to the museum at Lyons by the owner of the ground where it was discovered." The form of this inscription resembles that of many others found in the same district, and preserved in the Museum of Lyons, which also contains a number of remarkable Christian inscriptions of great antiquity. The expression "sub ascia" (under the axe) is almost peculiar to this province, and has to the present day been a puzzle to the antiquarians. Sometimes the words are omitted, and the figure of an axe is engraved upon the stone at the upper part. Muratori imagines that it is connected with the formula *Sit tibi terra levis*, and that it refers to the care which was to be taken of the monument.—*Clerical Journal.*

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*In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.*

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ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PETER.

I.—*An attempt to discover from internal evidence to whom and from what place the Epistles of St. Peter were written.*

It is needless to say that various opinions, founded on conjecture and more or less unsatisfactory, have been entertained in regard to the persons to whom St. Peter addressed his Epistles. Some have supposed that the Apostle wrote to Hebrew Christians residing in the countries named in the first Epistle, either as being the Apostle of the circumcision, or else as having himself founded Hebrew Christian Churches in those places. Eusebius<sup>a</sup> manifestly derives this opinion from the first Epistle itself: ἐκ τῶν Πέτρου δὲ λέξεων, ἐν δόποσαις καὶ οὗτος ἐπαρχίαις τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐαγγελιζόμενος, τὸν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρεδίδον λόγον, σαφὲς δὲ εἴη, ἀφ' ης εἰρήκαμεν διολογουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆς, ἦν τοὺς ἐξ Ἐβραίων οὖσιν ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντου καὶ Γαλατᾶς, Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Ἀστακαὶ Βιθυνίας γράφει. And previously, in iii. 1, he says, Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ, κ.τ.λ., κεκηρυχέναι τοὺς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαῖοις ἔσουκεν, the last word ἔσουκεν plainly shewing that he only formed a conjecture derived from the commencement of the first Epistle, of the certainty of which he felt by no means free from doubt. The authority of

<sup>a</sup> *Ecccl. Hist.*, iii., 4.

Eusebius is therefore to be resolved into the correctness of his interpretation of the Epistle itself. The same may be also said of Jerome, who in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, attributes to St. Peter *prædicationem dispersionis eorum qui de circumcisione crediderant in Ponto, Galatid, Cappadociâ, Asid, et Bithynid*, the words of the Epistle being plainly adopted as indicative of the fact.

Others observing that the Epistles address converts from idolatry, as well as Jewish Christians, have supposed that Christians in general residing in those places were intended, and that the Apostle describes them as "strangers scattered abroad," either because their condition, as dispersed among the surrounding heathen, resembled that of the Hebrews in their dispersion, or because, in a spiritual sense, such is the condition of all Christians in this world. Conjectural modifications of these opinions have offered themselves no doubt to different minds, with more or less semblance of probability; but if the explanation offered in the sequel be well founded, it would needless prolong the present discussion of the subject to notice them here.

Again, as regards the place from which St. Peter wrote, many modern interpreters, forsaking the opinion of the ancients that Rome was intended under the name of Babylon, have been equally divided and unsatisfactory in their suppositions.

The design of the following observations is to ascertain how far an analysis of the Epistles themselves may lead to a satisfactory conclusion on these points. In pursuing the inquiry, for the present the genuineness of the second Epistle is assumed. What internal evidence exists in favour of this, will form the subject of investigation in a subsequent paper.

I. The two Epistles of St. Peter were addressed to the same persons. This is evident from 2 Pet. iii. 1, "this second Epistle, beloved, I now write unto you." They are described as *παρεπιδημοὶ διασπορᾶς Πόντου, κ.τ.λ.* They were also persons to whom St. Peter had himself previously preached. This appears from 2 Pet. i. 16, "We made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." For this cannot be understood as referring merely to the first Epistle, in which we find only brief allusions to the Lord's second coming, and no special communication on the subject, as these words imply. Nor may we suppose that the Apostle alludes to a previous Epistle, thought to have been spoken of in 1 Pet. v. 12; for if he did not there speak of the Epistle he was then writing, but of a previous communication addressed to the same persons, he would not

have called what in that case would have been the third Epistle, the second, as in 2 Pet. iii. 1. Neither was it to the instructions of the apostles in general that he referred when he said, “we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus,” but plainly to what he had taught them himself. For he adverts to a matter quite personal to himself, namely, his own presence at the transfiguration, adding, in confirmation of what he had taught them of the power and coming of the Lord, that he had himself been an eye-witness of his majesty, “when we were with him in the holy mount,”—ἐπόνται γενηθέντες, in apposition with the nominative to ἐγνωποσαμεν.

That he had previously preached to them appears also from his desire to put them in remembrance, as expressed in 2 Pet. i. 12—14, and iii. 1, 2. The former of these references in particular appears conclusive on this point; his endeavour that they might have the things he was speaking of in remembrance after his decease, evidently because they could then no longer hear them from himself as before, plainly implies that they had previously heard them from him in person, his present written communications being intended to supply the place of his former personal teaching. The whole tone of the two Epistles seems also clearly to indicate closer pastoral relations, than his apostleship alone would imply towards Christians in general.

II. But St. Paul also had written an Epistle to the same persons to whom St. Peter addressed these Epistles; for so we read in 2 Pet. iii. 15, “even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you.” It is evident that St. Peter had here in view some particular Epistle of St. Paul, and not merely his writings in general, which he immediately proceeds to distinguish from this one, adding, “as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things.” He had written to them in particular more exactly, καθὼς, just as St. Peter had himself now spoken, while in a more general way, ως καὶ, as distinguished from καθὼς, he had referred to the same subject in all his Epistles. And this mention of all his Epistles must not be taken too strictly, as if every one of them referred to the subject St. Peter was discoursing on, the Epistle to the Galatians, for instance, not presenting even an allusion to that subject in any form, namely, the second coming of our Lord. The subject in general is only one of common occurrence in St. Paul’s Epistles, sufficiently frequent to justify his writings collectively being adduced in confirmation of what St. Peter was saying on the same subject in general. Such a reference to all the Epistles, not meant to be taken absolutely, but allowing of some exceptions, would be the more

likely, if at this time a sylloge of St. Paul's Epistles had been formed, to the existence of which such a citation of all, not admitting too close an acceptation, gives some countenance.

Now though St. Paul had written to the churches of Galatia, and to Ephesus the chief city of Asia, both places mentioned in the address of St. Peter's first Epistle, there is none of his Epistles addressed to the churches collectively there enumerated; and it becomes a question, therefore, which it was St. Peter had particularly in view in the reference now under consideration.

III. Many, supposing the strangers scattered abroad to have been Christians of the Hebrew dispersion, have thought that though St. Paul expressly addressed no Epistle collectively to persons residing in the places named by St. Peter, yet the Epistle to the Hebrews was that intended in this reference, a supposition which, if it could be satisfactorily proved, would settle the long disputed question as to the authorship of that Epistle. But that he could not have intended the Epistle to the Hebrews, will be manifest if it shall appear that St. Peter did not address himself exclusively to Hebrew Christians at all. The mere fact that some such were mixed up with Gentile Christians in the specified places, would not warrant the mention of an Epistle, addressed exclusively to Hebrews, as one written to such a mixed community of converted Jews and Gentiles. But that those to whom St. Peter wrote had certainly been some of them at least Gentile idolaters, is plain from 1 Pet. iv. 3; "the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries." Indeed, these words seem rather to imply that they had been mainly, if not altogether, identified before their conversion with the Gentiles, whose will they had wrought and idolatries they had practised, which however, and the latter in particular, the Jews in those days certainly had not done. At any rate, some must have been idolaters, if not all. Nor is this contradicted by the Apostle speaking in the first person, "the time past may suffice us," if indeed *ἡμῖν* and not *ὑμῖν* is the true reading. Some of the highest authorities omit the pronoun entirely, as for instance the Alexandrian and Vatican MSS. In this case *ὑμῖν* would naturally be understood, as *ὑμᾶς* before *βιώσαι*, both following from *ὑμεῖς—όπλισασθε* in ver. 1. Other authorities, including several of the ancient translations, read *ὑμῖν*. But supposing that the true reading is *ἡμῖν*, such a *κολυωσίς* is of common occurrence; and although the Apostle himself, and many of those to whom he wrote, might not have been guilty of all the sins he enumerates, it is evident he would not

have specified a sin of which none of them had been guilty, or even perhaps so small a number as not to make it a prevailing part of their former wickedness. The enumeration is so manifestly that of vices that were common among the Gentile idolaters, that we can hardly suppose the Jewish part to have been so numerous as to give a national character to the communities addressed by the Apostle.

It may be added that if the Apostle had been writing to Christians of the Hebrew διασπορά, he would have probably used the word ἐπιδημοί, instead of παρεπιδημοί. For the former is more applicable to settled residents, as the Jews were to a great extent in various countries, and in those in particular which are mentioned by St. Peter, as appears from Acts ii. 9; while παρεπιδημοί rather signifies casual and passing sojourners. Accordingly, in Acts ii. 10, we find amongst the devout men out of every nation under heaven that were at that time staying in Jerusalem, "strangers of Rome," *οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ρωμαῖοι*. This does not mean Romans then sojourning at Jerusalem, as indeed they were, but Jews who had their ordinary habitation at Rome, like the dwellers in Mesopotamia in the previous verse, Jews who dwelt there, but happened at that time to be staying in Jerusalem; and the expression might be correctly rendered "Roman inhabitants," or "dwellers at Rome." So in Acts xvii. 21, *οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι* signifies foreigners ordinarily resident at Athens, as distinguished from the native Athenians, a class that we find at Athens in the time of Lysias also, who like their successors of Acts xvii., used to indulge their curiosity by frequenting the courts of justice. Thus we find, κατὰ Ἐρατοσθ.<sup>b</sup> —καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων ἥκουσιν, εἰσόμενοι τίνα γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἔχετε. ὃν οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι δύντες πολένται, κ.τ.λ. δσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦνται, κ.τ.λ. The spending their time by these ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦντες in nothing else but idle gossip, was quite unlike the conduct of casual visitors only staying on the way, who would be occupied with the business that brought them, and the shortness of whose stay would not allow of their falling into the idle habits of the place. To such a temporary sojourning by the way παρεπιδημος is evidently more applicable; as in the case of one who had deserted in war and run away, such as is described by Macho *ap. Athenæum*, 579,—

Εἶναι δοκῶν αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος  
καὶ παρεπιδημήσας Ἀθῆνησιν ποτε.

And accordingly in this sense the word is used in 1 Pet. ii. 11,

ώς παροικος καὶ παρεπιδήμος. And in Heb. xi. 13, the patriarchs are called ξένοι καὶ παρεπιδῆμοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, just as in Gen. xxiii. 4, Abraham describes himself, with reference to his nomadic life in the land of Canaan, as πάροικος καὶ παρεπιδήμος, according to the version of the LXX. And according to the same version, David in Ps. xxxix. 12, says, in respect to the shortness of life, πάροικος ἔγώ εἰμι ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ παρεπιδήμος, καθὼς πάντες οἱ πατέρες μού. And perhaps in this also he intended an allusion to his actual circumstances in some of his wanderings, so that the literal meaning of the word is included. In a parallel passage in 1 Chron. xxix. 15, where we have παροικοῦντες instead of παρεπιδῆμοι, the brevity of the sojourning is made more manifest by the subsequent words, “our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding.”

The address of the Epistle of St. James “to the twelve tribes scattered abroad,” ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, essentially differs from that of 1 Peter, παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου, κ.τ.λ., for in the former the mention of the twelve tribes plainly indicates that Hebrew Christians were intended, and the use of the article before διασπορᾷ distinguishes the well-known dispersion of the Jews from an occasional διασπορᾶ of certain casual sojourners. The apparent similarity is not therefore sufficient to outweigh the strong reasons for not supposing that St. Peter addressed the Hebrew Christians in particular, residing in the countries enumerated by him. To this point we purpose to revert, when we come to compare the first Epistle with the Epistle of St. James.

The Apostle’s words in 1 Peter ii. 10, “which in times past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy,” likewise favour the supposition that they were Gentiles, or at least a Christian community embracing a prevailing Gentile element. These words taken from Hosea ii. 23, are applied by St. Paul, in Rom. ix. 25, to the calling of the Christian Church, with special reference to the admission of the Gentiles to its privileges; “even us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles; as he saith also in Osee, I will call them my people which were not my people, and her beloved which was not beloved.” Up to the time of Christ the Jews were the covenant people of God, and St. Peter in particular would scarcely have said to them that they were not the people of God till they had embraced Christianity. He would rather have said, as in Acts iii. 25, that they had been “the children of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with our fathers.”

Michaelis derives an argument to shew that Gentile Christians were intended from the address of the second Epistle “to them that have obtained like precious faith with us.” He thinks that by “us” is not meant the Apostles, as it would be unmeaning to say that other Christians had as good faith as the Apostles, but Jewish Christians with whom St. Peter was more particularly identified. As the apostleship of the circumcision was especially entrusted to St. Peter, and as he may have been thought to have insisted on a pre-eminence of Jewish as compared with Gentile Christians, the acknowledgment of the equivalence of their faith with that of Jewish Christians would come with peculiar grace from him. If he did mean Jewish Christians by “us,” as distinguished from Gentile Christians to whom he was writing, these words would bear a very striking resemblance to the words used by St. Peter in addressing the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 9; “put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.” However this may be, at any rate enough has been said to shew that St. Peter did not write exclusively to Jewish Christians, and that so his reference was not to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

IV. But there is another and a more decisive reason why neither the Epistle to the Hebrews, nor any of St. Paul’s Epistles to the Asiatic Churches, can have been that to which St. Peter particularly refers. It is not merely as an authority in regard to the general subject of our blessed Lord’s coming to judgment, and its attendant circumstances of terror to the wicked and reward to the righteous, that this particular Epistle of St. Paul is adduced; it is quoted specially in support of the particular sentiment which was contained in the words immediately preceding the reference to it; “Account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation, even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you.” The same idea was previously expressed in the ninth verse, and it is an important and prominent one as it stands in the Apostle’s discourse in the third chapter, which is introduced by an intimation that there should be scoffers who should say, “Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.” Against these scoffers, having adduced the example of the deluge, which was in like manner scoffed at before its occurrence, and having intimated that our estimate of time is not to be applied to God, with whom “one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,” the Apostle then proceeds to account for the seeming delay in the fulfilment of the promise of the Lord’s return. “The Lord

is not slack concerning his promise as some men count slackness, but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." This is not therefore an incidental remark, but a principal part of the argument, one of its main points; and accordingly, after adding that, notwithstanding this forbearance, the Lord would come as a thief, and after describing the circumstances of his coming, and grounding thereon an exhortation of diligence, to "be found of him in peace without spot and blameless," he then returns to the same idea, concluding his exhortation by bidding us "account that the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation." What he thus lays so much stress on, he confirms by the reference to St. Paul, and we must look for a distinct enunciation of it, if not an exact verbal agreement with the words of St. Peter. This special reference being ascertained, a general coincidence of sentiment with what he had been saying of our Lord's second coming would satisfy the subsequent reference to the other Epistles of St. Paul, as is plain from the way in which he is described as "speaking in them of these things." In none, however, of the above-mentioned Epistles of St. Paul, do we find the particular idea expressed, in confirmation of which this special reference is made.

But we do find it in another of St. Paul's Epistles, and very similarly, though more largely expressed, almost indeed in the very same words; we mean the Epistle to the Romans, where we read, Rom. ii. 3, 4, "Thinkest thou this, O man, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?" Here the connexion is the same, each speaking with reference to the expectation of the ungodly, that they shall escape the judgment of God; and the forbearance and longsuffering, and goodness of God that leadeth to repentance, exactly coincide with God being longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, and with our accounting, therefore, that the longsuffering of the Lord is salvation. A more exact agreement could not be found, short of actual quotation of the very words, and the plain inference is, that it is to the Epistle to the Romans that St. Peter made this special reference. This coincidence is noticed by Neander in the *History of the Planting of the Christian Church*. In a note in which the supposed marks of the spuriousness of the second Epistle are enumerated, he mentions this as one; "The mode of citing the Pauline Epistles confirms also the suspicion against the genuineness of this Epistle. A passage from Rom. ii. 4,

is cited in iii. 15, as if this Epistle were addressed to the same Church.”<sup>c</sup> We have thus Neander’s authority as to the citation of the Epistle to the Romans, as addressed to the same Church, which he thinks so evident, that he does not hesitate to rest upon it an argument on so serious a question as the genuineness of this Epistle.

V. As, however, the following remarks are made on the supposition that it was thus to Roman Christians St. Peter addressed his Epistles, it will be well, before we proceed farther, to consider more carefully whether the words ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, as here used with reference to the Epistle to the Romans, do really imply that St. Peter was writing to Roman Christians himself also. May we not suppose that St. Paul’s Epistles being, as St. Peter here intimates, regarded as Scripture, anything contained in any one of them might have been considered by Christians in general as addressed to themselves, and as such cited by the Apostle? Now this might readily be admitted, if the Apostle’s words were “hath *said* unto you,” and if he had not distinguished one particular Epistle from the others to which the reference is afterwards extended, the only mark by which that Epistle is specified being the word ὑμῖν. Let us carefully observe the Apostle’s words; “As our beloved brother Paul hath written unto you, as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things.” It is not as if he had merely said, that he had written to them what was just mentioned in particular, and also had spoken in a general way on the same subject in all his Epistles; the words are, “as also in all his Epistles, speaking *in them*,” ἐν αὐταῖς. This expression ἐν αὐταῖς separates the clause commencing with λαλῶν from that which begins with ὡς καὶ, and throws this back as a member of the preceding sentence to be construed with it; ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. Thus we have one particular writing distinguished from the rest, and that one virtually called an Epistle. Now it will not suffice to say that this Epistle is indicated by the quotation itself; for though it appears in St. Peter as a maxim, “account that the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation,” and might, as such, if it had the same form in St. Paul’s Epistle, have been perhaps relied on as a well-known indication of the document in which it occurred, yet as it has no such character in the Epistle to the Romans, but there appears as a lengthened sentence, having no condensed or proverbial form to imprint it on the memory, it was not to be presumed on as a familiar note to recall the Epistle to the mind of readers in general. We have the Apostle

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ii., p. 34, of Ryland’s Translation, Edinb. Bibl. Cab.

then saying, if we supply the words understood, “as our beloved brother Paul” ἔγραψεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ (or ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ) ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἔγραψεν (or ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν) ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. If in the latter clause we supply ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, we shall then have the very strange and awkward, if not unmeaning repetition, “hath written to you, as also he hath written to you in all his Epistles;” awkward in any case, and unmeaning, unless we take ὑμῖν in the former clause as specifying those to whom the Epistle was written, and in the latter as merely implying that all Scripture might be regarded as addressed to them as to Christians in general. Such a difference in the use of a word twice occurring in such close proximity, and in the same construction with the same verb, is hardly admissible; and we may safely say that only ἔγραψεν, without ὑμῖν, should be supplied in the second clause. And then in the first, ἔγραψεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ (or ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ) ὑμῖν seems capable of but one meaning. When the Jews said, “Moses wrote unto us,” though it was not an Epistle that was spoken of, they were the very people to whom he wrote; and while the expression frequently occurs in the Epistles, it is always used of an Epistle actually addressed to the persons thus indicated, as in this very chapter, *ταύτην ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν*.

But why may not the ellipsis be supplied by *ἐν τινι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν*? If ὑμῖν had not been expressed, or had also been expressed in the second clause, this would no doubt have been reasonably, or perhaps even properly, to be supplied. But when the Apostle thought fit not to express the former words, and to introduce ὑμῖν in the first clause, the use of which was quite gratuitous, and even on this supposition misleading, while he omitted it from the second clause, where, on the same supposition, it should have been also expressed, we have no right to supply *ἐν τινι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν*,—not at any rate in a sense inconsistent with the special meaning which ὑμῖν naturally bears, according to the form in which the Apostle has actually expressed himself. For even if he had written *ἐν τινι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν* ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, the words ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, used of an Epistle, would naturally suggest the special explanation of ὑμῖν, and oblige us to introduce only ἔγραψεν and not ὑμῖν in the second clause.

We seem, therefore, clearly justified in concluding that St. Peter was actually writing to the same people as those to whom St. Paul had addressed the Epistle to the Romans, and that so they were Roman Christians also. And perhaps, in referring to what St. Paul had written to them, *κατὰ τὴν αὐτῷ δοθεῖσαν σοφίαν*, he may have had in mind the words of that Apostle in

Rom. xii. 3, λέγω διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι. Here, as in 2 Pet. iii. 15, *σοφία* would have been a more suitable word than *χάρις*, but the Apostle's humility may have led him to adopt the general and less boastful term, while St. Peter naturally substituted the word more honourable to St. Paul and suitable to his own purpose. We shall see hereafter how the precepts which St. Paul introduces with this formula appear, in common with other passages in the Epistle to the Romans, to have been imitated by St. Peter in his first Epistle.

It seemed needful to enter at full length into this discussion, as all our subsequent conclusions depend on the correctness of this view of the meaning of the Apostle's words in 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, a view in which, as we have seen, we are borne out by the authority of Neander, though we do not coincide with him in regarding it as an indication that the second Epistle is not a genuine writing of St. Peter.

VI. Its weight, as a proof of the spuriousness of the second Epistle, would depend entirely on the impossibility of producing any satisfactory solution of the difficulty, or offering any reasonable supposition to explain how it might have happened that Christians of Rome should be addressed as *παρεπιδημοι διασπορᾶς Πόντου, κ.τ.λ.* But before we enter on the enquiry how St. Peter could have come to cite the Epistle to the Romans to persons sojourning in the countries enumerated in the first Epistle, we have to observe that while the second Epistle is singular in adducing a sentiment contained in the Epistle to the Romans, as written by St. Paul to those to whom he was addressing himself, the first Epistle contains many remarkable coincidences of sentiment with the Epistle to the Romans, presenting as close a verbal agreement as that for which the authority of the Epistle is expressly cited, the similarity in both cases being greater in thought than in mere verbal form. And we cannot help thinking that these coincidences indicate a special familiarity with the Epistle to the Romans, such as to give a strong degree of countenance to the notion that the Epistles of St. Peter really were addressed to Roman Christians. It may not be amiss to specify the more noticeable instances of this description.

In the first chapter the mention of the *κληρονομίᾳ ἀφθαρτος*, ver. 4, presently followed by the trial of their faith through manifold temptations being found *εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν*, bears a strong resemblance to Rom. ii. 7, *τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργον ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσιαν ζητοῦσι*. And then in connexion with the words already quoted, though a little removed from them, the mention of *πατέρα τὸν ἀπροσω-*

*πολήπτως κρίνοντα* makes the resemblance more complete, as in the like connexion in Rom. ii. 11, we find, *οὐ γάρ ἔστι προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ*.

In chapter ii. 6—8, the citation from Isaiah xxviii. 16, “Behold I lay in Zion,” etc., and the mention of those who “stumble at the word, being disobedient” (to the faith, of course, as evidently appears from the contrast between those who are disobedient, and those who believe in ver. 7), corresponds exactly with the same quotation in Rom. ix. 33, and the stumbling at the rock of offence there also attributed to the same want of faith. And then St. Peter’s citation of Hosea ii. 23, “which in time past were not a people,” etc., in immediate connexion with this reference to Isaiah, corresponds remarkably with St. Paul’s citation of the same words of Hosea in the like connexion, Rom. ix. 25. In this chapter also, a comparison of verses 13, 14, “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake,” etc., with Rom. xiii. 1 ff, will afford another instance of like striking resemblance. The same words and ideas are presented by both; *ὑποτάγητε—ὑποτασσόσθω, διὰ τὸν κύριον—διὰ τὴν συνεδρισιν, ὑπερέχοντι—ὑπερεχούσαις, ὡς δὶ’ αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις—ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεού τεταγμέναι, εἰς ἐκδίκησιν μὲν κακοποιῶν—ἔκδικος τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι, ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν—τὸ ἀγαθὸν πολεὶ καὶ ἔξεις ἔπαινον.* The seventeenth verse also may be compared with Rom. xiii. 8; *τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε, τὸν Θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε—τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν φόβον τῷ τὴν τιμὴν, τὴν τιμήν. μηδὲν μηδὲν ὄφελετε, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους.* The dying to sin and living to righteousness, which in ver. 24 is inculcated as a consequence of Christ’s bearing our sins in his own body on the tree, is also in striking agreement with St. Paul’s teaching of the same dying to sin and being made alive unto righteousness, as consequent on our being baptized into the death of Christ, and planted together in the likeness of his resurrection, in Rom. vi. 2 ff.

In chapter iii. we may compare verses 8, 9, with Rom. xii. 10, 13—16. The former passage is almost a mere abbreviation of the latter, inculcating the same kindly and sympathetic dispositions, the same returning good for evil, and blessing for cursing.

In the fourth chapter we notice in ver. 1, the remarkable saying, in immediate connexion with the mention of Christ’s suffering for us in the flesh, *ὅτι ὁ παθὼν ἐν σαρκὶ, πέπανται ἀμαρτίας.* And this bears a striking similitude to St. Paul’s words in Rom. vi. 7, used in like connexion with our Saviour’s suffering for us, *ὁ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας,* in which *δεδικαίωται* answers to *ἐλευθερωθέντες* in ver. 18, freedom from the service of sin being the prominent idea, as in

*Thes. Theo.*, explain by ἀπήλλακται, ἥλευθέρωται, ἀπολέλυται. Phavorinus also gives this meaning for the word, and it may be illustrated by Sirac. 26, 29, μόλις ἔξελείται ἔμπορος ἀπὸ πλημμελεῖας, καὶ οὐ δικαιοθήσεται κάπτηλος ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας, where note the parallelism with ἔξελείται. The idea in Rom. vi. 7, seems to be that death frees from servitude as fully as if a person were discharged by a legal decision in a suit such as the Greeks called δίκη ἔξαιρέσεως, and so also in regard to the service of sin. In this chapter also the enumeration of the sins in which those to whom the Apostle was writing, had walked while they wrought the will of the Gentiles, is like an abbreviated transcript of St. Paul's description of the same evil ways in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. And then, in verses 10, 11, ἔκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβε χάρισμα, κ.τ.λ., εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἡς χορηγεῖ ὁ Θεός, we have a slightly abridged repetition of St. Paul's exhortation in Rom. xii. 6, 7, ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα εἴτε προφητείαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. Partly the very words are copied, partly they are slightly varied, as if for explanation, as where λαλεῖ indicates that προφητεία does not denote prophecy properly so called, but public discoursing on religious subjects, and ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ explains κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως.

We might add a few scattered precepts of hospitality, humility and other virtues, and some lesser resemblances of thought, but those already specified are more distinct, and we think it may be alleged that no such marked resemblances can be found in any other of St. Paul's Epistles, while these are too numerous and too remarkable to be regarded as accidental. They shew that when St. Peter wrote the first Epistle, there must have existed some circumstances which occasioned a special familiarity with the Epistle to the Romans, such as hearing it read in the Churches, or caused him to make special use of its precepts and sentiments in writing to those to whom he addressed himself, or produced both these results simultaneously. We have therefore in this comparison of the first Epistle with the Epistle to the Romans a strong confirmation of the conclusion derived from the express quotation of that Epistle in the second,—that it was to Roman Christians St. Peter wrote, however we may account for his designating them as he does in the commencement of the first Epistle.

VII. We have now to enquire how it came to pass that St.

Peter writing to Roman Christians should have thus described them as *παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς*, strangers scattered abroad in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia? Perhaps the circumstances under which the first Epistle was written, circumstances plainly enough indicated by the Epistle itself, may suggest a satisfactory answer to the enquiry.

It is evident from the whole tenor of the Epistle that a most grievous persecution had broken out and was likely to continue, when the Apostle wrote. Those to whom he was writing were having their faith put to a most severe and fiery trial, compared to that of gold in the fire (1 Pet. i. 6, 7); they were spoken against as evil-doers (ii. 12); and were liable to be called to account and brought to trial for professing the faith of Christ (iii. 15). A judicial enquiry and not a mere question put to them in private touching their religious belief, is plainly implied; *ἔτοιμοι δὲ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν πατέτι τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγου περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἀλπίδος*. Both *λόγος* and *ἀπολογία* are legal terms: thus in Acts xix. 38, we have *πρὸς τινὰ λόγου ἔχοντι*, and in verse 40, *ἀποδοῦναι λόγου τῆς συστροφῆς ταύτης*. Also in this Epistle, iv. 5, *οὐλὸς ἀποδώσοντι λόγου*, “shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.” It was the part of the accuser or judge, *αἰτεῖν λόγον* or *ἀπαιτεῖν*, which word is used here by the Alexandrian MS., and of the accused *ἀποδοῦναι λόγον*, to make his *ἀπολογία* or defence. Again, they should have to suffer in the flesh as Christ did (iv. 1); they were not to be surprised at the fiery trial they were to endure (ver. 12); and while careful not to suffer as evil-doers, they should not be ashamed to suffer as Christians (ver. 16). Further, it appears from the great extent of the countries through which those to whom the Apostle writes were dispersed, that a general persecution must have been raging. This is also implied in the time having come that judgment should begin at the house of God, evidently the Church at large (ver. 17); and it is expressly intimated in v. 9, that “the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world,” *τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι*, their brotherhood on earth, the whole Christian community throughout the world. Evidently a persecution of the entire brotherhood of Christians was meant, a general persecution. This must have been what is known as the first general persecution, which commenced in the eleventh year of Nero, for no other general persecution took place during St. Peter’s life-time.

This general persecution commenced at Rome on the memorable occasion of the burning of the city; and we may be sure that at its outbreak very many of the Christians fled from the scene of danger, as they naturally would on such an occasion.

The flourishing churches of Asia Minor would probably have seemed sufficiently remote for safety, and would no doubt have afforded a welcome to those who fled. Africa and Greece would have seemed too near, and more remote regions were less accessible, and countries where there were not churches able to receive them would not have been thought of. Thus a large body of Roman Christians probably became παρεπλόημοι διασπορᾶς in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, the several provinces of Asia Minor.

The statement of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, adduced by Eusebius in proof of St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome under Nero, carries back the testimony to this fact, to about a century after the event, and coupled with the declaration of the Roman presbyter Caius, also quoted by Eusebius, who a few years after the time of Dionysius, asserted the existence of the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, affords strong evidence of St. Peter's presence in that city about the time of the persecution. And supposing that St. Peter was exercising his apostolical office in Rome at this time, and that, as we may be sure, very many of his flock fled from it at the breaking out of the persecution, nothing could be more likely than that he would write to them such an Epistle as the first actually is. They would need encouragement and counsel, and the Apostle, foreseeing that the persecution would overtake them even in the remote regions to which they had fled, would warn them of their danger and urge them to patience and perseverance. The approach of his own departure and the desire that they might have his instructions in remembrance after his decease, would account for the subsequent writing of the second Epistle, when they were no longer exposed to the same violent persecution, but had other dangers not less serious to encounter. Thus, writing to Roman Christians, in citing the Epistle to the Romans, he could say, as in 2 Pet. iii. 15, "even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you." And if St. Paul was himself also then at Rome, he would have been the more likely to adduce his authority.

VIII. There is however another supposition which might be suggested, with at first sight apparent probability, to account for the residence of a large number of Roman Christians abroad, when St. Peter wrote the first Epistle. It might be thought that they had quitted Rome in consequence of the command of Claudius, that all Jews should depart from that city. This expulsion took place in consequence of tumults originating in the hostility of the Jews to the Christians, or laid to their charge by them. For so Suetonius informs us, *Judeos impulsore Chresto*

*assidue tumultuantes Romā expulit.* It might therefore be expected that many converts from paganism, as well as Jews, would, if not obliged by the letter of the emperor's command, at least from prudential motives, depart from Rome under such circumstances.

This expulsion of the Jews however took place in the year A.D. 47; at least it is mentioned by Suetonius after he relates the celebration of the secular games which took place in A.D. 47, and in the chapter preceding that in which he records the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina, which was in the year of Christ 48. And this was so long before the time of St. Peter's first Epistle, that such persons as had then been obliged to depart from Rome, might have again returned when the danger was over, as the subsequent existence of both Jews and Christians in Rome sufficiently shews; or else they would have long before lost their connexion with the Roman Church, and become absorbed in the churches where they would then have been settled residents, not παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς. Moreover the expulsion took place a considerable time before the Epistle to the Romans was written, not to Roman Christians wherever they might be found, but to the Christians at Rome itself; and it is plain that St. Peter would never have spoken of that Epistle as written to persons circumstanced as the former.

It is true that at a considerably later period than the above mentioned year, Priscilla and Aquila are said, Acts xviii. 2, to have lately come from Italy in consequence of the decree of Claudius. But though their arrival in Corinth was then recent, yet they may have first stayed a considerable time in Italy, from whence, and not from Rome itself, they are said to have newly come to Corinth, when St. Paul met them there. And at any rate this too was a considerable time before the date of the Epistle to the Romans. For after he had thus met them at Corinth, St. Paul spent there a year and six months, visited Jerusalem, went to Antioch, travelled through Phrygia and Galatia strengthening the disciples, and having arrived at Ephesus tarried there for the space of two years. After that, he purposed in spirit (Acts xix. 21), "when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must see Rome." In execution of this design he went to Macedonia, and having "gone over those parts, he came into Greece, and there abode three months;" thence he returned through Macedonia and went to Jerusalem, during which journey it was that he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. For so he says (Rom. xv. 24, 25), that he was on his way from Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem, intending after he had been there to

visit Rome in accordance with the purpose already mentioned. This Epistle was therefore written so long after those who had been expelled by Claudius had left Rome, and would have ceased to be members of that Church, that it never could have been said to have been written to them. We may therefore return to the former supposition to account for Roman Christians being dispersed in the countries mentioned by St. Peter as temporary sojourners when he wrote.

IX. Under the circumstances which have been supposed, not only single individuals, but also entire families would have departed from the scene of persecution. It is therefore natural that we should find the Apostle, in writing to them, exhort persons in the different relations of life, as husbands and wives, masters and servants, no less than if they were in their former homes; and, likewise, the elders, of whom we may suppose that many would have gone with their flocks. Wealthy people especially would have been likely to go as possessing the means; and it would be most suitable to exhort them, under such circumstances, not to indulge in personal extravagance, as in 1 Pet. iii. 3, and to use hospitality (iv. 9) ἀνευ γοργυσμῶν, "without murmurings" at the heavy claims of their poorer companions in flight, who would naturally look to them for assistance.

It may be objected that persons such as those mentioned in 1 Pet. iii. 1, men who obeyed not the Word, would not have been likely to fly in this way, and that women who had so fled would not have married unbelieving husbands abroad. But we are not obliged to regard these men as heathens; they may have been Christians who were not truly obedient to the Word, as many such there doubtless were in every place. The use of ἀπειθοῦσι, and not ἀπιστοῦσι, and the hope that they might be won, not ἀνευ τοῦ λόγου, referring to the word previously mentioned, but ἀνευ λόγου, without talk or argument,<sup>c</sup> seem to shew that persons not absolute unbelievers were intended. Affection for their wives, and even conscientious convictions, notwithstanding their inconsistency of conduct, would hinder such in many cases from purchasing safety by apostatizing, and induce them to prefer seeking it by flight. And even heathen men whose wives had become Christians, and who had continued notwithstanding to live with them, would both by affection, and on account of the suspicion that would naturally attach to themselves of being abettors, if not secret believers of the Gospel, be induced to depart with their wives. It would be especially needful that

<sup>c</sup> Compare Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, iv. 7, οὐνεὶ δὲ λόγου φαίνονται οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι περὶ τῷδην εἶναι; Plat., *Crit.*, ἀλλὰς ἔνεκα λόγου, vainly for the sake of talking; and Xen., *Mem.*, iii. 11, οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀναπειθεῖσι.

women whose husbands had taken such a step for their sakes, should be careful to commend their faith by meekness and propriety, should abstain from needless expense in adorning their persons, and should take care not to be seized after all with any sudden fear or womanish panic, which might endanger their own stedfastness ; they should "do well and not be afraid with any amazement," *μη φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν πτόησιν*, such as might naturally come upon women in their trying circumstances, this latter exhortation having manifest reference to some state of danger likely to occasion special terror in females.

X. Besides the frequent general reference to the sufferings occasioned by persecution, a number of significant allusions to the peculiar circumstances of persons who had fled for safety, offer themselves to our notice, when the first Epistle is read with this supposition in view. In the second Epistle, which was not written for some time after, when their departure would not be so fresh in the Apostle's mind, and they had become somewhat settled residents abroad, such allusions are not to be expected. But in the first Epistle they would naturally occur, and as their absence would militate against the supposition, so the occurrence of them is in its favour.

Thus in 1 Pet. i. 1, the term *παρεπίδημοι*, sojourners by the way, and not *ἐπίδημοι*, settled residents, is quite appropriate, as already remarked. "Gird up the loins of your mind" (i. 13), is very significant as addressed to travellers staying in strange places. Again (i. 17), "Pass the time of your sojourning here in fear." The word *here* supplied in the English version destroys the allusion, but it is not in the original, *ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε*. Either the Apostle bids them be on their guard against the many spiritual dangers to which they were exposed in their sojourn abroad ; or if the word is to be taken in a figurative sense, still it contains a no less significant allusion to the actual state of sojourners in a strange land, from which the figurative use derives a special force and appropriateness. Perhaps in ver. 18, "Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold," there may be fancied an allusion to the hope some of them might have entertained, of purchasing safety by pecuniary ransom. Again in 1 Pet. ii. 11, we have *παροικους καὶ παρεπιδήμους*, words taken as already observed from Gen. xxiii. 4, where they are descriptive of Abraham's manner of life as a wanderer in the promised land ; and again, from Ps. xxxix. 12, where they occur in a figurative sense with probable allusion to some occasion of actual flight or wandering of the Psalmist, just as here we suppose St. Peter to use the words figuratively with a significant allusion to

the literal circumstances of those to whom he was writing. And then the words following are equally significant and appropriate; “Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles,” τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, your intercourse with those nations amongst whom ye sojourn. The “inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved for them in heaven” (1 Pet. i. 4), may be thought, perhaps, to have some reference to the forsaking of earthly inheritance to which persons might be driven under the circumstances we have supposed. It was an appropriate exhortation to those who were suffering under the tyrant Nero, to bid them submit themselves notwithstanding to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, and to honour the king; and it was a most needful precaution that they should avoid personal dislike, by abstaining from all evil speaking, as well as a duty that, reproached as they were, they should not render evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing; while such a course could alone tend to ensure them a long life, and make them see good days, circumstanced as they were at that time (1 Pet. ii. 13, 17, and iii. 10).

In 1 Pet. ii. 3, “If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious,” ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος, we cannot help thinking that there is an allusion to the way in which the Romans, perhaps contemptuously, mispronounced the name of Christ. That at this time it was thus mispronounced, appears from Suetonius,<sup>a</sup> *Judæos impulsore Chreste assidue tumultuantes Romam expulit*; the Jews having, as we may be sure, thrown the blame of their tumults on the Christians, and perhaps resorted to the old charge of rebellion against Cæsar in calling Christ their king. That the name continued to be thus mispronounced to a much later period we learn from Lactantius,<sup>b</sup> *Exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutatā literā, Chrestum solent dicere.* We may suppose the Apostle meant to say, “If ye have found by experience that the Lord is truly that which your enemies contemptuously or ignorantly call him,” ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος. That such an allusion would be quite natural under the circumstances we have supposed is evident.

XI. One or two instances of coincidence between expressions used by the Apostle and the language in which the classical writers have described the persecution under Nero, may be appropriately mentioned in confirmation of the supposition, that St. Peter was writing at Rome during its progress, and so used the current manner of speaking in reference to it. For instance, Suetonius, Nero 16, says, *Afficti suppliciis Christiani, genus*

<sup>a</sup> *Claud.*, xxv.

<sup>b</sup> *De Verâ Sapientiâ*, iv., 7. Ed. Spark, p. 327.

*hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficeæ.* Compare with this 1 Pet. ii. 12, “Whereas they speak against you as evil-doers,” ὡς κακοποιῶν, *ut maleficorum*; and again (iii. 16, 17), “Whereas they speak evil of you as of evil-doers, ὡς κακοποιῶν;—for it is better that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing,” ὡς ἀγαθοποιοῦντας—ἢ κακοποιοῦντας; and (iv. 15, 16) “Let none of you suffer as an evil-doer,” ὡς κακοποῖος; “yet if any man suffer as a Christian let him not be ashamed.” Compare this last sentence also with Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv., 44, *Ergo abolendo rumori (scil. quin ipsum jussum incendium crederetur), Nero subdidit reos et quæsitissimis paenit affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat.* The same writer also relates, *Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudine ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis conjuncti sunt.* Perhaps it was this accusation of hating mankind that caused the Apostle to be so particular in exhorting them to “lay aside all malice, and guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and evil speakings” (1 Pet. ii. 1), and in iii. 8, 9, to “be pitiful, be courteous, not rendering evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing.” It was specially needful that they should disprove the charge of general uncharitableness, inasmuch as the exclusiveness of the Christian faith, so unlike the intercommunity of the pagan systems of religion, gave colour to the accusation in the eyes of their enemies. Tacitus adds further, *Flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.* Thus the Apostle in 1 Pet. i. 7, speaks of their trial being as of gold in the fire; and in iv. 12, mentions “the fiery trial that is to try you,” τὴν ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένη, literally, “the burning that is taking place amongst you for your trial.” These coincidences perhaps are slight, yet they may not seem altogether without weight in favour of the hypothesis, that St. Peter was writing in Rome at the time when the persecution, described by the Roman historians in language so like that which he uses in reference to it, was actually raging.

The occurrence of what seems to be a quotation from some Greek dramatic writer, in 2 Pet. ii. 22, may perhaps be thought to indicate that St. Peter, who no doubt was himself quite unacquainted with such writers, had been for some time in familiar intercourse with persons likely to use quotations of this kind in the course of conversation, as would be the case if he had been resident a few years in Rome. The passage in question is mentioned by Blackwall in his *Sacred Classics*, as forming what he describes as a noble iambic; καὶ ὃς λονσαμένη εἰς κίνισμα βορβόρου. He is wrong, however, in calling this, as it stands in

the text, an iambic, a dactyl in the second place being inadmissible. But it is not at all likely that a verse learned in conversation would be correctly quoted, especially by a person unacquainted with the metre; and we know how corrupt are the fragments of Menander and such writers, as they have been preserved in the works of even classical authors. But a very slight emendation will give a pure iambic. We may suppose the original to have been,—

Λελουμένη θ' ὡς εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου.

And as in this case the conjunction would be an integral part of the quotation, it is probable that the preceding sentence also belonged to the same original; for it is evident that some like similitude must have existed, as indicated by the conjunction. It is true we find in Prov. xxvi. 11, “As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly,” ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν ἔμετον, (LXX.) But as the Apostle seems to speak of only one proverb comprising the two similitudes, and only the first is found in the Book of Proverbs, while Horace presents a somewhat similar combination of both, *vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus*, it is not improbable that both, as used by St. Peter, were derived from a common classical source. A slight emendation will render the first part a tolerable iambic as well as the other, and both may have originally stood somehow as follows:—

Κύων ἐπ' ἕδιον ἐξέραμ' ἐστρέψατο,  
λελουμένη θ' ὡς εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου.

A similar observation might be made in reference to a sentence attributed to this Apostle by Gregory of Nazianzum,<sup>f</sup> if we had any reason to feel satisfied as to its authorship. Gregory's words, *apud Grabe*,<sup>g</sup> are these; Κάμνοντα ψυχὴ ἐγγύς ἔστι Θεοῦ, φησὶ πον θαυμασιώτατα λέγων ὁ Πέτρος. This sounds like an imperfect iambic, and a slight emendation will restore it exactly to the form of one:—

Ψυχὴ δὲ κάμνοντας ἐγγύς ἔστι τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Perhaps, however, this semblance should not be too much relied on, for as Aristotle remarks, Poet. δ., μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἔστι σημεῖον δὲ τούτου πλείστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Cicero (*De Oratore*) has a similar remark, and the reader will remember the *alternis aptum sermonibus* of Horace. The proverbial character of the sentences in 2 Pet. ii. 22, however, renders the iambic form less likely to be accidental.

<sup>f</sup> *Ep. prior. ad Caesar. frat.* 50.

<sup>g</sup> *Spicil. Pat.*, ssec. i., t. i., p. 70.

XII. The uniform opinion of the Greek and Latin Fathers was that Rome was signified by the Babylon from which the first Epistle purports to have been written. We may instance Clement of Alexandria, and Papias, as cited by Eusebius,<sup>4</sup> both of whom, as he alleges, state that St. Peter wrote the first Epistle ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ρώμης, σημαίνει τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν, τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον βαθυλῶνα προσειπόντα. Of the Latin Fathers we may instance Jerome, who also refers to Clement and Papias, and speaks of St. Peter as *in epistola primā sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam significans*. Now the fact that St. Peter was writing at Rome during the grievous persecution that afflicted the Church, and caused so many to seek safety by flight, would account for his thus designating that city. He would naturally adopt a *nomen arcanum*, which might perplex his enemies if the Epistle should fall into their hands, and hinder them from suspecting he was at Rome, while it would be sufficiently intelligible to those for whom it was intended, as significant of the state of captivity in which the Church was suffering, like that of God's ancient Church in Babylon. For the same reason he would avoid any definite description of those to whom he wrote, the indefinite expression παρεπόδημοι διασποράς being such as would be quite unintelligible to those who might by a more exact description be led to look for accused or suspected persons, who had taken to flight, in the countries named by the Apostle. Indeed, though we have treated the countries thus named as those to which the fugitives had actually betaken themselves, yet it is possible that the Apostle, having adopted Babylon to designate Rome, might for the same reason have employed these other Asiatic names to represent regions nearer home, such as might be more easily reached by persons flying for safety, but which it would have been dangerous to mention by their real names. In the passage of Tacitus already quoted, it is stated that some who had been taken and had themselves confessed, had also given information respecting a great number who were thus involved in the accusation, if not of burning the city, at least of being Christians; *primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudine ingens haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odii humani generis conjuncti sunt*. Those who had been named in such accusations, would be the most likely to fly, and it would be natural to adopt some means of describing them which might not be understood by their enemies, or draw on them the notice of the authorities in places to which they might have resorted, should the Epistle fall into their hands.

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<sup>4</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 15.

The expression, *ἥ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ*, has given rise to considerable conjecture and difference of opinion. The supposition that the Apostle was writing from Rome to Roman Christians who had gone abroad, sufficiently explains the epithet *συνεκλεκτὴ*, while the omission of the substantive *ἐκκλησίᾳ*, which would readily suggest itself to those for whom the Epistle was intended, would contribute to the general unintelligibleness to strangers. The significancy of *συνεκλεκτὴ* is quite lost on any other supposition.

The Apostle, writing under such circumstances, would naturally adopt the language and tone of immediate pastoral relation. And as not only lay people, but also priests, would doubtless be amongst the number of those who had sought safety by flight, we not only see the reason of the charge to elders in 1 Pet. v. 1—4, but also as already in the case of *συνεκλεκτὴ*, may remark a peculiar significance in the word *συμπρεσβύτερος*, as applied to himself, their fellow-priest, who had been associated with them in the ministry of the same community. The adoption of the term *πρεσβύτερος* in reference to himself, gave him the opportunity of expressing his connexion with them in a simple and affectionate way, while he also sufficiently, but without ostentation, indicated the higher office with which he was invested, by adding that he was one of the chosen witnesses of the Saviour's sufferings, resurrection, and future glory, those to whom Christ had committed the supreme government of his Church. The use of the common term *πρεσβύτερος*, and the indirect way in which he refers to the higher office he was invested with, gives great weight to the injunction not to be as "lords over God's heritage;" while the special significance and appropriateness to the circumstances of the case lies in the use of the compound *συμπρεσβύτερος*.

XIII. The first Epistle was written at an early period of the persecution, which began in A.D. 64. As if not well used to suffering yet, they were "not to think it strange concerning the fiery trial that was to try them," rather that was now coming upon them, *τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν γνωμένῃ*. That as yet, in the places to which they had gone, they entertained some hope of escaping, seems implied in 1 Pet. i. 6, "though now for a season, if need be, εἰ δέον ἔστι, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations." And the whole Epistle seems to proceed on the supposition that as yet, though in imminent danger, they were so far exempt, as that many of the ordinary pursuits of life were in some measure uninterrupted. We may also perhaps infer, that as yet it was only the early period of the persecution, from what the Apostle says of the time being come

that judgment should begin at the house of God. For though its beginning with the house of God is evidently intended in contrast to the subsequent judgments that should befall the ungodly and unbelieving, *πρώτου ἀφ' ἡμῶν* being opposed to *τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων*, still the manner of expression, *ὅτι οἱ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀρξασθαι*, seems to indicate rather the recent arrival of the occasion for this commencement, than that it had been going on for any length of time. On the whole, we may safely assume that the Epistle was written soon after the outbreak of the persecution, which commenced in A.D. 64, allowing a sufficient interval for the alarm and supposed flight of those to whom the Apostle wrote. And we need not even think that he waited for news of their arrival at their destination, but followed them by the first opportunity with this consolatory Epistle, being already aware of the places to which they had purposed going.

Joined with the salutation of the Church is the name of Mark, who was at that time with the Apostle. A question arises as to the Mark thus named by the Apostle. Eusebius<sup>i</sup> quotes Clement and Papias as authorities that it was St. Mark the Evangelist, while in ii. 24, he says that St. Mark was succeeded at Alexandria (whither he had gone after the composition of his Gospel, ii. 16), by Annianus, in the eighth year of Nero. Jerome also,<sup>k</sup> apparently following Eusebius, says that St. Mark died in the eighth year of Nero, and was succeeded by Annianus. And thus, according to both these writers, the first Epistle must be assigned to an earlier period than this date, as they both speak of the Evangelist as still at Rome when the Epistle was written. But if the indications in the Epistle are sufficient to make it plain that it was written at a time of general persecution, such as did not take place till a later period, they must have been mistaken as to the date of St. Mark's decease. That they were thus mistaken we may infer from Irenæus, who says (ii. 1), that he wrote his Gospel after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul, *post horum discessum*. And this is quoted by Eusebius (v. 8), *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον*, although in the place already referred to he makes it to have been written in the lifetime of St. Peter, and again (in vi. 14), quotes the *ὑποτύπωσεις* of Clement, to the effect that after St. Mark had written the Gospel it was approved of by St. Peter. Irenæus, however, is the earlier authority, and as no one fixes the death of St. Peter and St. Paul so early as the eighth year of Nero, we may reasonably conclude that there is an error in assigning so early

<sup>i</sup> *Eccles. Hist.*, ii. 15.

<sup>k</sup> *Eccles. Script. in Marc.*

a date for the death of the Evangelist, and that he lived long enough to have been at Rome in the tenth year of Nero, to which we assign the first Epistle, and after that to have gone to Alexandria.

It might, however, have been John, whose surname was Mark, believed by many to have been a different person from the Evangelist. That he was an intimate friend of St. Peter, we may gather from the fact that it was to his house the Apostle went immediately on his release from prison, as related in Acts xii.; and this would account for the terms of affection with which he speaks of him, "Marcus my son." We know that he was not in exclusive attendance on St. Paul, who at one time declined to take him with him, though he subsequently spoke of him as "profitable to him for the ministry." He was, at any rate, as likely to have been in attendance on St. Peter as Sylvanus, a much more constant attendant on St. Paul, yet employed by St. Peter as the bearer of this Epistle. If we could suppose the second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy to have been written on the occasion of that Apostle's first imprisonment, we could easily account for this Mark being with St. Peter not long after, by supposing that having been brought to Rome by Timothy, according to St. Paul's desire, he had remained in that city after the Apostle's release and departure. There are internal grounds, however, for assigning a later date to that Epistle, which must have been written on the occasion of a subsequent imprisonment, or at least in circumstances in which he expected again to be brought before the emperor, and seeks encouragement in the remembrance how the Lord had stood by him on the former occasion, though his earthly friends had forsaken him. That this, however, was prior to the outbreak of the general persecution, we may gather from his desiring Timothy to take Mark and bring him with him; for it is not likely he would have desired their presence in Rome at a time of such danger. This Mark may therefore very well have been at Rome when St. Peter's first Epistle was written, having come in obedience to St. Paul's desire. And thus the presence of one or other presents no obstacle to our assigning the date proposed for St. Peter's first Epistle.

XIV. The second Epistle was evidently written at a time when the fury of the persecution had abated, and dangers of a different kind were to be apprehended. But the time of St. Peter's own martyrdom was now approaching, and as St. Paul suffered at Rome at the same time, his presence there when the second Epistle was written is what we should naturally expect. Accordingly, though no salutations are sent by this Epistle from

any one, we find St. Peter quite naturally referring to St. Paul's authority, as he would probably have done had the two Apostles been together at the time. With such a supposition also agrees the recommendation in 2 Pet. iii. 2, "that ye may be mindful of the commandment of *us*, the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour." And this would be the more natural, if the two Apostles were at this time conjointly administering the affairs of the Roman Church. That they were so conjoined in the establishment of the Roman See, and that the episcopal succession of that Church was jointly derived from both, is distinctly asserted by so early an authority as Irenæus. In l. iii. 3, he says, "*quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine, omnium ecclesiæ enumerare successiones, maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem et annunciatam hominibus fidem per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus, etc.—Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli ecclesiæ, Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt.*" The Greek of the latter sentence is thus given by Eusebius;<sup>1</sup> θεμελιάσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάροι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. Eusebius also (in ii. 25), quotes Caius, an ecclesiastic of the time of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome *circa A.D. 210*, and Dionysius of Corinth, a contemporary of Irenæus, as affirming that the Roman Church was founded by these two Apostles. It is unnecessary to add to these early testimonies that of Epiphanius, who places them both by name at the head of the episcopal succession in the Roman Church. With such a joint superintendence of the Roman Church the mention of τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν ἐντολῆς well agrees.

Perhaps we may see some confirmation of this joint episcopate in the fact that the Roman Church has constantly celebrated the memory of these Apostles conjointly on the 29th of June. For this day cannot have been the anniversary of their martyrdom, if, as we may consider well established, they suffered during the lifetime of Nero and in the last year of his reign. For as his reign commenced in October and his death took place on the 9th of June, an event which happened on the 29th of June in the last year must have been subsequent to the close of his life and reign. But besides, it is not likely that their death took place on the same day, though no doubt it was about the same time, *kata τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*, as Dionysius says in the state-

<sup>1</sup> *Eccl. Hist.*, v., 6.

ment quoted by Eusebius, as above referred to. Jerome, indeed, asserts that it was on the same day, but in this he was probably only giving a more explicit interpretation to the earlier authorities than their words would justify, while Clement of Rome and Lactantius mention the death of both simultaneously, but do not speak of the time as the same. In 1 Cor. v., Clement describes St. Paul as *μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων*, which Bishop Pearson<sup>m</sup> maintains, in opposition to Salmasius, must signify in the time of the prefects, that is, while Rome was under the government of prefects during the absence of Nero in the last year of his reign. Salmasius had explained the words by *sub imperatoribus, sub Nerone nimirum*; and Lardner in his *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*,<sup>n</sup> discussing the time of St. Peter's martyrdom, adduces, in reference to these words of Clement, several instances of *ἡγούμενος* used in speaking of a supreme ruler, and *ἡγεμῶν, ἡγεμονία* applied to the Roman emperors themselves and their dominion. This use of the word *ἡγούμενοι*, the genus for the species, or even in the plural for an individual, is no doubt quite allowable under proper circumstances. But then the generic *ἡγούμενοι* could not thus denote the Roman emperors specifically, or any particular Roman emperor as Nero, without something in the context to shew that such was the writer's intention. There is no indication of the kind, and therefore even supposing that *ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων* might signify *sub imperatoribus*, in the sense of *under the authority of*, which seems to have been the notion of Salmasius, all that would be implied would be simply that the Apostle suffered under the authority of rulers, and not by mere unauthorized violence. As martyrdom, however, usually took place under authority, we might take for granted that this was not what Clement intended. But, in fact, this meaning of *ἐπὶ* with a genitive of a person, has no existence in Greek. The construction, as it here occurs, must signify either in the time of, or in the presence of, and specially of a judge in the latter case. If we adopt the former acceptation, we think we may also feel satisfied that Clement did not mean to tell us that St. Paul suffered in the time of rulers generally, or even of the Roman emperors, while there is nothing to shew that he intended to indicate any particular emperor as Nero. We must, therefore, in such case, understand *ἡγούμενοι* in its proper specific sense of *prefects*, if we take *ἐπὶ* here to signify in the time of.

It might, however, denote in the presence of some judge, in which case *μαρτυρήσας* must be taken in the general sense of

<sup>m</sup> *De Success. Episc. Rom.*, i., viii. 9.

<sup>n</sup> *Ap. Watson's Tracts*, vii., p. 435.

bearing testimony, and express what Heracleon, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, iv.), calls ὁμολογία ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξουσιων. Neander (*History of the Planting, etc.*) adopts this explanation, and it might perhaps be supposed that Clement had in view the εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς of St. Matt. x. 8, and St. Mark xiii. 9. But in these passages the meaning of μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς is quite different. This construction of μαρτυρέω, μαρτύριον, with a dative of the person, signifies a testimony borne in favour of or against, and the passages referred to mean that the treatment of the disciples, when brought before rulers for Christ's sake, would be matter of testimony against the latter in the day of judgment. Accordingly, when our Lord desires the man cured of the leprosy to shew himself to the priest, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς, Kuincel explains these words, *quo contra eos (nempe sacerdotes) testimonium dicere posses, si scilicet vellent in posterum negare me tibi sanitatem restituisse*. The supposition, therefore, that Clement had these references in view seems quite out of the question, and it only remains to enquire whether the usage in the time of Clement would justify the technical acceptation of μαρτυρίσας, and whether this is more consistent with the context than the signification of bearing testimony in general.

That the technical acceptation of suffering martyrdom was sufficiently established in the time of Clement, may be considered pretty certain from the words τὴν διὰ μαρτύριον γνομένην ὁμολογίαν, which we find in the first chapter of the martyrdom of Ignatius, as well as from the title of the same document; and in like manner from the title of the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna respecting the death of Polycarp, and its commencing words, ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τὸς μαρτυρήσαντας, καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον. These were near enough to Clement to shew that he might have used the word in its technical acceptation. And that in using the word absolutely, he meant it in this sense, is the more probable, inasmuch as throughout the New Testament μαρτυρέω, in the general sense of bearing witness, has always some subjoined word or clause denoting the subject matter of the testimony, or the person in reference to whom witness is borne. This is invariably the case, except in one or two instances, such as St. John xii. 17, and 3 John 12, which are really no exceptions, as the context sufficiently supplies the ellipsis.

And now, if we examine the passage of Clement in which the words in question occur, we think the technical use of μαρτυρήσας seems quite manifest. Having said that the greatest and most righteous pillars were persecuted, and ἕως θανάτου ἥλθον, he adduces the instances of St. Peter and St. Paul. The

former he writes, οὐχ ἔνα οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλεονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὄφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. Here the former clause describes the persecutions, and the latter the manner in which ἡώς θανάτου ἦλθεν. He then describes the sufferings and preaching of St. Paul, his journey ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, on the meaning of which expression we build nothing; and then adds, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη. Here οὕτως referring to μαρτυρήσας, plainly shews, we think, that this word was intended to signify the manner of his departure. The parallelism of the two descriptions shews that we should connect the οὕτως in the former with ἐπορεύθη, and not with μαρτυρήσας that intervenes, just as οὕτως in the latter is connected with ἀπηλλάγη—καὶ—ἐπορεύθη. Hence in the former case we should read καὶ οὕτω, μαρτυρήσας, ἐπορεύθη, not οὕτω μαρτυρήσας, ἐπορεύθη. The reference expressed by οὕτω in this part is to the labours in general which were endured, leading to and terminating in the Apostle's death, while in the latter case the reference is to μαρτυρήσας in particular, as describing the manner of St. Paul's departure.

The technical use of μαρτυρήσας in this passage of Clement seems therefore by far the most probable, and adopting it as sufficiently established, we must then understand ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων as signifying "in the time of the prefects," according to Pearson's explanation, that is, while Rome was under the government of prefects, and therefore during Nero's absence. And as he had just before mentioned the death of St. Peter without this indication of time, he could not have thought that both suffered on the same day. Had he supposed this to have been the case, he would either have specified the time in mentioning the first, or he would make the indication of time in connexion with the second in such a way as to include both. The allusion to prefects, at the time of St. Paul's martyrdom, proves that it could not have happened on the 29th of June. For Nero was at Naples in his last year when he heard of the revolt of the Gauls, on the anniversary of the murder of Agrippina, which took place as she was on her way to celebrate the Quinquatrus, the day for which was the 18th of March. After the news of the Gallic revolt had reached Nero, he delayed but a short time before he returned to Rome, and as St. Paul's death took place before his return, while the prefects were yet in authority, it must have been within a few days at farthest after the 18th of March. The joint memory of the two Apostles must therefore have been celebrated by the Roman Church on the 29th of June, for some other reason than their having both suffered

martyrdom on that day, and we may perhaps consider it an indication of their united superintendence of that Church.

XV. The "commandment of us the Apostles," which St. Peter mentions, seems plainly to have related to the scoffers that should come in the last days, and to those perilous times which St. Paul foretold in 2 Tim. iii. 1, writing nearly about the same period; times also fully described by St. Jude in his Epistle. In verses 17, 18, he says, "Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ," (not "of *us* the Apostles," as St. Peter says,) "how they told you that there should be mockers in the last time walking after their own ungodly lusts." The scoffers of St. Peter and the mockers of St. Jude are described by the same word, ἐμπαιάκται. The great similarity of description and even words between what St. Peter and St. Jude say of these times and persons, has led some to suppose that both refer to some written document containing the commandment to which St. Peter alludes, and the fact that both of them, and St. Paul also, who likewise spoke of the same subject in 2 Tim. iii. 1, introduce certain matters respecting Old Testament persons not mentioned in the Old Testament, but supposed to be all mentioned in this document, has been regarded as a confirmation of the supposed existence of such a writing. But of these particulars, that of Jannes and Jambres resisting Moses, is peculiar to St. Paul, and the prophecy of Enoch to St. Jude, while only the archangel contending with the devil is common, and that only to two, St. Peter and St. Jude, and as none of the three refer to any of these particulars in immediate connexion with the reference to the commandment in question, which indeed St. Paul does not specifically refer to at all, this argument has but little weight. And as the resemblance between St. Peter and St. Jude exists not only in what they specify of the apostolic commandment to which they refer, but equally in the way in which each reminds his readers of it, we may justly conclude that one of them followed the other in this reference. Before proceeding to enquire which it was that thus followed the other, it will be well to make the resemblance more apparent by presenting the two passages in parallel columns.

## 2 PETER III. 1, ff.

'Αγαπητοί—  
μνήσθηται τῶν  
προειρημένων ῥῆμάτων  
ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἀγίων προφητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν  
ἀποστόλων

## JUDE 17, ff.

'Αγαπητοί  
μνήσθητε τῶν  
ῥῆμάτων τῶν προειρημένων  
ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἀποστόλων

ἡμῶν ἐντόλης  
 τοῦ Κυρίου  
 καὶ σωτῆρος·  
 τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες  
 ὅτι  
 ἐλεύσονται  
 ἐπ' ἐσχάτου  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν  
 ἐμπαῖκται κατὰ τὰς  
 ιδίας αὐτῶν  
 ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι.  
 τοῦ Κυρίου  
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν  
 ὅτι  
 ἐν ἐσχάτῳ  
 χρονῷ  
 ἐσονται  
 ἐμπαῖκται κατὰ τὰς  
 ιδίας αὐτῶν  
 ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι  
 τῶν ἀσέβειῶν.

Thus it will be seen that not only in what is specified as contained in the words referred to is there an almost exact resemblance, but also the way in which the two Apostles remind their readers of these words is almost verbally identical, the only substantial difference being in the omission of some words by St. Jude, which is perhaps an indication that he was the later writer, a person following another being more likely to omit than to add. That St. Jude was the later may also be inferred from the fact, that the particulars foretold by St. Paul and by St. Peter, as yet future when they wrote, are described by St. Jude as actually existing in his time. Certain ungodly men had already come in stealthily, who had been previously described as persons that should come into this condemnation, *οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τὸντο τὸ κρίμα*. Considering the similarity of the description of these persons to that given by St. Peter, we may well understand these words of St. Jude as referring to St. Peter's previous description. No objection to this supposition can be drawn from the use of the work *πάλαι*, as if it indicated a longer interval than that which might reasonably be supposed to have elapsed since the second Epistle of St. Peter must have been written. It is frequently used in the sense of already or beforehand, as in St. Mark xv. 44, *εἰ πάλαι ἀπέθανε*, used as synonymous with *εἰ ἦδη τέθνηκε* in the same verse, "if he were already dead." And Schleusner gives several authorities, both Biblical and classical, for this limited use of the word. Compare *τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτιῶν*, in 2 Pet. i. 9.

In introducing the mention of these evil persons, having thus referred to the prophetic description of them, which he supposes no doubt that his readers were acquainted with, nothing is more natural than that he should proceed to describe them himself in language so like the previous account, that those who were acquainted with that account, and had sufficient knowledge

of the evil characters in question, could not fail to perceive how the prediction had been fulfilled, and the prophetic portrait realized. This resemblance between St. Jude's description of existing persons, and St. Peter's account of them while yet future, shewing plainly that the former had the Epistle of the latter in his hands, also proves how little need there is for supposing that in the subsequent reference to the words spoken by the Apostles any other document was in the hands of St. Jude than that Epistle of St. Peter itself. The omission of any mention of St. Peter by name is accounted for, by the implied familiarity of his readers with the writing of St. Peter to which he refers. And if the reference does not on this account afford a direct testimony of St. Peter's authorship of the second Epistle, it is not the less available as an important indirect evidence of its being the work of that Apostle. For it proves that the Epistle was familiarly regarded as a prophetic and apostolical writing by St. Jude and his readers, while it bears on its front the name of St. Peter; and it is evident that if it had been believed to be falsely thus ascribed to St. Peter, and therefore a forgery, it would never have been in this way quoted as an apostolical writing.

Bishop Sherlock, Dissertation i., subjoined to his *Discourse on Prophecy*, explains the similarity of the two Epistles by the supposition of two documents used by both Apostles, one a Hebrew writing, and the other an apostolical circular; the former containing the references to the particulars respecting the Old Testament personages already mentioned, and the latter that referred to in the admonition to remember the words spoken by the Apostles. Now to say nothing of the cumborness of such a double hypothesis, it does not account for the similarity of the words in which the two Apostles admonish their readers to remember what was thus referred to, a similiarity quite as remarkable as that which exists between what is supposed to be taken by each from the common documents, and not to be explained except by the supposition that one had also before him the Epistle of the other. And it seems strange and inexplicable that an apostolic circular, which must have been regarded as a most important document, and as a circular must have been widely diffused, should have perished, and only the slight reference to it in these Epistles have survived. Some Hebrew document, known to both Apostles, is, however, very likely to have existed. St. Peter having, in his description of the coming evils, alluded in a general way to angels that bring not a railing accusation, and no mention of any instance of this existing in the canonical Scriptures, to which the Apostle might be supposed to refer, it would not be unlikely that St.

Jude, in following his description, should explain what else might have been less intelligible to his readers.

Some, indeed, have supposed that the latter Apostle refers to a different matter altogether, and that by substituting in his words *Iησοῦ* for *Μωσέως*, we have a distinct allusion to Zech. iii. 2. But *ΜΩΣΕΩΣ* for *IΗCΟΥ* would have been an unlikely mistake, even supposing the latter word to have been written in full, and not, as common in ancient MSS., as, for instance, the Alexandrian, in the contracted form *IT*. Besides, the probability would have been in favour of a directly opposite mistake; for a transcriber knowing the passage in Zechariah, and not knowing anything in the Old Testament history to which the allusion might be made as regards Moses, would naturally think *Μωσέως* an error, and be tempted to substitute *Iησοῦ*. Besides, if the reference were to Zech. iii. 2, *σῶμα* is a most unmeaning and unaccountable redundancy, while there it is not Michael but the Lord himself that says, “The Lord rebuke thee;” unless, indeed, we were to adopt the imagination of some, that Michael the archangel is the uncreated angel of the Lord, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, and so unmistakeably in this passage of Zechariah. But besides that the expression *ἐτόλμησε*, rendered “durst not,” would be quite unsuitable, we might say improper, as used with reference to this divine person, while the milder sense of *τολμάω, in animum induco*, seems less applicable to the occasion, the allusion by St. Peter and St. Jude is plainly the same, immediately following in both cases the speaking evil of dignities and contrasted therewith, while the plural “angels,” as mentioned by St. Peter, and the addition, “which excel in strength,” borrowed from the hundred and third Psalm, where created angels are spoken of, plainly shew that Michael the archangel was regarded by St. Jude as a created angel also.

It may be remarked concerning words compounded with *ἀρχ* or *ἀρχι*, that when the simple term denotes a person, the compound also signifies a person of the same class or order; thus *ἀρχιερεὺς* designates a person who is himself *ἱερεὺς* also, *ἀρχιδικαστὴς*, one who is himself *δικαστὴς*, and so in the case of *ἀρχιτελώνης*, *ἀρχιποιμῆν*, and many other like words. The only exception to this rule appears to be *ἀρχιδεσμώτης*, used in Gen. xl. 4, as equivalent to *ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ*. According to the analogy of this and the similar compounds *ἀρχιονοχόος* and *ἀρχιστροποῖος*, occurring in connexion with it, *ἀρχιδεσμώτης* should signify the chief prisoner. But either the LXX., seeing in the case of Joseph one prisoner put in charge of others, may have supposed that the keeper of the prison was himself a prisoner, the chief of the executioners, as in the Hebrew, a

person, as with us, reduced for some crime to this degrading office; or else, following immediately after δεσμωτήριον, it is probable that the original reading was, according to analogy, ἀρχιδεσμωτήριος, the governor of the δεσμωτήριον, and the error in the present reading may have arisen from the word in the original text being written with a contraction, ἀρχιδεσμωτῆς, in which case the mark of contraction might easily have been lost in copies made from those in which the contracted form was used. This single instance thus occurring in the LXX. would not at any rate justify a departure from the analogy of such compounds in other cases, and ὁ ἀρχάγγελος must denote a person that himself belongs to the class of ἄγγελοι, one of the created angels of whom he is a chief.

Supposing St. Jude, as well as St. Peter, to have been familiar with some Hebrew book, like the Book of Enoch or the *Assumptio Mosis*, containing the particulars referred to by the three Apostles not mentioned in the Old Testament, nothing would be more likely than that the former, in following the latter in his allusion to the dispute about the body of Moses, should have been reminded thereby of another particular contained in the same book so apposite to his purpose as the prophecy of Enoch.

XVI. Having discussed the resemblance between the second Epistle of St. Peter and the Epistle of St. Jude, it may not be amiss to add a few words in reference to some slight points of resemblance between St. Peter's first Epistle and that of St. James. These resemblances would only be significant in the present enquiry, on the supposition that the similarity in the address of the two Epistles was such as to indicate that they were intended for people of the same nation, so that, St. James having clearly written to people of the Jewish dispersion, St. Peter must be supposed to have written to Jews also dispersed in the countries named by him. We have already seen that such a supposition is untenable on grounds supplied by the Epistle, and it will appear to be equally unwarranted as an inference from the alleged resemblance of the two Epistles.

The similarity as regards the address is confined to the use of the word διασπορὰ, a word familiar to the Jews, no doubt, as applied to their countrymen scattered in foreign lands, as we might gather from St. John vii. 35, μὴ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μέλλει πορεύεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας; if we could suppose that, contrary to invariable usage, Ἑλλήνων was put for Ἑλληνιστῶν, either by St. John himself or his transcribers. For the meaning is not, as in the English Version, the dispersed *among* the Gentiles; the construction admissible in the case of a place, as in διασπορὰ Πόντου, seems very un-

likely in this sense as regards a people who would naturally, in such a construction, be the dispersed themselves; and the subsequent mention of teaching the Greeks indicates also that they were the dispersed to whom he was to go. But as St. James quite naturally applied this word to scattered Christians of his own nation, not merely as Jews, but as Jewish Christians, St. Peter might also as naturally transfer the Jewish phraseology to scattered members of the spiritual Israel, not, however, employing any special national indication, like the δώδεκα φύλα, specified by St. James. We think, however, in the absence of any evidence of error in transcription, we are not justified in departing from the established usage by understanding the Ἑλλήνων of St. John vii. 35, to be equivalent to Ἑλληνιστῶν. We should rather suppose that the Greeks there intended were devout men, such as those mentioned in St. John xii. 20, who came to worship at the feast, and desired to see the Saviour; Greeks who had become believers in the true God, like Cornelius and others mentioned in the New Testament. That they were Gentiles, seems plain from what our Lord said when informed that they desired to see him. The arrival of the hour for the Son of Man to be glorified, and the intimation that he must die, as a corn of wheat cast into the ground, in order to become fruitful, (evidently he meant by the gathering of the Gentiles,) were plainly suggested by the desire of these Greeks to see him. That such persons manifested a greater disposition to follow Christ than the native Jews is, we think, apparent from the Gospel narratives; and this, no doubt, gave rise to the taunt of the Jews, "Will he go to those Gentiles scattered here and there that are so willing to hear him, since people of his own nation will not listen to his doctrines?" If this view be correct, the use of the term διασπορὰ, in St. John vii. 35, is a clear instance in favour of the application of the word even by Jews to persons not of their own nation, and shews how, independently of one another, and with entirely different application, it may have been used by St. Peter and St. James in the address of the two Epistles. Gen. xi. 8 would have already made the Jews familiar with the notion of a Gentile διασπορὰ.

Having thus shewn how little can be made of the resemblance said to exist in the address of the two Epistles, we may now turn to the other points of agreement. We can find none but those specified by Hug in his "Introduction," three of them consisting of quotations from the Old Testament, occurring quite naturally and suitably to the occasion of their introduction amongst many other quotations of the same kind.

The first, 1 Pet. i. 24, and James i. 10, 11, is taken from

Isaiah xl. 6, 7, "All flesh is grass," etc. Now to say nothing of St. James's interpolation of the sun rising with burning heat, to which there is nothing answering in the words of Isaiah or St. Peter's quotation, the passage is introduced with a very different object by each. St. Peter uses it, like Isaiah, for the contrast between the withering and perishing nature of man, as born in the flesh, and the enduring nature of God's Word, by which St. Peter says we are born again, as of incorruptible seed. St. James refers to the passage merely to shew the perishable nature of earthly riches and glory. The diversity of purpose in making the quotation is sufficient to disprove any imitation in the use of it.

The second citation is from Prov. iii. 34, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble," quoted by St. James in iv. 6, and in 1 Pet. v. 5, each agreeing exactly with the LXX., except in the substitution by both of ὁ Θεὸς for Κυρίος. The quotation was almost certain to be made by any one who wished for a Scriptural authority in commendation of humility, while the substitution of ὁ Θεὸς for Κυρίος was of too frequent occurrence to justify any inference from this coincidence.

St. Peter founds an exhortation on this quotation, to which a similar exhortation is also to be found in the Epistle of St. James, though not in such close connexion, nor following as an inference from the quotation. We subjoin a comparison of the exhortation as it appears in each Epistle:—

## JAMES IV. 10.

Ταπεινώθητε  
ἐνώπιον  
τοῦ Κυρίου  
καὶ  
ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς.

## 1 PETER V. 6.

Ταπεινώθητε  
οὖν  
ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα  
τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ἴνα  
ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ  
ἐν καιρῷ.

Now observing that St. Peter thus connects his exhortation with the quotation from the Proverbs, by the inferential particle οὖν, while it appears as a quite independent precept in the Epistle of St. James, removed from the quotation and separated by several intervening precepts, that which is actually connected by the same inferential particle, ὑποτάγγητε οὖν τῷ Θεῷ, having no counterpart in St. Peter, we see that the only verbal identity between the two precepts consists in the common use of the words ταπεινώθητε and ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς (ὑψώσῃ). These two verbs are also to be found in the saying of our blessed Lord, repeated on several occasions, ὅτις ταπεινώσει ἐαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται, a saying

with which the two Apostles were doubtless familiar, and which would naturally recur to the mind of either in enforcing the duty of humility. It seems to have already recurred to the mind of St. James in i. 9, 10, κανχάσθω—ό ταπεινὸς ἐν τῷ ὑψει αὐτοῦ ὁ δὲ πλούσιος ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ. The contrast of our Lord's humiliation and consequent exaltation, in Phil. ii. 8, 9, ἐταπείγωσεν ἕαυτὸν—διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, in connexion with the preceding exhortation to ταπεινοφροσύνη, in ver. 3, exhibits a like coincidence of thought and even identity of the leading words, on the part of another Apostle, admitted to have written quite independently of these. We may well believe both derived the precept from the saying of our Lord, and not either from the other; while it is probable that had either followed the other they would have agreed in the inferential connexion of St. Peter, or in the unconnected and less close collocation with the passage cited from the Proverbs, as in the case of St. James.

The third quotation from the Old Testament consists in the citation of Prov. x. 12 in 1 Pet. iv. 8, ἡ ἀγάπη καλύψει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν. These words are a literal translation of the Hebrew, except that πλῆθος is substituted for לְבָב, and as they do not at all agree with the LXX., and are used with a very different connexion and apparently different meaning, with reference to the covering of one's own sins at the approaching end of all things, instead of the hiding of the faults of others in this life, as in the Proverbs, they were probably cited from memory. The hiding of a multitude of sins is in the same words attributed by St. James not to charity, but to the person who converts the sinner from the error of his ways, which is a widely different application of the words from their use in either Prov. x. 12, or 1 Pet. iv. 8. It is probable that the words forming part of a proverbial saying were cited *memoriter* in this case also.

Besides these citations and the allusion to the saying of our Lord in connexion with one of them, the only other noticeable points of agreement are in the precepts relating to divers temptations in James i. 2, 3, and 1 Peter i. 6, 7, which we proceed to compare.

## JAMES I. 2, 3.

πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε  
ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν  
πειρασμοῖς περιπέσῃτε ποικίλοις,  
γυνώσκοντες ὅτι  
τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως  
κατεργάζεται ὑπομονὴν.

## 1 PETER I. 6, 7.

ἐν φιλαγαλλιᾷσθε  
ὅλιγον ἄρτι, εἰ δέον ἔστι  
λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς,  
ἴνα  
τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πιστεως  
πολὺ τιμώτερον, κ.τ.λ.  
ἔνυρεθῆ εἰς ἐπαινον, κ.τ.λ.

Now while there is doubtless very striking similarity of thought and expression in these two passages, there are also striking differences. The rejoicing is differently expressed in each, and while in one it is to be occasioned by the divers temptations, in the other it is to be in Christ, notwithstanding the temptations; and while in the one the beneficial effect to be produced by the trial of faith is patience in this life, in the other it is praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ. As the beneficial effect of trials, and our duty in respect to them, was a natural subject for the Apostles to dwell on, considering the circumstances of the first Christians, perhaps we should not think the resemblance so remarkable but for the identity of the expressions, *πειρασμοῖς ποικίλοις*, and *τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως*. Now to say nothing of the frequency of such expressions as *ποικίλαις νόσοις* in the three first Gospels, *ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, δινάμεσι, and διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις* in the Pauline Epistles, and *ποικίλης χάριτος* in 1 Pet. iv. 10, it is to be observed that, in regard to subjects that must have been frequently dwelt on in the discourses of Christian teachers, certain forms of expression must have come into such common use as, from time to time, to occur quite naturally in the speaking and writing of different persons when referring to these subjects of frequent recurrence. We are familiar with the existence of such a common phraseology in the religious discourses and conversation of the present time, and that not merely in the use of expressions derived from Scripture, but also in forms that are not Scriptural. And it would be contrary to all experience if similar forms of expression had not come into use in the Apostle's days, and thus from time to time re-appeared even in the sacred writings.

It will be remarked how far short these resemblances fall of the remarkable coincidences of thought and expression between St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and the first Epistle of St. Peter; and we think it may safely be asserted that the similarity between the Epistles now compared is not such as, viewed in connexion with the supposed resemblance in the address prefixed to each, would warrant the conclusion that they had a like destination, and that consequently St. Peter's first Epistle must have been intended specially for Hebrew Christians. We have already seen that such a conclusion is contradicted by the internal evidence of the two Epistles of St. Peter themselves; and as this was made a preliminary to the hypothesis we have sought to maintain, so we now see that no objection to that hypothesis can be drawn from a comparison of the first Epistle with that of St. James.

XVII. It only remains, in conclusion, to make a few remarks on the alleged twenty-five years' episcopate of St. Peter at Rome. An uninterrupted personal superintendence of the Roman Church for twenty-five years is absolutely impossible. St. Peter's martyrdom took place in the reign of Nero, and he was present at the Council of Jerusalem, which cannot by any calculation be carried back so far as to allow a subsequent interval of twenty-five years to the latest possible date of the Apostle's death. Besides, Lactantius informs us in the passage already quoted, that the Apostles *per annos xxv usque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesiæ fundamenta miserunt. Cumque jam Nero imperaret Petrus Romam advenit.* This not only asserts his arrival in the reign of Nero, but takes no notice of any previous visit to Rome, which might be supposed to have taken place at such a date as to allow an interval of twenty-five years to the Apostle's martyrdom. That the journeyings carried on through this period of twenty-five years, as above mentioned, might have commenced with a visit by St. Peter to Rome, is however possible; and Jerome asserts that he did go to Rome in the second year of Claudius, *ibique vigintiquinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit usque ad ultimum annum Neronis id est decimumquartum (Catal. Scrip. Eccl. in Pet.)* An uninterrupted residence at Rome for so long a period he could not possibly have imagined, and we must therefore suppose that he meant such a superintendence of the Roman Church as might have been carried on in the Apostle's name, and by his authority during his own absence. Very different however from this statement of Jerome is the purport of a remark attributed to him by Marianus Scotus, as contained in a recent paper on this writer in the *Ulster Archaeological Journal*, by the Rev. Dr. Reeves. Speaking of St. Paul's desire, expressed in Rom. i. 11, to visit the Roman Christians, and to impart to them some spiritual gifts that they might be established, Jerome is made to say, *Romanos nondum viderat Apostolus . . . alii discipulis crediderant prædicantibus. Ab Apostolo solo indigent confirmari.* Now whoever was the real author of this remark, it is evidently founded on a mistaken view of the import of St. Paul's words in Rom. i. 11. The Apostle by no means implies that they had not as yet received the *χαρισμata* that were imparted by an Apostle alone; on the contrary, the expression *τι χάρισμα*, seems plainly to intimate that he only desired to add something to the *χαρισμata* in general, which they already enjoyed, as is evident from Rom. xii. 6, *ἔχοντες δὲ χαρισμata, κ.τ.λ.* Perhaps also from his presently after expressing a wish, *ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Πάμπη εὐαγγελίσασθαι,*

we may gather that it was by the addition of new converts, and the strengthening of the Church by their participation in the same spiritual gifts, through his instrumentality, that he hoped to confer the benefits mentioned in Rom. i. 11. At any rate, it is scarcely to be supposed that Jerome expressed himself in the manner attributed to him by Marianus Scotus.

Reverting, however, to the undoubted statement of Jerome, already quoted, we must observe that he says the Apostle, before his visit to Rome, had presided over the Church at Antioch, and had preached the Gospel to the dispersed of the circumcision in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. His preaching in these places was doubtless, as we have already remarked, only inferred from the address of St. Peter's first Epistle; but leaving out of consideration the time it would have occupied if it had actually taken place, we may still well doubt if St. Peter could have paid a visit to Rome so early as the second year of Claudius, which seems to have been assumed by Jerome in order to make out twenty-five full years from his first arrival at Rome to his martyrdom there in the fourteenth year of Nero, the tradition of a twenty-five years' episcopate having been the authority for the date, as the Epistle was for the previous preaching in the countries enumerated therein. In regard to the possibility of so early a date, in the first place we have, as a set-off against Jerome's assertion, the testimony of Apollonius, a writer of the second century,<sup>7</sup> that the Apostles by Christ's command did not leave Jerusalem, or as we should rather say, the Jewish territory, for a period of twelve years after Christ's ascension, a tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria also. Now even reckoning as the first and last of the twelve years only a broken part of a year, we could not possibly bring this interval to a close at A.D. 42. Eleven years were complete in the year A.D. 44, and any time after Ascension in that year would be the twelfth. And with this agrees the departure of St. Peter from Jerusalem, after his release from prison, as related in Acts xii. 17. This appears to have taken place immediately before the departure of Herod to reside at Cæsarea, a little time before his death. Agrippa Herod received the kingdom from Claudius immediately after the latter became emperor, in A.D. 41, and having reigned three years, he went to live at Cæsarea, where he died during the same year, that is in A.D. 44, at the Easter of which year St. Peter's imprisonment is thus shewn to have taken place. But even supposing we abandon the tradition of the twelve years as merely an inference from the "Acts of the

• *Apud Eusebium, Eccl. Hist., v. 18.*

Apostles," which gives us no intimation of any departure of the Apostles from Judaea previous to that occasion, we should still, according to Jerome's account of a journey to Rome in A.D. 42, have the Apostle, after founding a Church there, again appearing in Jerusalem at the time of his imprisonment at Easter, A.D. 44. Considering the greatness of the journey, and the wide field of labour that Rome presented, it appears strange that he should have made so short a stay, in the absence of any information that might serve to account for so hasty a return.

If we must suppose an early visit to Rome, this would have been more likely to have taken place after his release from prison in the year 44, when prudence would suggest the wisdom of his seeking a field of labour elsewhere. His return to Jerusalem at an early period after this might have been occasioned by the command of Claudius, that all Jews should depart from Rome, a command which we have seen was issued in A.D. 47. This would allow of the Apostle's presence in Jerusalem just in time to meet St. Paul on the occasion mentioned in Gal. ii. 1, supposing it to have taken place fourteen years after that Apostle's conversion, and that we assign this to the year 34. If St. Peter had arrived in Rome soon after the Easter of the year 44, twenty-four complete years would bring us past the same period in A.D. 68; and as Nero died on the 9th of June in that year, the Apostle might have entered on the twenty-fifth year from his first arrival before he suffered martyrdom, and the year thus commenced would have been reckoned as one year in stating the entire period of his connexion with the Roman Church.

This date of A.D. 44 appears to have been traditionally adopted by the Italians themselves. "About three or four miles from Pisa, whither the sea (they say) formerly came, is the Church of S. Pietro in Grado, built in memory of St. Peter's landing there when he came from Antioch, on his way to Rome, and in it they shew the altar at which they pretend he said his first mass. That the reader may have the history the more authentic, the inscription follows which I took in the church :—

"D. O. M. A.

*"Anno a partu Virginis XLIV. D. Petrus Apostolorum Princeps, dum Antiochid Romam peteret, ad Pisanum litus apulsus, hoc ipso loco, ubi medio fere templo sacellum visitur, ard instructd marmoreo incruentum fecit sacrificium.*

"They shew, likewise, the place where St. Peter tied his boat, with a grate before it."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Wright's *Travels in Italy*, 1764, pp. 379, 380.

However we may reasonably doubt the fact of an earlier visit of St. Peter to Rome, we suppose that but for controversial motives no one would ever have questioned that he visited and suffered martyrdom in that city in the reign of Nero. It is a foolish thing, however, even in part, to ground the rejection of what, if true, is so very important a doctrine as the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, upon the assumption of a negative that may at any moment be converted into a well-established affirmative by further researches in the still unexplored depositaries of ancient documents, especially when there is any evidence, however weak, against the truth of such an assumption. The only form in which an argument against the claims of the Roman Pontiff may validly be derived from the defective evidence of St. Peter having ever been at Rome, would be based on the presumption that a fact of such importance to so momentous a doctrine, would not have been allowed to rest on any but very strong and decisive evidence. Whether the actual evidence can be considered so defective as to give weight to such an argument, may however be questioned, when the testimony of so early a writer as Irenæus can be adduced in proof of the fact. It is more important to observe that this, the very earliest authority on the subject that is known to exist, and so early as to possess very great weight, couples with St. Peter another Apostle, St. Paul, and derives the succession of the Roman bishops, and as a consequence, we may add, their inherited authority conjointly and alike from both. If this establishes the succession, it destroys the supremacy. While it ignores any authority vested exclusively in St. Peter himself, it implies that neither he imparted nor the successors received from him anything that was not equally given by and derived from St. Paul also.

The fact that St. Peter was at Rome, and exercised his apostolical office there, is essential to the claims of the Roman bishops, but it is by no means sufficient of itself to establish those claims. It may be added that St. Peter's going to Rome, and then returning to Antioch, seems not favourable to the notion even of his having a settled episcopate at Rome. One may therefore hope for an impartial consideration of an hypothesis which, if well-grounded, makes that fact an inference from Scripture itself. We venture to think that the remarks we have made throw light on some of the more obscure questions relating to an important portion of the New Testament writings, and give to it a greater significance and consistency. They also help to confirm, in one important particular, the statements of early ecclesiastical writers, and so to give a greater credibility

to their statements in general. And this is of no small moment in respect to the faith of ecclesiastical history, when we consider by how long an interval very many of the events it relates are separated from the writers that have handed them down to us, owing to the paucity of the documents that have survived the lapse of so many years.

J. Q.

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#### **MARY STANDING BY THE CROSS OF JESUS.**

“Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother.” These simple and touching words were written by John the beloved disciple, who was also standing there with Mary, and who himself saw and heard all that he is thus describing. And what an hour, what a spectacle was this for the mother of Jesus! As we pause to contemplate it, we cannot help recalling the words uttered in the temple more than thirty years before by the aged Simeon, when Mary and Joseph, full of lively and holy hope for the future, were presenting to the Lord the infant heir to the throne of David,—“This child,” said the venerable speaker, “is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also.” This prediction, strange and unintelligible as it would appear at the time to those to whom it was addressed, was now receiving its unexpected, but too clear and painful fulfilment. The sharp-pointed and keen-edged weapon was at length entering the mother’s soul. The miraculously conceived son, whom, on the certain promise of the Most High, that mother, so highly favoured of heaven, had longed and looked forward to behold a crowned king on the throne of his father David, is hanging before her eyes on the worse than Roman gibbet—to the eye of man helplessly and hopelessly dying on the ignominious cross. This hateful form of death, at once most shameful and painful, had been branded more than fourteen hundred years before—and Mary would be no stranger to the fact—with a special mark of divine abhorrence: for it had been expressly declared by the inspired Hebrew legislator, that “he that is hanged is accursed of God” (Deut. xxi. 23).

But Mary did not also then know—such knowledge would have turned the night of sorrow into day, and shed over her bruised spirit a healing foretaste of “the peace of God which passeth all understanding”—that before her astounded sight and bleeding heart the true Paschal Lamb of God was engaged,

with every energy of body and soul, in a fearful conflict with the powers of darkness, from which he was soon to come forth a triumphant conqueror ; a conflict in which that seemingly weak, and vanquished, and dying victim was bearing the appalling burden of "the sin of the world." The pen cannot describe, for thought can scarcely conceive, how her crushed soul would have been revived and sustained, had she then understood what she was to learn on the first day of the coming week, with joy and thanksgiving—that the Messiah Jesus was consummating on the cross of shame and torture his most marvellous and mighty work of "redeeming us from the curse of the law" (Gal. ii. 13), by being then and there, of his own freewill and choice, "made a curse for us."

If we study the previous portion of this most instructive chapter, in which John gives the narrative of his Lord's crucifixion, and reverently meditate on the events of the nearly six preceding hours, we shall not fail to understand how the instinctive and irresistible craving of her maternal heart would draw Mary gradually nearer to the tree, to which cruel hands had nailed Him who had been the light of her eyes, and the joy of her soul. Doubtless, she had beheld, though probably at first from a little distance, standing, perhaps, in the outermost circle of the throng of spectators, all that had been done that day on Calvary, from the never-to-be-forgotten third hour, when the Lord of life and glory, in fulfilment of Old Testament type and prophecy, as well as of his own predictions, was made an uplifted spectacle to his fierce and scoffing enemies. Overwhelmed in spirit by the sudden blow, she had mostly kept aloof for a time, while scorers were bitterly taunting the meek and silent victim. She may possibly have thus not been sufficiently near the cross to have received a momentary gleam of consolation from the kingly reply of David's royal son to the prayer of the dying malefactor : "Verily I say unto thee, This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

But when the darkness, which commenced about the sixth hour, had spread itself all around, and continued to brood over the land, and that too without any assignable natural cause, malignity and scorn would necessarily be in some measure daunted and rebuked, and the mind of the most hardened be unable to resist impressions of wonder and awe. It is evidently very possible (not to say probable) that, although the solemn and unnatural gloom would not remove the amazement and disappointment of the disciples in beholding the crucifixion of him in whom they had trusted as the promised Messiah, nor clear up to their minds the mysterious fact, that he whom their

own eyes had beheld, and their own ears had heard, raising the dead from the couch, from the bier, and from the grave, should himself be helplessly dying on the cross—it is very probable, we say, that this unlooked-for darkness, which came over them about the ninth hour, may, in connexion with the deep-rooted convictions of their own personal experience and knowledge, have been regarded by Mary and the Apostles as a testimony from heaven, if not indeed to the Messiahship, yet at least to the personal innocence and integrity of Jesus, and as a manifestation of the divine disapproval of his unjust and cruel punishment. Be this, however, as it may, we easily see how, in that supernatural gloom, so congenial to the darkness in which her own spirit was then enveloped, when enemies had become astonished and silent, the afflicted mother would unconsciously, and without molestation, approach step by step the cross of her son, absorbed in one mighty and overwhelming grief, and almost doubting at times the evidence of her senses.

But the desolate parent would not be permitted to make her way thither alone. There would not be wanting to accompany her through the gloom to the place of sorrow, friends who deeply sympathized with her, and whose hearts were bowed down with sadness on account of him for whom she was mourning. Accordingly, we read that with the mother of Jesus were "his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene, and John, the disciple whom Jesus loved," and who was doubtless even then, before he had received his Master's final injunction, exercising towards Mary the delicate and watchful tenderness which a sympathizing son would shew to an afflicted mother.

Mary has at last made her way through the silent throng of spectators, and is standing by the cross of her Son; and will the crucified one now recognize the grief-stricken parent? He is still enduring great bodily torture, and his soul has been keenly wounded under the mysterious hiding of that loving and fatherly countenance, whose heavenly light and approving smile had hitherto formed the life and joy of his heart. Yet we may believe that this terrible mental conflict had already begun to pass away; for while it continued in its absorbing anguish, it would scarcely have been possible for the sufferer to spare one moment's thought for the mere temporal welfare of any human being. If then his mental conflict is becoming less severe, will his acute bodily pains permit him to notice the maternal mourner by his side, and address her in words of consolation? If so, it will surely not be now as at the marriage feast in Cana. He has not now, as there, to restrain the too forward hope and zeal of Mary; hope and zeal are for awhile extinguished in her

breast. He will now lay aside that formal and distant (though neither harsh nor disrespectful) appellation Woman, and once more substitute for it, as in earlier days, the endearing name of "mother." If then the racking torture of the cross permit Him to address her at all, it will be, it can be only in the language of a loving and dying son, conscious that he is suffering before her agonized gaze as son never suffered before, and that he has to speak to a mother wounded in spirit as never mother was wounded before. Nay, will it not be a momentary relief to his own bruised and fainting spirit to call once more by the hallowed title of "mother" that true and faithful maternal friend—never more truly and faithfully so than in the dark hour of his seeming abandonment by heaven and earth—who would not, for a thousand worlds, have been standing on any other spot than near the shameful tree, and who was herself being as it were crucified in soul while gazing on his painful and lingering crucifixion.

Let us beware, however, lest we speculate unwisely on this solemn subject, as if we were competent to suggest what it became Jesus to say and do at such a season. Do we expect to have the great Teacher forgetting one of his own most emphatic lessons? Was it not a conspicuous feature in the doctrine which He had himself propounded and urged?—"He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." Shall even his mother's surpassing weight of sorrow make the teacher of this lesson to be for a single moment forgetful of his paramount duty to his heavenly Father, and speak to the earthly mother otherwise than according to the will of that heavenly Father? For on the cross Jesus was still to do, not his own will, but the will of Him who sent him.

Who does not see the vast difference between the two following questions, which should be carefully weighed if we would rightly understand the subject we are discussing? The first is, "How should we think the tenderness of the human heart of Jesus would move him to address Mary in the hour of her desolation?" And the second is, "How would his heavenly Father will that he should address her?" We easily understand that to these very different questions there might be returned two very different answers. Nor must we forget that the second question being unspeakably more important than the first, is that to which alone we could expect Jesus to attend. He would not ask what words Mary would most delight to hear from his dying lips, and filial tenderness prompt at such an hour, but rather, "What are the words which it is my Father's good pleasure that I should speak? For it is his wise and holy will, and not

any mere human sympathy and compassion, which must guide and rule both my voice and words."

When, therefore, the dark mental clouds which had concealed from his soul the light of his heavenly Father's countenance were beginning to pass away, and he felt himself free to notice the desolate mourner, he was not, unguardedly, and on the impulse of the moment (if we may so speak with reverence), to use in that dying hour expressions of filial endearment and devotedness, capable of dangerous misconstruction, and which might one day be too easily abused by the great adversary to the unhallowed exaltation of Mary, as if she still possessed controlling maternal influence over the Son of God in heaven, and to the consequent beguiling and ensnaring of sensitive and imaginative souls into dangerous error. The dying Jesus, as he hung on the cross, was watchfully (though in reality kindly and graciously to her who was standing by that cross) so to do all that a desolate and mourning mother could expect from a dying Son, who was not only her Son, but also, in the highest sense of the words, THE SON OF GOD, that he might, at the same time, instruct and protect with Divine and *prescient* wisdom that Church which was dear to him as "the apple of his eye," against Satan, her subtle and ever vigilant foe, and approve himself as faithful to his Father in heaven.

But let the holy sufferer decide the question for us, and teach us by that which he actually said, what it was really the will of the heavenly Father that he should say; for we may rest assured that the voice and words of the Son from the cross were in exact agreement with the mind and will of the Father in heaven. Hearken, then, reverently to the voice of Jesus, and if he seem to speak in language that may somewhat disappoint our wishes and expectations, let us not hesitate to believe, from the divine character of the Speaker, that his words were the wisest, best, and most suitable that could possibly have been uttered on that memorable occasion. "When Jesus, therefore, saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son. Then said he to the disciple, Behold thy mother. And from that hour that disciple took her to his own home."

We shall, assuredly, not err, if we think these words to have been uttered, not only in a tone of gracious tenderness, both towards his mother and the beloved disciple, but also in that of a grave and irresistible authority, from which each would silently and reverently feel there was no appeal. But there would be no disposition to appeal from the injunction.

John would rejoice in being thus honoured by his Lord, and the heart of Mary would gratefully acknowledge the wise and merciful forethought which had appointed her a home during the remainder of her earthly pilgrimage under the filial care of one who, of all her Son's disciples, had been highest in his affection and confidence. As he spake to the penitent thief who hung by his side, so he spake to Mary and John; he spake as their Lord to each of the three; he spake to them not as the Son of Mary, but as the Son of God.

And now what must the plain meaning of the words, "Woman, behold thy son, (disciple) behold thy mother," appear to be to one who candidly studies not this passage only, but other portions also of the evangelical history, which may be viewed as more or less in connexion with it? And what is one, at least, of the principal lessons which we are to gather from them? That there was deep and thoughtful kindness in the arrangement thus made for his mother's comfort and welfare by Jesus, when he was on the verge of death, is, as we have just seen, very evident from the gracious and touching fact, that the Lord selected from his followers, to be the filial friend and support of Mary's declining years, him who is described in Holy Writ as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." Yet, surely, the very character of the language employed, so different from that which we should expect from the lips of a son to a mother on such an occasion, would induce us to think that it was not uttered merely to provide, as a dying son might seem bound to do, if in his power, a comfortable home during the residue of his surviving mother's days, but that it was also designed to teach authoritatively both Mary and John, and, through them, the Church militant to the end of time, that every merely earthly and human tie of maternal influence and filial deference between Jesus and his mother was then severed, finally and for ever severed.

It would, indeed, seem evident, from the very tenor of the Gospel narrative, that these human ties had been practically severed from the day and hour that the Lord was baptized in the Jordan by the son of Zacharias. But the injunction to Mary and John, delivered very shortly before he commended his spirit to his Father, would leave no longer any doubt on this point. And we may gratefully believe that the words in question have been permanently recorded in the evangelical history, for this, among other reasons, that the Church might ever know the reality of the severance of which we have been speaking.

The Church of Christ is ever to have pleasure in remembering the salutation of the angel Gabriel to Mary of Nazareth,

"Hail, highly favoured; blessed art thou among women;" and also the greeting of Elisabeth, who "filled with the Holy Ghost, spake out with a loud voice and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb; but what is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me?" But neither are we to forget the words which, on more than one occasion, fell from the lips of Him who is far greater than Gabriel, and which we now bring before our readers.

There were two circumstances intimately connected with the ministry of Christ, of which the Church was never to be unmindful through all her generations. The first occurred when (Mark iii. 31) Mary went with certain of her kindred to seek her Son at a house where he was occupied in teaching a numerous and attentive audience. "There came then his brethren and his mother, and standing without, sent unto him, calling him. And the multitude sat about him, and they said unto him, Behold thy mother and thy brethren seek thee. And he answered them, saying, Who is my mother and my brethren? And he looked round about on them which sat about him, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and sister and mother." Illustrative and explanatory language cannot well be clearer than this; it admits but one interpretation with respect to Mary's maternal influence over the Son of God, an interpretation which we think the sincere inquirer can not fail to discover without difficulty.

The second of the two circumstances to which we are alluding is not less explicit and instructive than the first. It is thus simply and briefly related by the evangelist St. Luke (xi. 27): "And it came to pass as Jesus was speaking, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked. But he said, Yea rather, blessed are THEY THAT HEAR THE WORD OF GOD AND KEEP IT." The commentator's aid is scarcely required here. What devout and unprejudiced reader of the New Testament can doubt the meaning of the lesson which our Lord intended to teach his hearers on this occasion? The careful examination of these two incidents in our Lord's history, will preserve us from exaggerating and misinterpreting the language of Gabriel to Mary at Nazareth, and guide us to the true interpretation of the injunction from the cross.

When the Church of Christ has discovered from the New Testament, and especially from her Lord's language on the cross, the severance of all merely human maternal and filial ties between Mary and her and our Saviour and Redeemer, she is

provided with a safeguard against what (though in itself a childish error), has proved, through the neglect of plain scriptural testimony, one of the most successful of the wiles and delusions of Satan. Indeed, we shall be better able to contemplate with thankful and adoring wonder the prescient wisdom of our Lord, when we have paused awhile to consider how many warm and imaginative minds, after having been beguiled from the path of scriptural truth into the ignorant and idolatrous veneration of the "Mother of Jesus," have proceeded along that seemingly pure and inviting road, until they entered the withering atmosphere of the Romish confessional. It is thus that we are assisted in understanding how the Lord, when about to expire on the cross, while careful to provide for the *temporal* welfare of his surviving mother, was jealous, with a holy jealousy, for the *spiritual* welfare of his Church, and watchful to guard, with divine and far-seeing prudence, simple hearts from dangerous and seductive error. It is a profitable mental exercise, in order that we may better understand the true relation which exists between Mary and the risen and ascended Jesus, to spend a little time in seriously comparing the Lord's dying injunction, "WOMAN, behold thy Son," with his dying appeal, "FATHER, into thy hands I command my spirit." In either case he is alike speaking, not as the Son of Mary, but as the Son of God. We are not to forget that the last words we have reason to believe he ever addressed to Mary, were, "Woman, behold thy son;" that son being the beloved disciple and evangelist John. It does not seem to be offering any very great violence to these words to think that they virtually imply an additional injunction which the Speaker deemed it impossible for Mary to overlook—"Woman, regard me no longer as thy Son, nor address me as such, but as thy Saviour and Redeemer."

Mary then, though still the Mother of Jesus, and bearing that most honourable name in Holy Writ, even after our Lord's ascension, was no longer to regard him as her Son, over whom she still retained maternal claims, and a measure of maternal influence. On the contrary, standing on the same spiritual ground (with the exception of official position and authority) as her adopted son, the Apostle and Evangelist John, like him, she was to look upon Jesus as both her Saviour and her Lord, the divine and adorable object of her humble faith and obedient love. Thenceforth, she was to know and feel that to him she was what his other disciples were; and like them, "being justified by faith, she had peace with God through her and our Lord Jesus Christ." St. Paul's ground of exultation and triumph was to be hers,—"God forbid that I should glory save in the

cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom (and whereby) the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.” Every instructed Christian believer distinctly apprehends that Mary’s ground of spiritual communion with God as her heavenly Father, and her high privilege, as a member of the heaven-born family, of addressing the supplicating cry of “Abba, Father,” to the throne of grace above, rested not on the fact, glorious as is that fact, of her having been made the highly-favoured Mother of the Incarnate Word, but upon the all-important truth that she was one of those of whom it is written, “as many as received Jesus Christ, to them gave he power to become the sons (and daughters) of God, even to THEM THAT BELIEVE ON HIS NAME; which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.”

In the company of apostles and elders, especially of the former, Mary would not presume upon having been highly favoured of heaven in being made the Mother of the Lord by the overshadowing power of the Holy Ghost, whatever glow of adoring gratitude might animate her heart at every renewed remembrance of that singular favour and honour. It was her place, not to rule, teach, and instruct, but to obey (according to sound and godly church discipline), and be instructed by, those to whom the risen Lord had said, “Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;” and upon whom the Holy Spirit had especially descended at the season of Pentecost. If she had nursed the infancy, and watched over the childhood of Jesus, and had been intimately associated with him in the early years of his manhood, until he had reached the age of thirty, while he was walking before men in humble guise as “the carpenter,” the reputed son of Joseph and Mary, that intimacy had comparatively ceased during the most eventful and illustrious period of his life, from the hour of his baptism to that of his crucifixion, when he was especially living and acting as the Son of God. The very fact that Jesus generally stood aloof from his mother, and that he certainly did not share his thoughts and plans with her during the three years of that marvellous and divine ministry, for the faithful and effectual discharge of which he was miraculously conceived in the womb of a virgin of the house of David, and born into this world of sin and trouble,—this very fact, we say, should render it impossible for us to receive the legendary myth which would make the glorified Son of God in heaven, when on his Father’s throne and at his Father’s right hand, so thoroughly reverse the spirit and character of his last injunction on the cross, as afterwards to take up into heaven, enthrone near himself (though on a lower

throne, for even superstition herself durst not venture on the manifest impiety of exalting her to sit by the side of the Son of God on the eternal Father's throne), permit to control his will with a mother's prevailing power and influence, as though he had returned into a second childhood, her whose maternal interposition he had not merely discouraged, but also firmly disallowed, during his ministry on earth, when labouring among men as the divinely-commissioned Son of the heavenly Father. Jesus lived as a tender and dutiful Son with Mary at Nazareth, not ashamed of the honest calling with which he was connected, nor unwilling to be called "the carpenter" and "the carpenter's son," so long as it was the will of God that this state of things should continue, the language of his heart being ever, "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight." But such quiet and self-renouncing obedience to the divine will marks the highest form of decision of character, and is utterly incompatible with that human weakness which is implied in the legend of which we are speaking. But when Jesus at his baptism was set apart for his high ministry, as the beloved Son in whom the Father was well pleased, then former things and relations passed away, and all became new. Even the Mother of Jesus herself was called on, in common with her fallen fellow-descendants of Abraham, to look unto and believe in the Son of God for eternal life.

Nay, had that happened which we know did not happen,—had Mary been (what we know she was not), one of those "who accompanied as a confidential disciple with her Son, all the time that he went in and out among the people, beginning from the baptism of John to the same day that he was taken into heaven,"—had she reclined (and we know well that she was not so privileged) by her Son's side at the last supper, and then been summoned by him to watch near him in his mental agony in Gethsemane; had she there (instead of being at the time with friends in Jerusalem, unconscious of the mysterious scene of sorrow in the garden), kept sleepless and prayerful watch during his awful spiritual conflict, and, when the crucified and dying thief addressed his petition to Jesus, had Mary been standing by the cross, and earnestly pleaded with her Son (as we well know she did not), to grant the penitent malefactor's prayer, even then (without our having recourse to the very nature and character of the mediation of Christ, the one Mediator between God and man, which absolutely and peremptorily forbid all acceptance of the legendary notion of Mary's enthronement and intercession for sinners in heaven), the decisive language of the Lord's farewell injunction on the cross would have swept away every

foundation for the fable that the ascended and glorified Jesus has exalted Mary in the marvellous manner and degree in which superstitious ignorance and superstitious craft (for superstition is crafty as well as ignorant), would fain persuade us that she has been exalted, enthroned, and honoured by him.

It is considered one of the most useful and trustworthy methods of studying the Word of God, to compare with a passage whose meaning we are seeking to ascertain, other portions of Holy Writ which appear fairly to bear upon it. Again, then, we would press upon the inquirer, as an important truth, that it is in the light of the two scriptural passages already quoted at length (and of the narrative of what occurred at the temple, when the child Jesus was only twelve years of age, and afterwards at the marriage feast at Cana) in which Jesus himself reveals to us his unchangeable sentiments on the subject of Mary's maternal claim to his filial deference after his baptism, and still more after his resurrection and ascension, that we are to interpret the dying injunction which he delivered from the cross to his mother and the beloved disciple. Let our minds only feel assured (as they may beyond all question) of Mary's deep Christian integrity and piety, and the inference is easy, pleasing, and certain. We shall, indeed, find it very difficult to resist the healthful scriptural conviction, that after the Lord's ascension, while dwelling under the roof of the adopted son, to whose tender and filial care she had been solemnly and authoritatively transferred by Jesus in his character of Son of God and her dying Lord, whosoever—at evening, or morning, noon-day, or midnight—Mary of Nazareth approached in spirit that heavenly throne of grace, whereon is seated at the ETERNAL FATHER's right hand the GLORIFIED SON, whose humanity had been miraculously conceived in her womb by the power of the Holy Ghost, and whether she offered the spiritual sacrifices of confession, prayer, thanksgiving, and praise for herself, or of intercessory supplication in behalf of others, she would offer them, not as the mother of Jesus, who as such had a claim to be listened to in heaven with partial and special favour, but only as a justified believer in Christ Jesus—as a justified believer in his obedience unto the death of the cross—as one accepted unto life through faith in the great atoning sacrifice of the spotless Lamb of God “which taketh away the sin of the world” (Mark iii. 31; and Luke xi. 27).

We cannot, then, reasonably or scripturally doubt that after the Lord's resurrection and ascension, Mary, enjoying the blessing not only of John's unwearied filial tenderness, but also of his invaluable apostolic counsel and instruction—for the Apostle

John was not only to be her son, but also her spiritual pastor, teacher, and guide—and enlightened by the Holy Spirit who impresses the same important lesson upon the hearts of all the children of God, was made thoroughly aware that the heavenly throne of grace was open and accessible to her only as it was to others, through faith in a crucified and risen Saviour. Accordingly, she would confess and pray, thank, praise, and intercede, just on the same grounds, and with the same warrant, as Mary Magdalene and Joanna the wife of Chuza, as Martha and Mary of Bethany confessed, prayed, gave thanks, and interceded. For all these also, as well as Mary, would from time to time offer up before the throne of heavenly grace the spiritual sacrifice of intercessory prayer, whether for the prosperity and enlargement of the Church of Christ, for tried, tempted, persecuted relatives, friends, and neighbours, or for thoughtless and impenitent sinners dwelling around them.<sup>a</sup>

Mary doubtless continued to reside, during the remainder of her days, whether that remnant may have been short or long, under what may be regarded as the filial protection and the pastoral instruction and guidance of the beloved disciple, her adopted son. And, surely, the Lord's dying injunction designed to provide for her not only the temporal blessing of a comfortable home, but also the spiritual blessing of a wise and competent spiritual pastor and guide. Many a happy hour, we may well believe, of holy and thoughtful happiness they would pass together, mutually and thankfully speaking of, and exulting in, that cross which they had once, when standing side by side on Calvary, as yet ignorant of the gracious and glorious mystery of the tree of curse and shame, contemplated with amazement, dismay,

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<sup>a</sup> We are not to suppose here that Mary did not daily to her dying hour, when occupied in prayer or meditation, pour forth the grateful tribute of praise for the high favour shewn to her by the Most High, in making her the mother of the predicted and promised Messiah, and that her gratitude was more pure and humble, more reverential, deep, and fervent, after the ascension, when she more clearly understood the greatness of that favour, than it had ever been before. As well might we think that John did not frequently bless his ascended Lord, in recollection of the privilege of reclining by his side at the Last Supper; nor Peter often renew his thanksgivings, for his Master's look of inexpressible forgiveness and love, which had constrained him to weep bitterly; nor Paul for the sovereign grace which had arrested him in his headlong career near Damascus, and turned the fiery persecutor into a devoted Apostle. But each and all—Mary and the Apostles—would offer the tribute of grateful praise, as grateful receivers, not as meritorious claimants. Each and all would feel that there was an absorbing truth and fact, on which the universal Church rests, of far deeper import, and more abounding grace, than the special personal acts of favour vouchsafed to them as individuals, which St. Peter has thus described, "Ye know that ye are not redeemed with corruptible things as silver and gold . . . but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" (1 Pet. i. 18).

and horror. Indeed, the dying words of Jesus, in which it was enjoined upon his mother to look thenceforth upon John as her son (and therefore, like her adopted son, to regard Jesus as her Lord and Saviour), may seem to have had, and it is pleasant to think so, somewhat of the nature of a special and gracious promise, that so long as she lived, the watchful care of Divine Providence would preserve to her a secure home with the disciple whom Jesus loved.

As to the fact of her death, while Scripture is wholly silent on the subject, (and the deep silence of the New Testament, with one exception hereafter to be noticed, concerning the subsequent history of Mary, may not unreasonably be accepted as very favourable to the interpretation that we have here given of the dying injunction of the Son of God and Lord of the Church,) an ecclesiastical tradition, earlier than the age of the historian Eusebius, states that Mary survived the Lord's crucifixion<sup>b</sup> fifteen years. Whether this number be correct or 'not, the very existence of such a primitive tradition teaches us that the Christian Church entertained no doubt whatever, that the mother of Jesus, like the Apostles of the Lord, closed her earthly career in that death which, as the Scripture assure us, "entered into the world by sin, and so death passed upon all men for that all have sinned." And no one will hesitate to concede the self-evident inference from this primitive tradition, that the Church believed that, in the case of Mary also, burial and bodily decomposition followed death. Yes, when the appointed hour was come, and the cold hand of the last enemy fell on the mother of Jesus, her disembodied spirit joined the waiting and happy spirits of the just in the paradise of God, where dwells that of the penitent malefactor, whom Jesus on the cross, as a royal Saviour, pardoned and accepted unto eternal life. There, we may believe, the spirit of Mary still abides, sharing with her happy fellow-spirits in their sure and joyful hope of the glory to be revealed at the return of the Lord in the clouds of heaven. Her mortal remains consigned to the narrow and silent tomb by devout and affectionate mourners, whose tears were not the tears of those who sorrow without hope, instead of being raised from the grave, reunited to the soul taken up into heaven, and enthroned there,

<sup>b</sup> On opening an Oxford Bible, we find from the marginal chronology, that if this tradition be correct, Mary died sometime during the prolonged sojourn of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, when they had returned to that place from Perga and Attalia (Acts xiv. 26, 28). Up to that period, therefore, Mary could not have been an enthroned intercessor in heaven. And on this view, it was about five years after her death, that the memorable conversion of the jailor of Philippi took place, in St. Luke's graphic account of which we assuredly discover not the shadow of an allusion to this imaginary enthronement and intercession.

became the prey of the worm and corruption, and gradually mouldered into dust ; and that dust is yet to be quickened anew, and endued with undying life in the morning of the resurrection.

This essay has, perhaps, already exceeded its due limits, yet this discussion would be imperfect were we not to remark, that the view which is here taken of Christ's dying injunction prevents our being surprised at not finding the name of the mother of Jesus once mentioned in the history of the forty days which intervened between our Lord's resurrection and ascension. He appears and speaks to Mary Magdalene near what had recently been his grave, but we nowhere read that he appeared and spake to Mary of Nazareth after his resurrection. The mother of Jesus may, indeed, have very probably been one of those (Luke xxiv. 28) "who were with the eleven" when the two disciples returned to Jerusalem from Emmaus, and when Jesus himself suddenly stood in the midst of them, and said, "Peace be unto you." But if, as we cannot help thinking, she was really there, her risen Lord seems to have treated her, in accordance with his dying injunction from the cross, as the mother of the Apostle John rather than of Jesus; he does not appear to have addressed a single word to her, or to have manifested any consciousness of her presence.

But when the Lord had withdrawn from the earth to his Father's right hand in heaven, the name of Mary does occur *once* in the brief narrative of what happened during the ten days that elapsed between the ascension and the Pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit. And it is mentioned just in the quiet and unobtrusive manner in which we should expect to find it mentioned, when we interpret the Lord's dying injunction from the cross, by the light of what he said at Cana (Mark iii. 31), Capernaum, and to the woman who had listened to him with such loud expressions of wonder and admiration. We read that when the Apostles returned from Mount Olivet, immediately after their Lord's ascension, "they went up into an upper room." The eleven are then named in order, beginning with Peter and ending with Judas, the brother of James. It is then added, "These all continued in prayer and supplication with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and his brethren." Here, though Mary's honourable title is continued to her, yet she with the kindred of Jesus after the flesh, are placed last in order ; "the women," the female disciples who had faithfully ministered to him while on earth, being mentioned by the sacred historian before the mother of Jesus, an arrangement not inconsistent with his own declaration at Capernaum. One thing is certain, that in that upper room, Mary of Nazareth was neither

enthroned nor worshipped; nor was she asked by the Apostles and the women to intercede in their behalf with her ascended Son. Though really the "mother of Jesus," she would seem to occupy in the inspired history just such a position as we might expect to have been given to her, had she been only the mother of the Apostle John, that of a silent and devout hearer.

From the day of Pentecost onward, we seek in vain for any Scriptural passage calculated to overthrow the explanation given above of the dying injunction delivered from the cross. The name of Mary of Nazareth does not again occur in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and she is not once mentioned in the Epistles of St. Peter, and St. John, of St. James, and of St. Jude. And the only allusion to the mother of Jesus in all the Epistles of St. Paul, occurs in the well-known passage in that to the Galatians, "God sent forth his son *made of a woman*, made under the law," and this sentence from Holy Writ assuredly furnishes no encouragement to the perversion of our affectionate and respectful esteem and regard for the memory of the mother of Jesus, into the irrational, and gross, and anti-scriptural sin of Mariolatry. Let the young, whose feelings are warm and easily excited, seek to have the dying injunction of Jesus fixed abidingly and influentially in their memory. They will not love, adore, and trust him the less; while, thus guarded, they will be enabled to cherish more safely and profitably that reverence and affection towards the mother of Jesus, which spontaneously spring up in the hearts of those who study intelligently, and with humble faith, the evangelical history.

G.

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#### THE CHURCH HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.\*

WE lately, in a recent number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, gave a sketch of the early Church History of Scotland, consequently the present article is to be considered as supplementary to it, and a continuation embracing the modern Church history of that portion of Great Britain; the publication of *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, by Professor Innes, and Dr. Lee's *Lectures*, enabling us to give the results of the latest investiga-

\* *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, by Cosmo Innes, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. With Maps. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1860. *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, by the late Principal Lee; edited by his Son. Two Vols. Blackwood. 1860. *Vindication of the Covenanters*, by Dr. M'Crie; edited by his Son. Blackwood. 1857. *History of Scotland*, by J. H. Burton, Advocate. Two Vols. Longman. 1853.

tions. We regret exceedingly that a new edition of Dr. Jamieson's *History of the Culdees* is not one of the works causing us again to continue the sketch, as Mr. Innes' *Sketches of Early Scottish History and Social Progress*, although valuable, can never supersede this celebrated but now scarce narrative of Scotland's earliest Christian missionaries; and we also regret to find that the Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh appears to entertain a strong prejudice against the Culdees, for he is certainly otherwise qualified to be the editor of the new edition we so much desiderate.

Ure, in his *History of Rutherglen*, remarks that the churchyards in Scotland, surrounded by a circle of trees, are to be considered as very ancient. The one belonging to the village of Govan, on the river Clyde, is a fine example; the lofty elm trees encircle the churchyard, and are elevated along with it several feet above the neighbouring ground. At the south-east corner of this churchyard stands a small stone building, erected in 1854, the year in which the stone coffin was discovered that is now preserved within its walls. The sarcophagus, proved to be such by two holes in the bottom, is about six feet six inches long by one foot seven inches, and in height one foot seven inches; when found it wanted a cover, and possessed no remains of any kind. The whole of the exterior is sculptured, each side being divided into four compartments, and the ends covered with knotwork. On one side the compartments are filled, two with knotwork, one with two animals that appear to be dogs, before a warrior on horseback, and another with two animals of a similar description, one standing over the other. On the other side are sculptured, in one compartment, two fawns, knot-work, two greyhounds and two dogs, the same as those before the warrior, standing above one another, and lastly knotwork. In one of the works lately published by the Spalding Club, the reader will find two illustrations of this ancient fragment, along with those of two other remarkable stone monuments found in the same churchyard. They all appear to belong to some period before the tenth century, when the Britons were divided from the Scots and Picts by two inlets of the sea, the Firth of Forth, and the Firth of Clyde. The Britons, aided by their allies the Romans, in order to prevent the Scots and Picts from ravaging their country, built a very high and broad earthen rampart, which commenced two miles distant from the monastery of Abercurnig, now the town of Abercorn, at a place, "qui," says Bede, "sermone Pictorum Peanhafel appellatur," and in his day Penneltun, and terminated near the town of Alcluith, now Dumbarton, "juxta urbem Alcluith." Peanhafel, it may be

here remarked, is believed to be the only ascertained remnant of the ancient Pictish language, and in the opinion of Dr. Giles means wall-head; *i.e.*, "the head or beginning of the wall." The British town Alcluith was the capital of the ancient British kingdom of Strathcluyd, which was in the tenth century, according to Innes, but the shadow of a former petty kingdom; others, however, maintain that it existed as a separate power till near the close of that century, and Innes admits it then had left its name to a known district, and to a people peculiar in laws, manners, and language, but in his opinion subject to and governed by the king of the country now called Scotland; as in the tenth century "the whole country," says Innes, "all Pictland and Scotland, was now under one government;" and his first map represents a state of occupation thus described by himself: "From the time of Bede to the middle of the tenth century, two hundred years had elapsed, a long dark period indeed, but not altogether without light. In the middle space, the Scots and Picts were united under Kenneth Macalpin, and from thenceforward, by a strange process, the name of the Picts as a nation disappears from history. The change, however, was only one of dynasty and national name. The king of the British Scots acquiring, in addition and apparently by succession, the kingdom of the Picts, chose to be called king of Scots; and his kingdom, made up of the two nations, in a short time began to be called after his people by its present name of Scotland. The inhabitants do not yet appear to have suffered a change. Our eastern seaboard was still called Pictland (*Pictavia*) by the Latin chronicles. Its inhabitants still, as heretofore, pressed for enlargement against the English border, encroached at different times quite to the Tweed; and in the middle of the tenth century Indulf, the king of the whole country now called Scotland, obtained a formal cession from the Saxon monarch of the town of Edinburgh (*oppidum Eden*)."  
One thing, however, is certain; Strathcluyd was a British kingdom at the time St. Columba and his followers obtained possession of Iona from Conal, king of the Scots; Govan, consequently, belonged to it, being situated within British ground. Now the question, are we to consider the Govan coffin as belonging to one of the kings of this kingdom? ought, we think, to be answered in the affirmative. The present incumbent of the parish of Govan, the talented Dr. Leishman, in a description of this parish published in the *Statistical Account* for 1845, nine years before the stone coffin was discovered, says; "Constantine, king of Cornwall, having resigned his crown, is represented in the ancient chronicles of Scotland to have come to this country from Ireland in

the train of St. Columba in 565, and to have founded a monastery at Govan, of which he was the first abbot. It is also said that he was buried in his own monastery, after labouring to convert the inhabitants of Kintyre, at whose hands he received martyrdom.” Christianity was introduced into Strathclyde either by St. Ninian or some of his disciples, or by some of the followers of St. Columba; “Eig,” says Wilson in his *Archæology*, “Islay, Urquhart, Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth, Govan on the Clyde, and many other religious sites, are also ascribed, on more or less trustworthy authority, to the missionary zeal of St. Columba and his immediate followers; while a still earlier origin is assigned, not without some evidence, to various of the ancient Culdee houses reformed by David I., or merged by him in the magnificent monastic establishments which he founded.” Abernethy is an instance of the Culdees occupying a district where the good seed had been already sown; as we find, in the ancient Pictish chronicle, that a king of the Picts who flourished A.D. 455, erected a church at Abernethy. According to Bede, this church was made of stone, A.D. 711, by king Necton, which proves that it had been a wooden one. The existing round tower of Abernethy is all that now remains of the ancient church. “At what time,” says Wilson, “the royal foundation of Abernethy was remodelled, according to the fashion indicated by its ancient tower, is not recorded in any authority that I know of, but it may not improbably be found noted by some of the Irish annalists, from whom Dr. Petrie has already recovered so large an amount of well-authenticated history.” From the knotwork sculptured on some of the compartments, it is evident that the Govan stone coffin belongs to the early Christian period, for in the opinion of Wilson, one of our best authorities, this kind of decoration is peculiar to the native Scottish designs of that era, and he remarks that “it occurs on the sculptures, the jewellery, the manuscripts, and the decorated shrines and book-cases of the early Irish Christian art, and has been perpetuated almost to our own day on the weapons and personal ornaments of the Scottish Highlanders.”<sup>b</sup> There is, however, no representation of the cross; it may be sculptured on the cover which has not yet been found, although sought for. Dr. Leishman

<sup>b</sup> *Archæology*, p. 504. Some of the ancient sculptured standing stones existing in Scotland, and belonging to the Christian period, have representations of the elephant; “the peculiar character,” says Wilson, “of these singular representations of the elephant, is well worthy of study, from the evidence they afford of the existence of Eastern traditions at the period of their execution.” There is no necessity for this conjecture, as the traditions had doubtless their origin in Scotland itself, and not in the East; as geologists have found the remains of the elephant in Scotland, a fact noticed by Wilson himself in page 32!

measured what appears to be the cover of another stone coffin, found in the Govan churchyard, and at present the property of Mr. Smith of Jordanhill, and asserts it to be too short by a foot, and the figures do not correspond with those on the existing stone coffin, a cast of which is now placed in the museum belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. It resembles the St. Andrew's sarcophagus, a portion of which is beautifully engraved in Wilson's *Archæology* (plate 4), who is of opinion that the figures represent a hunting scene remarkable for some event; "there can be no question," says this eminent antiquarian, "that many of those sculptured monuments are designed to commemorate particular events, though they have long since proved faithless to their trust." It is undoubtedly of a later age than the Govan sarcophagus, as the sculptured figures are much more perfect, e.g., the warriors on horseback: in the St. Andrew's sarcophagus the horse is perfect, whereas in the Govan one, the head and legs, especially the former, being exceedingly rude in design, shew that the workmen belonged to a different and much earlier period; two of the dirks are also different in form, but the fawns and greyhounds are represented on both with great success. Such, then, is a brief description of what is certainly the most ancient sculptured sarcophagus yet found in Scotland belonging to the early Christian period.

This interesting relic of what may be termed the Culdee period of Scottish history, is not even mentioned by Innes (in his four pages on "sculptured monuments"), whose opinion of the Culdees, as already stated, is certainly the reverse of that given by us in a former number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*; and as we still think those early Scottish Christians propagated a much purer faith than their successors, it is right that our objections to his statements should be here briefly given. His words are:—

"Whatever may have been their original institution and discipline, the Culdees, in the time of David I., lived in a manner that must have been inconsistent with any monastic or collegiate discipline. They were generally married, which brought about the appropriation of the common property by the individual members of the house, and not less certainly led to a hereditary succession in the office of the priesthood, than which no greater mischief can befall a church and country. We are not to be surprised, then, that David, the friend of religion and civilization, endeavoured first to reform those irregular monks, and afterwards, finding them irreclaimable, everywhere superseded them by the introduction of the strict monastic orders brought from France and England. For the most part, the canons regular of St. Augustine took the place of the Culdees. They became the Chapters of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Brechin, and obtained possession of the property of many of the rural houses of

Culdees. One of David's charters concerning them is short and characteristic :—‘I give to the canons of St. Andrews the island of Loch Leven, that they may there institute their order of canons ; and the Culdees who shall be found there, if they please to live regularly, let them remain in peace under the canons ; but if any of them resist this rule, I will and command that he be turned out of the island.’”

The determination of David I. to introduce innovations into the ancient Scottish Church, and to withdraw the support of the crown from the Culdees, is in our opinion one of the few blemishes in the character of this otherwise excellent king. Had he offered his assistance and counsel to the pure form of religious worship propagated by the Culdees, a great and powerful check would have been given to the progress of the Church of Rome in the west of Europe, as the endowments and gifts so freely made by David to the support of religion could not, when appropriated by the Culdees, but greatly assist and strengthen them in their efforts against the encroachments of Rome. David acted otherwise, and by ceasing to aid the Culdees he enabled the Church of Rome to obtain supreme rule in his kingdom : Innes thinks to its benefit ; Lee the reverse, as he asserts that “in the time of David I. the dissolute morals and gross ignorance of the future monks were not foreseen to be the almost unavoidable result of a state of life in which the necessity of activity was superseded, and the exercise of devotion was reduced to mechanical rules.” If religion was “despised,” it certainly was not “degraded,” as Innes maintains, before the reign of David. If the Culdees “degraded” religion by being married, then do all the Protestant Churches in the nineteenth century degrade religion ! That marriage brought about the appropriation of the common property among the Culdees, is a mere assertion totally unsupported by historical evidence. The property of the Culdees was not common, and for a professor of history to assert the contrary without giving any authorities is certainly strange, and either shews great carelessness or a determination to support preconceived opinions by mere dogmatic statements. If, as it is by no means certain, the Culdee succeeded by hereditary right to his office, the person chosen would undoubtedly be fit for his duties according to the Culdee rule mentioned in a previous number of this Journal (p. 281) ; and with the poet Campbell we exclaim :—

“ Peace to their shades ! the pure Culdees  
Were Albyn’s earliest priests of God,  
Ere yet an island of her seas  
By foot of Saxon monk was trod.”

The celibacy of the clergy, a dogma to which it is well known the Church of Rome had great difficulty in obtaining the consent of the clergy belonging to the west of Europe, and the two other monastic vows, were, as already stated,<sup>c</sup> unknown to the Culdees; consequently had their system of church government received aid instead of censure from the sovereigns of Scotland, such dreadful scenes as those so powerfully described by Sir Walter Scott in the second canto of *Marmion* would never have been perpetrated in that kingdom, and antiquaries would never have discovered a human skeleton in the place and position of the one found among the ruins of Coldingham Abbey, when examining the fragments of Scotland's ancient ecclesiastical erections.

Although the unprejudiced reader cannot agree with Professor Innes in censuring the Culdees, yet it must give him great pleasure to read his admirable account of the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland in the thirteenth century; one of the three maps being a representation of the ecclesiastical divisions then existing, in his opinion. The monastic institutions during the time of David and his grandsons, Mr. Innes thinks, were not the abodes of vice and sloth, and he says that "we have abundant materials" proving the inhabitants of such monasteries to have been "zealous agriculturists and gardeners, at a time when we have no proof the lay lord knew anything of the soil beyond consuming its fruits. They were good neighbours and kind landlords, so that the kindly tenant of the church was considered the most favoured of agriculturists. Their charity and hospitality have been acknowledged by their enemies. Above all, they were by their profession and situation addicted to peace. Surrounded by warlike nobles, unarmed themselves, they had nothing to gain by war, and it is not easy to over-estimate the advantage to a half civilized country, of a great and influential class, determined supporters of peace and order." And he also asserts, "We may be satisfied then, that the monastery was fit for its time. It kept alive the flickering light of literature. It gathered together and protected the spirits too delicate for a rough season. It reared up a barrier against oppression, and taught the strong to respect the meek and gentle. The monastery was the sphere of mind, when all around was material and gross." His description of the rural population in the neighbourhood and under the charge of the abbeys is exceedingly interesting, the facts being taken from an extant rental of the great abbey of Kelso and other historical documents. The

grange was a spacious farm-steading, the superintendent being a monk or lay brother of the abbey : beside it was the mill and hamlet "occupied by the cotters, sometimes from thirty to forty families in number. The situation of these was far above the class now known by that name. Under the monks of Kelso, each cotter occupied from one to nine acres of land, along with his cottage. Their rents varied from one to six shillings yearly, with services not exceeding nine days' labour." Not far from the cotter-town stood the farm-steadings of another class of the rural population,—the *husbandi* or husbandmen : "Each of these held of the abbey a definite quantity of land called a husband-land : each tenant of a husbandland kept two oxen, and six united their oxen to work the common plough. The Scotch plough of the thirteenth century was a ponderous machine, drawn, when the team was complete, by twelve oxen." Below the cotters and husbandmen were the *carl*, *bond*, *serf*, or *vilein*, "who was transferred like the land on which he laboured, and who might be caught and brought back if he attempted to escape like a stray ox or sheep. Their legal name of *natus* or *neyf*, which I have not found," continues the Professor, "but in Britain, seems to point to their origin in the native race, the original possessors of the soil. Earl Walder, of Dunbar, in a deed of four lines, made over a whole tribe to the Abbot of Kelso :—'I give and confirm to the abbot and monks of Kelso, Halden, and his brother William, and all their children and all their descendants.' Another later benefactor of the abbey, after conveying lands in Gordun, by a boundary so plain, that it must be still easily traced at the distance of five centuries, throws into the bargain two crofts, occupied by Adam of the Hog, and William son of Lethe, 'and Adam of the Hog himself, my native, with all his following,' with pasture in the mains for forty beasts, with all their followers of one year, etc. ; and then he warrants to the abbey, 'the said lands, meadows, men, and pastures.' " The abbeys frequently purchased in order to emancipate. They also possessed agricultural carriages, which were "used not only for harvest and for carriage of peats from the moss, but for carrying the wool of the monastery to the sea port, and bringing in exchange salt, coals, and sea-borne commodities. The abbey of Kelso had a road for wagons to Berwick on the one hand, and across the moorland to its cell of Lesmahagow in Clydesdale. A right of way was frequently bargained for and even purchased at a considerable price." One of our most eminent geologists, Dr. Anderson, asserts in his *Course of Creation*, that "the use of coal in Scotland seems to be connected with the rise of the monasteries,—institutions

which were admirably suited to the times, the conservators of learning and pioneers of art and industry all over Europe, and in whose most rigorous exactions evidences can always be traced of a judicious and enlightened concern for the general improvement of the country. Under the *regime* of monastic rule at Dunfermline, coals were worked in the year 1291; at Dysart and other places along the coast about half a century later; and generally in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the inhabitants were assessed in coals to the churches and chapels, which, after the Reformation, have still continued to be paid in many parishes.” It may be remarked that the charter here alluded to, granted by the lord of Pettincreiff, gives the earliest notice of coal works in Scotland; the monks were “to dig for coal wherever they choose, except arable land, but only for their own use, and not for sale.”

The villages belonging to the great monasteries and cathedrals were made what are termed churchmen’s burghs, of which Glasgow became the most powerful; it is now the third city in the United Kingdom, Liverpool being the second. “The charter,” says Mr. Innes, “of King William, which gave to the bishop the privilege of having a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday, was granted between the years 1175 and 1178. We smile at the present day to think of the oppression which the bishop’s burgh or barony long suffered from the royal burgh of Rutherglen. Even after 1450, when the bishop had obtained a jurisdiction of regality, and Glasgow rose a step in the scale, it had to maintain a struggle against the king’s burghs of Renfrew and Dumbarton, which sought to monopolize the trade of the river, as Rutherglen did to circumscribe the city to landward. Though represented in Parliament so early as 1576, and emancipated at the Reformation from subjection to the bishop, who formerly controlled the election of its magistrates, the city did not become legally a royal burgh till the charter of Charles I., confirmed in Parliament 1636.” In his remarks on early tenures, “distinguished from modern conveyancing by nothing so much as their brevity,” Mr. Innes forgets to mention that those given by the Church prove beyond a doubt the desire and determination on its part to make those under them as contented and happy as possible. From the statements in a crown charter or warrant, viewed with other circumstances, Mr. Hill is of opinion that we possess evidence disproving “an assertion often made, that one cause of the Reformation having such staunch supporters among the heritors round Glasgow, was their having previously been mere tenants or ordinary leaseholders of the land, and that the dread of a return of the catholic

clergy inflamed their reforming zeal, lest the perpetual feudal rights they had obtained from the crown should be endangered."<sup>4</sup> They were fully as comfortable and secure, if not more so, under the old bishops as under either the crown or the protestant feu-farmer. The charter above mentioned "sets forth," says Hill, "of course the statutes annexing church lands to the crown, and that the barony or regality of Glasgow had been then disposed to the lord feu-farmer, or commendator Blantyre, and that his lordship at the desire of his majesty had again feued out various parts of it to the different heritors who are designed as being the *natives*, 'ex antiqua nativi pauperes tenentes et rentallarii' of the barony, but of which barony the charter expressly states, that 'for times past memory of man the rental had always been estimated and reputed as equally sufficient to the said rentallers for their lands therein contained, as if the lands had been disposed to them in feu,' i. e., in perpetuity; and yet that his lordship at his majesty's desire, 'ex nostris specialibus mandato et desiderio,' had taken these poor natives bound, not only for certain augmentations of their annual duties, but also had over and above got from them their obligations to pay certain large sums or fines for their feu-farm entries, or feudal charters; and 'therefore we,' says his Majesty, and certainly with some reason, 'for the great respect which we have and bear to the poor people, and being unwilling to remove them from their farms and possessions, and after resignation made by the commendator, have confirmed all their rights, and granted them new infestments in their several lands.'"<sup>5</sup> Hucheson's papers shew "the sort of title these poor natives or rentallers had before they were obliged to be at the expense of seisin and crown charters." The charter acknowledges that they possessed "perfectly absolute heritable rights, with power of sale and transmission to heirs and otherwise at pleasure. They were," continues Hill, "equal to the best English copyholds, called copyholds of inheritance. I should rather say they were better than these, for there was this difference, that in this extensive church barony there were no heriots, or what at one time were known in other parts of Scotland as herezelds; i. e., the right to the overlord of taking the best moveable on the ground at the death of its owner. These heriots or herezelds, not only in Glasgow and in all the rentalled lands, but throughout the diocese, were, however, amply compensated

<sup>4</sup> *Huchesoniana; giving the story of Partick Castle, and an account of the founders of Hucheson's Hospital, their parentage, family, and times.* By Laurence Hill, Esq., LL.B. 1855. Printed for private circulation.

by every bishop's right to a share called a quot or quota of the whole moveables of all deceasing parties whatever within the whole episcopal jurisdiction. Of course these were quite independent of any stipulated or accustomed composition or fine, or the acknowledgment which, on entering or recording his name as the new proprietor in the superior's rental or chartulary, every landowner in Scotland, when completing his title, is bound to pay to some immediate overlord or another. There was this further not unimportant difference between the rentaller and the copyholder even of inheritance, that while the English copyholder only got copies or extracts of the court-roll under the hand of the steward of the lords of the manor, yet at Glasgow, the principal rentall or leasehold right, written on a small slip of parchment, subscribed by the manorial lord or archbishop himself, was delivered to the proprietor or rentaller, and the copy entered into the rent-roll kept in the archives of the archbishopric." In a word, the titles under which the great extent of churchland near Glasgow was held, are proved to have been very simple and exceedingly short. Hill gives facsimiles of two, which he considers interesting from their extreme brevity compared to the deeds of modern conveyancers; and he also states, that what was termed the custom of St. Mungo, "gave the widow of every deceased proprietor the life-rent of her husband's whole lands within the manor or ecclesiastical barony, but only so long as she remained his widow. It is said by Chalmers in his *Caledonia*, that the Court of Session gave effect to this custom in 1633; but I have not seen the precise authority he refers to for its having been questioned and sustained at so late a date. There can be no doubt, however, of the great mildness and liberality of the tenures of the land within the whole of St. Mungo's halidom. But our John Huchesons were certainly not John Hampdens, otherwise one cannot help thinking they might under such rights as these have withstood the tyranny that dispossessed so many of them of their fields under the threat of removal if they did not feudalize or enfranchise their titles." And Hill also asserts that "those rental rights of churchlands were as absolute and good as the feudal charters by subject superiors, perhaps better, as these last were exposed to the risk of the overlord's forfeiture."

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\* Hill has the following remarks regarding the bishop's castle in Partick, alluded to in the July number of the *J. S. L.* for 1859 (p. 291):—"At the confluence of the river Kelvin with the Clyde near Glasgow, there stood till within these few years an ancient and interesting landmark, set down in early maps as a castellated dwelling-house, and which popular traditions had inveterately pointed out as the bishop's castle. The indefatigable Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*

We could have liked also if Mr. Innes, as well as Dr. Lee, had described more fully the friaries and hospitals existing in Scotland before the Reformation. In the little churchyard of the parish of Inchinnan are still seen the tombstones of knight-templars who had here a house, which was afterwards of knights of St. John of Jerusalem or knight-hospitallers. "There are four narrow-ridge stones, each having the form of a warrior's brand in relief sculptured upon one side of it. There are also a number of flat stones somewhat in size and form of a coffin, each with a cross upon it, but varying in the style of execution. The majority of these interesting fragments of the past are still in a tolerable state of preservation. They are lying exposed in the churchyard, however, and consequently are liable to be trampled on and injured."<sup>f</sup> Dr. Lee, in his excellent account of the Church of Rome before the Reformation, has given a general view of the various offices, revenues, and establishments both of the regular and secular clergy. He remarks, that in the twelfth century the possessions of the Church began to be called benefices, because they originated chiefly from the beneficence of the devout, who consecrated part of their substance to the service of religion: benefices were regular and secular; the former belonged to the monastic orders, and the latter to the bishops and the churchmen under their inspection. Each of these kinds of livings consisted of a *temporality* and a *spirituality*.

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(vol. iii., p. 629), states that Archbishop Spottiswoode, who greatly repaired our cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace, 'also built in 1611 a castle at Partick,' to serve as a country-seat for the archbishops, as one of his castles was destroyed at the time of the Reformation; and again, the same author, in speaking of the religious or churchmen's houses, mentions Partick Castle as built by the bishops "on an elevated site on the west bank of the Kelvin, nearly three miles westward of the cathedral church of Glasgow;" and he notices this place as used by the bishops as a rural habitation. "The ruins of this castle," he adds, "are called the bishop's castle. I became aware from some private personal papers of the founder's, that this house known as the bishop's castle, and which was certainly built in the year mentioned by Chalmers, was the work not of Bishop Spottiswoode, but built as a dwelling-house for himself by George Hutcheson." Hill gives in the appendix the contract and specification for building this said house, entitled, "Contract betwixt me and ye masoun in Kylwinning anent the bigeing of the house of Partick;" and adds in a note, that while Partick Castle remained, a drawing of which is given in *Huchesoniana*, a proof-print of the contract just mentioned was given to Mr. James Smith, of Jordanhill, who "immediately examined, measured, and compared every part of the remains; and assuming of course little or no difference, as was the case, between the unique Huchesonian lineal standard and our own, he made so complete a verification of the measurements as sufficed, to use a modern expression, to take the building completely off the contractor's hands." It is, however, maintained that the last Roman Catholic bishop took the books to his house in Partick, the exact situation of which is not now known, and that the relics were left in the old Partick Mill.

<sup>f</sup> Macdonald's *Rambles round Glasgow*, p. 277.

*rituality*; the temporality included the lands and other civil rights, superiorities, and jurisdictions; and the spirituality included the tithes, churches, and churchyards, glebes, and manses, which according to the canonists pertained to the church *jure divino*. In Scotland, the regular clergy were the Augustinians, Benedictines, Carmelites, or Whitefriars, Franciscans, or Greyfriars, and the Carthusians. The Benedictines were subdivided into the monks of Mairmountier, Cluni, Tyron, and Cistercians or Bernardines. "Their principal monasteries," says Dr. Lee, "were Coldingham and Dunfermline, Kelso, Kilwinning, Arbroath, and Lindoris, Paisley, Crossraguel and Icolmkill, Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, and Culross." Mr. Innes asserts that the present remains of ecclesiastical buildings on the island of Iona are those of Cluniac monks; and Dunfermline Abbey is considered by him to be a copy of Durham Cathedral; the reverse being Wilson's opinion, who says, "In so far as greater plainness and massive simplicity afford any ground for assigning priority of date, the argument is in favour of the greater antiquity of Dunfermline Abbey, which must have been far advanced, if not finished according to the original design, before the foundation of the Cathedral at Durham was laid in 1093, as the death of both of the royal founders took place before the close of the year; and they were buried there before the rood altar."<sup>g</sup> The Augustinians could perform the duties of parish ministers, thus differing from the other orders of the regular clergy. They possessed twenty-eight monasteries in Scotland; for example, Scone, Inchcolm, St. Andrew's, Holyrood House, Abernethy, Cambuskenneth, and St. Mary's Isle. The monastery of St. Andrew's, one of the most wealthy in the kingdom, was a priory independent of an abbot, and its prior,

<sup>g</sup> *Archaeology*, p. 608. Wilson also remarks that perhaps the fact of King Malcolm and his wife Margaret being interred before the rood altar, "may be thought to afford presumptive evidence that the abbey choir was then incomplete. This, however," continues Wilson, "is by no means probable, as the choir was always the part of the church first built. But it was no doubt with a view to receive into a structure worthy of so sacred a depository the relics of the sainted queen that the choir was remodelled according to the prevailing first pointed style of the thirteenth century. We possess a curious proof that even the reconstruction of the choir was effected, not by demolishing and rebuilding the whole, but merely by remodelling the original masonry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,—a process of common occurrence with nearly all the large cathedral and abbey churches; for by a bull of Pope Innocent IV., dated Sept. 15th, in the seventh year of his pontificate, 1250, he dispenses with the reconsecration of the abbey, because the walls of the former church for the most part still remained. No doubt the nave also underwent some modifications, of which it now bears evidence, but all its essential features can be assigned to no other period than that of the original foundation." This nave is considered to be the oldest specimen of the Romanesque or Norman style existing in Scotland.

by an act of James I., had precedence of all other abbots and priors. This king also gave permission to the Carthusians to possess an establishment at Perth,—the only one they ever erected in Scotland; where, according to Dr. Lee, the number of abbeys and monasteries considerably exceeded a hundred. “The nunneries were less numerous; there were above twenty, some of which contained many inmates. It is impossible,” continues the Principal, “now to obtain an exact computation of the numbers, both male and female, who devoted themselves to a monastic life, but they must have amounted to several thousands.” The monasteries possessed a great number of churches; Paisley had twenty-eight; Arbroath, thirty-two; and Kelso, thirty-six; the cure was generally served by vicars.

The number of dioceses in the thirteenth century, according to Mr. Innes, was twelve; at the end of the fourteenth century, and commencement of the fifteenth, the number according to Dr. Lee was thirteen, the bishopric of Edinburgh, which existed only for a brief period, having been added. The primate of all Scotland was the Archbishop of St. Andrew's. In the short but valuable notes on the maps which we hope Mr. Innes will extend in a future edition, the twelve dioceses are briefly described; they were as follows: the diocese of St. Andrew's having two archdeaconries, St. Andrew's and Lothian; the former had five rural deaneries, Fife, Fothrif, Gowrie, Angus, Mearns, the latter three, Lothian, Linlithgow, and Merse. The diocese of Dunkeld, divided into the four rural deaneries of Atholl, Angus, Fife, and the country south of the Firth. The diocese of Aberdeen having three rural deaneries, Mar, Buchan, and Garvianich, two more were added afterwards, viz., Aberdeen and Boyne. The diocese of Moray possessed four rural deaneries, Elgin, Inverness, Strathspey, and Strathbolgy. The diocese of Brechin was of limited extent, and “had no subordinate divisions for rural deans.” The diocese of Dunblane, sometimes called the bishoprick of Stratherne. The diocese of Ross. The diocese of Caithness. The diocese of Glasgow having two archdeaconries, viz., Glasgow proper and Teviotdale; the former had the five rural deaneries of Rutherglen, Lennox, Lanark, Kyle, and Carric; the latter, the four deaneries of Teviotdale, Peebles, Nithsdale, and Annandale. The diocese of Galloway had three deaneries, viz., Desnes, Farnes, and Kinnes. The diocese of Argyll, sometimes termed Lismore, possessed the four deaneries of Kintyre, Glassary, Lorn, and Morven. The diocese of the Isles or Sodor. Dr. Lee maintains that during the thirteenth century, the authority of the head of the church to which the twelve dioceses just described belonged, was more disregarded in Scotland than in

any other European country. Two of its sovereigns, William the Lion and Alexander II., were excommunicated by the Pope, and it was not until 1473 that he dared to dispose of the Scottish benefices, and not before receiving the request of the king, who obtained his "confirmation of an abbot of Dumfermline, nominated by himself in opposition to one chosen by the brethren of the monastery ; and after this period, any laymen possessed of wealth might, without ceremony, purchase from his sovereign a rich benefice, or even an abbacy or priory." Considering the times in which he wrote, "the popish Bishop Leslie," continues Dr. Lee, who confirms his assertions by a long extract, "deserves no small credit for the ingenuousness with which he admits these facts, so dishonourable to the Church no less than to the king, and for the indignant terms in which he denounces them." Some of the Scottish bishops are considered by Dr. Lee to have been men of undoubted talent, vigour, and integrity ; and he remarks, that "if bishops, like Kennedy and Turnbull, had been more numerous in Europe, the history of the Church of Rome would not exhibit so many gloomy pages, and the rise of the Reformation would not be contemplated with such lively interest." The wealth which the celebrated Bishop of St. Andrew's amassed during a prelacy of twenty-six years was, according to Dr. Lee, "expended in the encouragement of arts and commerce, and in laying the foundation for the future advancement of science. He has been justly celebrated as a prudent counsellor, an exemplary ruler of the Church, a regular visitor of all parishes within his diocese, a charitable friend of the poor, a steady promoter of peace and union, and a munificent patron of education."

Immense sums were bequeathed in Scotland for the celebration of masses in cathedrals, chapels, and altarages ; in St. Andrew's alone, "the chaplainries and altarages derived great revenues from the rents mortified out of almost every dwelling-house and every field in the neighbourhood. There were separate chaplains to every altar, and sometimes a single altar had a great number of chaplains." Dr. Lee gives a list of twenty-four altars, exclusive of those belonging to the cathedral or priory. The celebrated Walter Chepman, who along with Andrew Millar, printed the Aberdeen Breviary,<sup>4</sup> being a burgess of Edinburgh, founded and endowed by a charter dated 1st August, 1513, an altar in the south transept or "holy blood aisle" of St. Giles' Church, the cathedral of the see of Edinburgh, "in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and all saints."

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<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, p. 292.

Next in rank to the cathedrals were the *piapositurae*, or Collegiate Churches ; thirty-three being the number in Scotland. The Chapel Royal of Stirling was the most wealthy, the celebrated Roslin the most beautiful, and Bothwell still existing with its stone roof, probably the most ancient of these churches. The Collegiate Church of Bothwell was founded by the Earl of Douglas in 1398 ; Wilson gives, in his *Archæology*, an illustration of the beautiful segmental arched doorway belonging to the chantry chapel. Roslin was founded by the Earl of Caithness in 1466. Among the endless variety of the sculptured details observed in this splendid collegiate church, " notwithstanding the many descriptions and drawings which have been made of the chapel, it is little known," says Wilson, " that there exist the remarkable series of mediæval religious allegories, the seven acts of mercy, the seven deadly sins, and the dance of death ; the latter including at least twenty different groups and scenes, as strange a story as was ever told in stone." All the collegiate churches had schools ; consequently Dr. Lee well remarks, " that the people of Scotland have for a long period been unduly reluctant to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which they owe to the men who were first instrumental in imparting, even to the lowest ranks of the population, the advantages of education." The most celebrated of the church sanctuaries were the churches of Wedale, Lesmahago, Inverlethan, and Tyningham. By the canon law, girth or sanctuary belonged to all churches, but sometimes "the avenger of red hand" could not be resisted, hence "the king's peace" was granted to some particular church ; this made such churches celebrated and better able to resist the avenger. Lesmahago was one of them, for according to Mr. Innes, " David in 1144, granted it as a cell to Kelso, giving girth in these terms : ' whoso, for escaping peril of life or limb, flees to the said cell, or comes within the four crosses that stand around it ; of reverence to God and St. Machutus, I grant him my firm peace.' " And he remarks, that "to incur the censure and vengeance of the church was sufficiently formidable, but to break 'the king's peace,' brought with it something of more definite punishment. It was not the mere mysterious divinity that doth hedge a king ; 'the king's peace' was a privilege which attached to the sovereign's court and castle, but which he could confer on other places and persons, and which at once raised greatly the penalty of misdeeds committed in regard to them. By our most ancient law, the penalty of raising the hand to strike within the king's girth was four cows to the king, and one to him whom the offender would have struck ; and for slaying a man 'in the peace of our lord the king,' the forfeit

was nine score cows to the king, besides the assythment or composition to the kin of him slain, ‘after the assise of the land.’ In granting the same privilege to Inverlethan, Malcolm IV. ordains, ‘that the said church in which my son’s body rested the first night after his decease shall have a right of sanctuary in all its territory, as fully as Wedale or Tyningham; and that none dare to violate its peace and ‘mine,’ on pain of forfeiture of life and limb.’ Of the sanctuary of Tyningham, thus mentioned as of almost equal celebrity with Wedale, we have but little further information. The Scottish law of sanctuary or girth was early ascertained with much precision, and carefully guarded from the danger of encouraging crime by affording an easy immunity to fugitives.”

Dr. Lee gives a brief but excellent account of the system of patronage which apparently cemented and upheld the fabric of the Romish Church; and his third lecture contains by far the best general view of the provincial councils that we have read; his chief authorities being Lord Hailes’ *Annals*, and Dr. Wilkin’s *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*. In Dr. Lee’s opinion, the transactions of the Scottish councils contain an authoritative exposition of the system of church discipline established in Scotland before the Reformation; they also prove the correctness of his assertion, that the Reformers “continued for a long period to give indulgence to many abuses of no slight enormity, of which they could not afterwards get rid so easily.” Lord Hailes and Sir Walter Scott were among the first to maintain the fallacy of the common opinion, thus stated by Dr. Beattie, “if any practice was in use among the Papists, this was enough to make the Reformers reject it, and it was almost enough to recommend any practice to them that was contrary to the usages of their adversaries.” Even in our own day, one of the eighty-four canons, the sixty-fifth, is fully enforced in the parish churches of Scotland; we allude to proclamation of marriage: “No persons,” says the canon, “are to be joined in marriage till after having three times solemnly and publicly proclaimed in church.” Probably, however, the most convincing proof of the erroneousness of the common opinion is the manner in which the Sabbath was observed shortly after the Reformation. At so late a period as 1574, “the practice of performing comedies,” says Dr. Lee, “on the Sabbath had not been altogether discontinued, and it was occasionally allowed to proceed under the countenance and approbation of some of those church-courts that might have been expected to be the most rigid in refusing to allow any encroachment on the sanctity of the Lord’s day. On the 21st of July, 1574, this minute is inserted in the record of the Kirk

session of St. Andrew's : 'The said day, anent the supplication given by Mr. Patrick Auchinlek, for procuring licence to play the comedy, mentioned in St. Luke's Evangel of the Forlorn Son (the Prodigal Son), upon Sunday, the 1st day of August next to come, the seat (that is, the session) has desired; first, the play to be revised by my Lord Rector Minister (the minister of the parish), Mr. John Rutherford, Provost of St. Salvator's College, and Mr. James Wilkie, Principal of St. Leonard's College, and if they find no fault therewith, the same to be played upon the said Sunday, the 1st of August, so that playing thereof be no occasion to withdraw the people from hearing of the preaching at the hour appointed, as well afternoon as before noon.'"

The canons made by the provincial councils that assembled at Perth in 1242 and 1269, "continued in force as long as Popery was the national creed;" and an able abstract of them is given by Dr. Lee. The first declares, three centuries before the Reformation, the right of having a yearly general assembly, "to treat concerning such matters as regard the interest of the church, and to consider what shall be necessary for its reformation, and for the security of its liberties." The tenth shews that the minimum maintenance out of the rents of the churches for the vicars, was higher than the salaries given in England about the same period. At present, says Dr. Wylie, in his *Gospel Ministry*, "Scotland, though without the rich ecclesiastical revenues of England, has a ministry better supported on the whole; perhaps in no country in the world is the average of ministerial income higher than in Scotland." The fifty-fifth gives permission, in cases of necessity, to the people to baptize their own children, and commands that "women are to be earnestly admonished to be careful in nursing their children, to avoid the danger of overlaying them in the night, and on no account to leave them alone in a house where there is a fire, or alone exposed to the risk of falling into the water. This caution was to be repeated every Lord's day." The reader will, we doubt not, agree with Dr. Lee in maintaining that "it was a humane and prudent injunction, and much more worthy of a place in the book of canons than the greater part of the formalities which were required to be so scrupulously observed." The sixty-sixth describes one of the many methods adopted by the Church of Rome to obtain money for the building of the great cathedrals: "In the visitation of the sick, the priest is particularly to remind them, that if they have any bequests to make they ought, according to their abilities, particularly to bear in mind the fabric of the cathedral church, from which all the

parish churches derive the privilege of dispensing the means of salvation." In 1549, the signs of the coming tempest caused the advocates of the old system of ecclesiastical government to adopt measures for its preservation. They assembled a provincial council, which commenced in Linlithgow, and afterwards adjourned to Edinburgh. "The members were the archbishop John Hamilton, six bishops, two vicars-general, ten abbots and priors, three commendators, twenty-seven friars, and several doctors and licentiates in divinity." This council made fifty-seven regulations or canons for the prevention of, first, "the corruption of morals and profane licentiousness of life which pervaded all the orders of churchmen; and second, their gross ignorance of useful learning and all the liberal arts." These two causes being, in the opinion of the members, the originators of the heresy so much dreaded. The council recommended to the prelates and other clergy, "rather to wear woollen cloth of a becoming colour than dresses made of silk." "It is somewhat curious," says Dr. Lee, "that a few years after the Reformation, the general assembly ordained that ministers should on no account wear silks, velvets, fringes, or any embroideries, or ornaments, or showy colours; and the same prohibition extended to their wives. This law was revived in the time of the covenanters, who were probably not aware that the council over which the popish Archbishop Hamilton presided, had given a strong recommendation to the same effect. It certainly was not by such statutes that the ruins of the church could be repaired." The canons made by the above-mentioned council were renewed with additions in 1551, by the ecclesiastics again assembled together in Edinburgh; and in the same city, the year after the Reformers and Protestant nobility had organized the celebrated association, known in history by the name of the Lords of the Congregation, the last of the Scottish provincial councils met in the March of 1558, and continued to deliberate until April 1559. With great imprudence and total want of tact, the council scornfully rejected the preliminary articles of the Reformation offered to them by the congregation. It also issued thirty-three canons, giving we admit some concessions, but at the same time renewing with obstinate insolence "the laws of former councils, even restating many of the most obnoxious of the tenets which were regarded by the Reformers as the capital errors of the Church of Rome." Even the concessions were granted on account of a remonstrance consisting of thirty-three articles drawn up and presented by individuals favourable to, and in full communion with, the Church of Rome; and it made, in Dr. M'Crie's opinion, the council issue a small treatise, called in derision *The Twapenny*

*Faith*, erroneously considered by some to be the same as the catechism approved by the council of 1551, and ordered by it to be printed.<sup>1</sup> This catechism is commonly called Archbishop Hamilton's, because printed at his expense and having his name on the title page and colophon; but Dr. Lee thinks with Hales and M'Crie, that there is no evidence to prove the primate of all Scotland to have been the author. The last mentioned historian gives the best and most interesting account of this celebrated book, in his life of Knox, taken from the catechism itself, compared with the canon of the council which authorized its use. It was printed in the vulgar language, and written, Dr. M'Crie asserts, with great care, and in a style by no means bad. It must be considered as the first catechism published in Scotland; the date is 1552, ten years after a committee of the Estates of Parliament had passed a law authorizing the reading of the English Version of the Scriptures, and twenty-seven years before the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland was published. The council, according to Dr. M'Crie, ordered that it should be sent to all rectors, vicars, and curates, who were enjoined to read a portion of it, instead of a sermon, to their parishioners, on every Sunday and holy day, when no person qualified for preaching was present. This historian is inclined to believe that the talented John Winram or Wynram, sub-prior of the abbey of St. Andrew, and afterwards superintendent of Fife, was the author of the catechism; he was the author, according Dr. Lee, of a catechism, "of which no copy is now known to exist;" and in his opinion, the one published at the expense of the primate, was probably the joint labour of some of the provincial councils. The principal gives long extracts from Hamilton's now very scarce catechism, and compares it with the original Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church of Scotland. His criticism of the said catechism is by far too severe, and appears to have originated in a determination to call in question the undoubted efforts made by the primate to promote religious and secular education throughout Scotland. Surely one who had been a professor of divinity and church history in the college enlarged and completed by the archbishop, ought not to have tried to prove that his object in making the endowments was selfish, and intended only to promote "zealous defenders of the Roman hierarchy." Facts, however, contradict such assertions, for as Dr. Lee himself admits, St. Mary's College "was the school from which proceeded the greatest number of persons who were recommended to the first general assembly of the Reformed

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Knox*, p. 348.

Church, as being apt and able for ministering and teaching." The reader is referred to the April number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, for a brief description of the death of this archbishop.

After the council of 1559 had concluded its acts, and the members still in Edinburgh were preparing to return to their dioceses, a person arrived at the monastery of the Greyfriars on the morning of the 3rd of May, and informed those of the council there assembled that John Knox had landed at Leith, and was known to have slept during the night in Edinburgh. The council was immediately dismissed, not, however, until a messenger had been sent with the unexpected intelligence to the Queen-Regent, then residing in Glasgow; and without more delay the Reformer was proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel. With a dishonourable perfidy sufficient to justify the strong argument against female rule in Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet*, the Queen-Regent deluded the lords of the congregation, and finally declared the other reformers to be outlaws; and prohibited all persons, "under the pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them." The bold and resolute Knox was propagating the glad tidings in Perth, when Erskine of Dun arrived with this disgraceful proclamation. The result,—the demolition of cathedrals and monasteries, and the treaty with England, is well described by the historians Robertson and M'Crie. On the 19th of June, 1560, the lords of the congregation assembled in the cathedral of Edinburgh, the collegiate church of St. Giles, and returned "solemn thanks to God for the restoration of peace, and the success which had crowned their exertions;" and on the 1st of August the Parliament or Estates of the kingdom began to deliberate on the great question that had originated the late civil war; while the capital was crowded with persons of all ranks from different parts of Scotland. The Primate and the Bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld took their seats among the lords. In answer to a petition, the Parliament requested those who had signed it to present a summary of the Articles of Belief, so earnestly desired by them to be acknowledged and confirmed by the State. On the 17th twenty-five Articles, forming a Confession of Faith, were read to the assembled Estates, article by article, and after the note the Confession was ratified, and seven years afterwards recorded in the acts of the Scottish Parliament. Dr. Lee, in his fifth lecture, gives an exposition of the articles, and remarks that the Confession "corresponds in its general features with the Confessions which had previously been published by the other churches of the Reformation." The sixteenth article is

certainly illiberal, and one that would not have received the sanction of Zwingli, although it might obtain the approval of Calvin; it is thus stated by the Principal:—"Without the church there is neither life nor eternal felicity, and therefore we utterly abhor the blasphemy of those that affirm that men that live according to equity and justice shall be saved, what religion soever they have professed." After approving of the Confession, the Parliament, on the 24th, made the severe statute enacting the punishment, in the first instance of confiscation, in the second of banishment, and in the third of death, on all those who assisted or were present at the celebration of mass. When this celebrated Parliament had finished transacting business, a commission was appointed consisting of six individuals, who were authorized to prepare a form of discipline or government for the now Reformed Church of Scotland. The *First Book of Discipline* is the name given to this document, the contents of which are described and clearly stated by Dr. Lee in three of his lectures. In it is mentioned with approval, and as being "sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how both the sacraments may be rightly administered," the Liturgy then used by the Protestants in Scotland, and known by different titles; *e. g.*, Order of Geneva, Book of Common Order, and Knox's Liturgy.<sup>k</sup> Dr. Lee briefly describes its contents, and remarks that Knox probably had no share in the composition; and gives excellent reasons for agreeing with Dr. M'Crie, in maintaining that the Book of Common Order was the Order of Geneva, and not, as asserted by some, the Common Prayer-book of the Church of England. We must admit, however, that in 1557 the lords of the congregation required and commanded the *Buik of Comon Prayeris* to be read in every parish on Sabbaths and festival days. Both Dr. Cook and Dr. M'Crie consider this book to have been the Liturgy of Edward VI.,

<sup>k</sup> Dr. Cumming, of the Scotch Church, London, published in 1840 an edition of this book, with the title, *The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland*. He has left out the Confession of Faith, the Order of electing ministers, elders, and deacons, and the Order for interpretation of the Scriptures. The title for this excellent little work ought to have been "A Collection of Documents formerly used by the Reformed Church of Scotland." Many of the suggestions made in Dr. Cumming's admirable Preface are now adopted, with the sanction of the General Assembly, by some of the most talented of the clergy; one of whom used a Prayer-book, agreeing with Dr. Cumming in maintaining that "the Scotch Church never objected to a written Liturgy in her public worship, provided there was room left in the service for extemporaneous prayer; those therefore of that Church who now-a-days raise an outcry against all Liturgies, know not well what they say, nor whereof they affirm;" the General Assembly of 1849, however, decreed, after one of the most able debates on record, that the said clergyman could no longer use in public worship a Prayer-book of any kind.

and Dr. Lee remarks that “it might be used sometimes in families at the beginning of the Reformation, and possibly in congregations not provided with any other books of the kind.” In one of the excellent notes to his *Life of Knox*, Dr. M’Crie proves “that although the Scripture lessons and the prayers in the English Liturgy were at first used by some of the Scottish Protestants, yet they never received the book as a whole; that the Order of Geneva was introduced among them before the establishment of the Reformation; and that it became the universal form of worship as soon as a sufficient number of copies of it could be procured.” Yet we cannot but consider Dr. Cumming perfectly justified in requesting the members of the Church of Scotland to remember the undoubted assistance given to the Reformation in that country during one period of its history, at least, by the circulation of the Liturgy of the Church of England; his words are:—“Let us not forget that the use of the Common Prayer-book of the Church of England by the Scottish reformed clergy at the period of the Reformation, was eminently useful in advancing our ecclesiastical and national freedom, our knowledge of the subject-matter, and of the most suitable vehicles of prayer.”<sup>1</sup> The Reformers, in their *First Book of Discipline* demanded that school attendance ought to be made compulsory, and a schoolmaster able to teach grammar and Latin appointed in every parish,—before 1560 more than one thousand in number. From Dr. Lee’s “notices of parochial schools in the Church records of the sixteenth and seventeenth century,” printed in the appendix, it would appear that both before and during the Reformation, parochial schools were established in Scotland; consequently Lord Macaulay is undoubtedly wrong in asserting in his *History of England* that the Scottish national system of education originated only at the period of the revolution of 1688. The act of 1696 merely “ratifies and approves all former laws, customs, etc., for establishing and maintaining schools within the kingdom.” If a schoolmaster could not be obtained, the clergy of the parish were themselves to teach the children the rudiments and the catechism, now, it would appear, added to the Book of Common Order. The catechism was a translation of one composed by Calvin. The portion which treats of ecclesiastical discipline, may, Dr. Lee thinks, with great probability be ascribed to the pen of Knox; and he justly remarks that in practice the Reformed Church “began its career by falling into errors on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline, much more serious than any to be found in the book of policy;

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Liturgy.

it would have been well if churchmen in this country had always acted on the principle of abiding stedfastly by their spiritual function, without incessantly imploring, as they did the civil magistrate, to assist, maintain, and fortify the discipline of the Church, by the imposition of such civil pains and penalties as fine and imprisonment, banishment, infamy, and even death. Every living soul," continues the Principal, "within the realm must either conform to the same profession, and practise the same worship and submit to the same discipline, or undergo the vengeance of the law. If the ancient claims, which were actually sustained, were now to be reduced to practice, religious liberty would be at an end. A gentleman would not be allowed to educate his child unless the Church approved of the choice of the pedagogue. A stripling or a girl of the examinable age, must either communicate in the parish church, or else pay a fine according to the rank of the party. In the year 1600, and again in 1641, the Church prevailed on the State to impose fines on all non-communicants of the age of fifteen years complete. The fines on people of condition were very heavy, and every servant contravening the Act was liable to pay one year's fee, *toties quoties*. These were powers actually granted to presbyteries who had a right to crave, receive, and pursue for the penalties." The form and order of excommunication and public repentance was not given in the document, the offences only being enumerated; consequently an order was drawn up by Knox, and commanded to be printed by the General Assembly of 1568. The reader will find it in Dr. Cumming's edition of *Knox's Liturgy*; from this copy we take the following list of the offences:—"Wilful murderers, adulterers, lawfully convicted sorcerers, witches, conjurors, charmers, and givers of drinks to destroy children; and open blasphemers, as if any renounce God, deny the truth and the authority of his holy Word, railing against his blessed sacraments; such, we say, ought to be excommunicated from the society of Christ's Church, that their impiety may be holden in greater horror, and that they may be the more deeply wounded, perceiving themselves abhorred of the godly." Luther, Fuller, and Flavel<sup>\*</sup> also believed in the existence of witches; and a schoolmaster lately informed the writer, that he remembered reading in the records of a Kirk Session, "No meeting of Session to-day, the minister being absent at the trial of a witch." In the appendix No. 2, Dr. Lee gives a negative answer to the question, Did the penal laws

<sup>\*</sup> *Flaveliana; or, Selections from the works of John Flavel*, p. 20. Edinburgh, 1860.

against witchcraft originate in Scotland? and he remarks, "We believe that the merit of repealing the statutes against witchcraft (1736), belongs chiefly to Lord Chancellor Talbot; the measure was not carried without some opposition from a factious Scotch member of the House of Commons, Lord Grange, whose library was well stocked with books of *dæmonology*, and whose personal history proved that he would not have scrupled much at the atrocity of bringing his own wife to the stake." But we ought not to forget that the clergy themselves did not spare their own order; for instance, the trial and excommunication of Paul Methven; although we do not think Dr. M'Crie justified in stating that this case of discipline "effectually shut the mouths of their popish adversaries," because according to the Act of Parliament passed at the suggestion of the Reformers, adultery was punished with the death of both parties, and it is well known the Assembly of 1564 informed Methven "that he might safely return to Scotland, notwithstanding the law lately proclaimed against adulterers." Methven was only able to perform a part of his portion of the form of repentance. "The process," says Dr. Lee, "was altogether very humiliating, and it shews that the traces of popish opinion and practice were not altogether worn out among the reformed." In the same book of discipline we find that the ceremony of marriage was never to be performed in private, but in the parish church on the Sunday forenoon. Dr. Lee thinks that in the fifth chapter, which describes "the provision for the ministers, and the distribution of the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the Church," the Reformers did not ask more than their due, in fact less. It contains a common-sense view of the matter, *e.g.*, the following extract:—"And this in God's presence we witnessse, we require not so much for ourselves, or for any that appertaine to us, as that we do it for the increase of vertue and learning, and for the profite of the posterity to come. It is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himselfe and his childrene so to God and to his Kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we beare is provoked to follow vertue when it seeth profite and honour thereto annexed; and contrarily, then is vertue in many despised, when vertuous and godly men are without honour; and sorry would we be that poverty should discourage men from studie and following of the way of vertue, by which they might edifie the Kirk and flock of Christ Jesus." The eighth chapter also contains an excellent statement of the rents and patrimony of the Church, "insisting," says Dr. Lee, "on the just appropriation of the funds of the Church to the support of the

ministers, the schools, and the poor ; it asserts that some gentlemen were become as cruel over their tenants as ever the papists had been, demanding payment of what had formerly been rendered to the Church ; and it solemnly requires them to live upon their own just rents, and to suffer the Church to be restored her liberty.” The sad history of Luther’s wife will convince the reader that such demands were just and proper, and we cannot here refrain from noticing how differently the inhabitants of Germany and Scotland acted after the death of Luther and Knox. The former allowed Catherine de Bora to beg for her food, and at last to die a pauper’s death ; the latter, through their General Assembly in 1573, assigned to Margaret Stewart “and her thrie daughters,” the stipend of her husband “for the year approachand and following his deceis, of the year of God 1573.” Even in the nineteenth century all that could be collected in Germany for the descendants of Luther was fifty thalers ! Bullinger and the senate of Zurich made the last days of Anna Reinhard, Zwingli’s wife, happy and free from anxiety ; Sir Andrew Ker, of Fadounside, when the stipend ceased, made Knox’s widow Lady Ker. The book of discipline was subscribed by members of the Privy Council on the 17th of January, 1560-61, on the understanding that “the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who else have adjoined themselves to us, brook the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes.” The Estates, however, would not allow any of its enactments to become the law of the land, consequently the Reformers had great difficulty in obtaining State assistance. “The rapacity of the more powerful laymen,” says Dr. Lee, “seized the property which ought to have been consecrated to the service of religion ; and the ministers were doomed to endure all the discouragements of poverty, and the bitterness of hope deferred, while they were wasting their strength in their laborious exertions to confer the most essential benefits on their country and on the human race.” And the historian Robertson remarks that “the Protestant clergy found it a more easy matter to kindle zeal than to extinguish avarice ; the very men whom they had formerly swayed with absolute authority, were deaf to all their remonstrances when they applied for a moderate provision.” The editor has printed in the appendix some excellent remarks on the provision for the ministry after the Reformation, from one of the Principal’s unfinished MSS. It is there stated that, “in comparison with most other places, Edinburgh was honourably distinguished for more than twenty years after the Reformation, as having given rather a liberal support to the ministers out of the funds which

were at their disposal for that special purpose." The 400 merks given to Knox when in Edinburgh, Dr. Lee considers by no means inadequate at the time of the Reformation, and this he proves by shewing how far £44 8s. 10½d., English money, or £266 13s. 4d. Scots, the true value in 1565 of 400 merks, would "go in purchasing the necessaries of life," and by describing the proportion "it bore to the incomes of men of other professions." And he asserts that "from the Register of Ministers' Stipends preserved in the Register House, and printed in 1830, it appears that the stipend of 400 merks enjoyed by Knox was greatly beyond that of any minister out of Edinburgh; the minister of the West Kirk had 200 merks, the minister of Glasgow 240 merks, the minister of Stirling 300 merks, the minister of Haddington 180 merks, the minister of Dundee 200 merks, the minister of Dalkeith 180 merks, the minister of Kelso 200 merks, the minister of Aberdeen 300 merks, the minister of Elgin 150 merks, the minister of Cupar 120 merks, the minister of St. Andrew's 300 merks, the minister of Perth 300 merks. These last are the highest except Edinburgh, but the most part do not amount to one-half that sum, not a few being 40 merks or less. Dumfries had a stipend of 60 merks; Soutra and Fala 45 merks; Ruglen, 60 merks; Ancrum, 60 merks." Although the General Assembly of 1561 approved of the first Book of Discipline, after abridging some portions of it, yet some of the enactments were found in practice to be wrong, and totally unsuited to promote the establishment of true religion; for instance, the enactment causing marriages to be performed on Sunday, was found to occasion great irregularities on that sacred day; and Dr. Lee gives extracts from Kirk Session Records shewing that the celebration of marriages on the Sabbath was the cause of many complaints. No wonder, then, that the General Assembly of 1579 annulled the enactment of the Book of Discipline by the following decree:—"Bands beand thrie severall Sondayis lawfullie proclaimit, the marriage may be any day of the oulk (week) solemnizat, swa that a sufficient number of witness be present."

One of the proceedings or decrees of the first General Assembly which met on the 20th of December, 1560, proves that the "rascal multitude," as Knox called the mob of his day, cannot be considered the only church destroyer in Scotland, for, says Dr. Lee, "the Kirk of Restalrig, near Edinburgh, was ordered to be razed as a monument of idolatry, and the parishioners were required to repair to the Church of Leith." And it is recorded that the tolbooth of Musselburgh was built with stones belonging to the chapel of Loretto. From the abstract

printed in Keith's *History*, it appears that most of the proceedings of this Assembly referred to civil regulations, e.g., the Estates and Privy Council were supplicated to allow none to be "lords of session, sheriffs, stewards, bailiffs, or other judges ordinary, but those who professed the reformed religion." This petition was granted in 1567 by the ninth Act of the first of James VI., those holding offices heritable or in life-rent being excepted. Dr. Lee gives a brief history of the individuals recommended for the ministry by the Assembly. In the month of May, 1561, the Assembly again met in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and its deliberations, in the opinion of Dr. Lee, "must be considered as throwing important light upon the state of the Church and the country, and as illustrating some of the principles of the Reformers." The most important of the enactments was a supplication to the Privy Council and Estates, beseeching them to consider Seven Articles which the promoters of the Reformation desired to be declared law. They were bold and stern men who inserted in such a petition the following sentence:—"Let these enemies of God assure themselves that if your honours put not order into them, that we shall shortly take such order that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debtors to them." The first Article asks "that the sayers, maintainers, and hearers of the mass, should be punished according to the Act of Parliament," and the last, "that punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home, or execute, within this realm, the Pope's Bulls." The result of the supplication is thus narrated by Knox in his *History*:—"Upon the which request and articles, the lords and council foresaid made an Act and ordinance answering to every one of the foresaid articles, and commanded letters to be answered thereupon, which divers of the ministers raised, as in the books of secret council is yet to be found."<sup>1</sup> The enforcing of this Act gives another instance, shewing that the Estates and Privy Council, as well as the rascal multitude and General Assembly, aided and assisted one another in destroying ecclesiastical erections, for Knox says:—"And the lords of secret council made an Act that all places and monuments of idolatry should be destroyed; and for that purpose were directed to the west the Earl of Arran, having joined with him the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, together with the Protestants of the west, who burnt Paisley, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, who was abbot thereof

<sup>1</sup> M'Gavin's excellent edition of Knox's *History* (Glasgow, 1831), is the one quoted from in the text.

(Hamilton the Primate), narrowly escaped ; cast down Failford, Kilwinning, and a part of Corsraguell ; the Lord James was appointed to the north, where he made such reformation as nothing contented the Earl of Huntly, and yet seemed he to approve all things." Shortly after the meeting of the General Assembly, Queen Mary arrived at Leith from France, sooner than was expected, on the morning of the 19th of August. "The very face of the heavens," says Knox, "the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought unto this country with her,—to wit, sorrow, darkness, dolour, and all impiety ; for in the memory of man that day of the year was never seen a more dolourous face of the heavens than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue. For besides the surface water and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts ; the sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after." The arrival of the celebrated Five Marys was certainly an event long remembered by the adherents of the Reformed Church. In December the General Assembly met, and received the first intimation of the displeasure of the Court, as many of the nobility now maintained that they never acknowledged the Book of Discipline which the members of the Privy Council had signed, and declined attending the Assembly because the Queen had not granted them permission to be present. In an interview with Maitland, Secretary of State, Knox exclaimed,—"If the liberty of the Kirk stood or should stand upon the Queen's allowance or disallowance, we are assured, not only to lack assemblies, but also to lack the liberty of the public preaching of the evangel;" and in the May of 1562 he boldly called in question the propriety of the Court festivities, seeing that the Protestants were then suffering persecution from the Queen's uncles in France. On the 19th of May, 1563, when the Estates were about to assemble, the Court allowed Hamilton the late Primate, and some others, to be tried for disobeying the Act passed in 1560, as the Protestants now sternly informed the Queen "that she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obedience." They were, says Knox in his *History*, "committed to ward, some to one place and some to another ; the Lady Erskine, a meet morsel for the devil's mouth (!), got the bishop for her part : all this was done of a most deep craft, to abuse the simplicity of the Protestants, that they should not press the Queen with any other thing concerning matters of religion." The fact that they were all set at liberty when the Parliament adjourned, shews how the Queen and her advisers dissembled. This meeting of the Estates declined, although

requested by the Reformers, to ratify the celebrated Act of 1560. The adherents of the Church of Rome now determined to take advantage of this foolish desire on the part of the nobility to please the Court, and boldly celebrated mass in the palace of Holyrood during the absence of the Queen. As was to be expected, a riot was the consequence; and Knox was immediately accused of high treason for sympathizing with some of the imprisoned Protestants. His trial and acquittal is fully described by Knox himself and other historians. The General Assembly which met on Christmas-day was attended by Maitland, Buchanan's *Chamæleon*,<sup>o</sup> and many of the nobility. This Assembly decreed that Knox had only obeyed its instructions during the late riot.

The December General Assembly of 1564 requested the Privy Council to present to the Queen Seven Articles, demanding the fulfilment of former promises, and asking punishment of such "hes steikit the doores of the Paroch Kirks, and will not oppin the samein to preachers that presentit themselves to have preachit the Word," and requiring the manses and glebes, whether let in feu or not, to be given to the Protestant clergy. This Assembly also decreed that every minister, exhorter, and reader, must possess and use a copy of the Book of Common Order, already mentioned. In 1566 the Reformers at last obtained the legal title which they had so long desired to possess. The royal grant, given by the Queen in the month when James V. was baptized, assigned the thirds of benefices to the Reformed clergy. "The provisions," says Dr. Lee, "allotted to them extended to 10,000 pounds money, and 400 chalders, or 6400 bolls of grain; a very moderate allowance for the whole of this National Church, as must be admitted by those who consider that the revenue of the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrew's alone included a much larger quantity of grain, and nearly a fourth of the money which was thought sufficient for the numerous body of the Protestant ministers, exhorters, and readers." The December Assembly of this year did not adjourn before giving Knox, then leaving for England, a letter to the Protestant Church of that country as by law established, respectfully and yet firmly asking toleration to be given to the Dissenters known by the name Puritans. The members also sent to the Privy Council a petition, protesting against the late commission given by the Court to Hamilton, restoring him to his former diocese, thus ignoring the existence of the Act of 1560. The transactions of the June Assembly, 1567, were un-

<sup>o</sup> See *J. S. L.* for April, art. "George Buchanan."

doubtedly more important than any hitherto recorded. The celebrated George Buchanan was the moderator; and the number of the nobility present shewed that the Church of Rome could now only rank a very small portion of the Scottish aristocracy among its adherents. After due consideration the Assembly unanimously agreed to enrol among its decrees, getting at the same time seventy-six of the aristocracy to sign, Eight Articles, the most important of which were; (1) The ratification of the Act passed in the August of 1560, by the first meeting of the Estates; (2) State assistance to the Protestant clergy; (3) The punishment of those found guilty of the murder of the late king (Darnley); (4) The Prince (James VI.) to be committed "to the care of four wise and godly men, that by a good education he might be fitted for that high calling he was to execute one day;" (5) "The nobles, barons, and others," to assemble, "and take arms, if need require," in support of "the true worship of God, his government, the Church, and all that may concern the purity of religion and life;" (6) "That all princes and kings hereafter in this realm, before their coronation, shall take oath to maintain the true religion now professed in the Church of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it."<sup>2</sup> Soon after this meeting of the General Assembly the Queen abdicated in favour of her son, the Earl of Murray being made Regent. The Estates met on the 15th of December, and by passing several Acts, granted all the demands of the Protestant clergy. Murray, "the good Regent," at the request of the General Assembly, 1568, deprived the principal, sub-principal, and regents of the Aberdeen University "of all instruction of youth within the realm, and of all honours, dignities, and functions within the said college," because they declined to submit to the jurisdiction and discipline of the Reformed Church, thus disobeying the Acts passed at the last meeting of the Estates. From this instance of determination on the part of the State to enforce the Acts made in favour of the Protestants, Church historians must date the final and complete establishment of the Reformation in Scotland.

After the sudden death of the Regent Murray, the avarice of the most powerful of the nobility soon caused the clergy and their friends great annoyance. The short reign of the *Tulchan Bishops* is briefly described by Dr. Lee, who rightly asserts that they had little power and little honour, as "their conduct was vigilantly marked, and several of them were accused for neglect of duty; the Bishop of Dunkeld even suffered deposition for

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<sup>2</sup> Knox's *History of the Reformation*, book v.

dilapidation of benefices." Some of the said bishoprics were granted to laymen, *e.g.*, the diocese of Ross was given to Lord Methven. No wonder, therefore, that the General Assembly of July, 1580, unanimously decreed that the office of a bishop no longer existed in the Church of Scotland, and commanded those who then filled the Sees "to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo* to the ministerial office, under the pain of excommunication after due admonition."<sup>7</sup> During this year, according to the Edinburgh *Council Record*, as quoted by Dr. Lee, the magistrates and town council of the city issued a proclamation commanding all the householders to have Bibles, "under the pains contained in the Act of Parliament, and advertizing them that the Bibles are to be sauld in the merchant buith of Andrew Williamson, on the north side of this burgh, besyde the Meill Mercat." And again we find it recorded that in the same year the said magistrates "ordanis the haill ny'bo" of this burgh to be callit in before the bailies be their quarters for not keeping of the said Act, to be adjudgeit in the unlaw therein content, and for eschewing of all fraud, ordanis sic as sall bring their bybills and psalm buiks to hafe their names written and subscrivit be the clerk, and thereafter the buiks deliverit to them." The Act here referred to we have already described in this Journal (for 1859, p. 295), and also stated that in the previous year, 1579, the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland appeared. The editor has inserted in the thirteenth lecture an excellent account of this celebrated Bible, supplied in an abridged form, from the Principal's *Memorial for the Bible Societies*, to which he refers the reader for full information on early Scottish editions of the Holy Scriptures, as well as for a number of incidental notices relating to the history of Scottish literature during the period embraced in the lectures. As the editor, however, states in the Preface that the *Memorial* is privately printed, we have been unable, although desirous, to refer to it. The *Bassandyne Bible* is also described by Dr. M'Crie in one of his excellent notes to the *Life of Melville*.

Although the Tulchan Bishops obeyed the decree of the General Assembly, yet, as was to be expected, the dissensions encouraged the few adherents of the Church of Rome to exert themselves in obtaining more favour and influence among the inhabitants. In order to stop such proceedings Craig, the celebrated colleague to Knox, composed and prepared a document, known in history by the title *National Covenant*, which the

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<sup>7</sup> M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, p. 54.

King and the Privy Council signed, and the General Assembly approved. Throughout Scotland it was signed by all ranks, and also "by all corporate bodies, and by all masters and students of Universities." There is nothing in the Negative Confession, as Dr. Lee calls this document, the greater portion of which is given in one of the lectures, condemning "the Episcopalian distinctions of bishops, presbyters, and deacons." It appears to be nothing more or less than a strong protest against the authority, ecclesiastical and civil, of the Church of Rome, and a declaration of loyalty; *e.g.*:—"And because we perceve that the quyetness and stabilitie of our religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the Kingis Majestie, as upon ane comfortable instrument of Godis mercie, granted to this country for the meintaining of his Kirk and ministracion of justice amongst us, we protest and promise solemnetlie with our heartis, under the same aith, handwreit, and paines, that we sall defend his personne and authortie with our geare, bodies, and lyves, in the defence of Christis evangell, libertie of our country, ministracion of justice, and punishment of iniquity, againis all enemies within this realme or without." The General Assembly which approved of this covenant, or as it is also sometimes called *King's Confession*, met in the April of 1581. Another important document likewise received the unanimous consent of this Assembly; the *Second Book of Discipline*, as it is generally called, was registered among its decrees, "that it might," says Dr. Lee, "remain engrossed among the Acts, *ad perpetuam memoriam*, and that copies might be taken by every presbytery." In the fourteenth lecture the Principal gives a brief description of the contents of the book, which must be considered as the result of the studies and researches of the celebrated Andrew Melville. The October meeting of the Assembly was remarkable for a bold and spirited reply to a message from the Court, asking the question, "If the Church condemn the office of bishops, whereto is annexed a temporal jurisdiction and the right of voting in Parliament, and assisting in his majesty's councils, how will the Church supply the loss of this estate?" "For voting in Parliament," replied the clergy, "and assisting in council, commissioners from the General Assembly should supply the place of bishops; and for exercising civil or criminal jurisdiction the heritable bailies should act." And in the April Assembly of 1582, Melville being moderator, the decree passed in 1580 was enforced by the excommunication of the minister of Stirling for accepting a Tulchan bishopric from one of the Court favourites, who in consequence obtained an order from the Privy Council declaring the said excommuni-

cation null and void, and commanding the imprisonment of those who refused to pay episcopal rents. The University of Glasgow was also ordered to be closed, in consequence of the members obeying the decree of the Assembly. To hinder and, if possible, prevent students from attending the classes in an institution thus celebrated for its resistance to despotic power, the University of Edinburgh was founded. "On the fourteenth of April, 1582," says Dr. Lee, in his brief but most interesting notice of the origin of the University of Edinburgh, "James granted the charter of erection, constituting the Lord Provost, magistrates, and council of the burgh of Edinburgh, with the advice of the ministers, electors of all the professors, with the power of removal as well as of appointment, and prohibiting all persons not admitted by the patrons from professing or teaching any of the sciences within the liberties of the burgh." In his opinion, however, the real founder and benefactor was not King James, but "a most learned and amiable prelate of the communion of the Church of Rome, who died in the year 1558. This was Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, and for ten years President of the Court of Session, whose literary taste was equalled only by his political sagacity and princely munificence. Both while he was Abbot of Kinloss, and after his elevation to the See of Orkney, his contributions to the advancement of letters had been so liberal, as to excite the admiration of the most eminent of his contemporaries; and his testamentary bequest of 8000 merks for founding a college in Edinburgh, might at that period have been sufficient for providing very ample buildings. As Bishop Reid confided the administration of this endowment to the magistrates and council of the city, who in general openly espoused the cause of the lords of the congregation, it has been inferred that the bishop himself was not unfriendly to the change in the profession of religion. But whatever might be the fact in this respect, it is certain that little diligence was exercised in securing the amount of the intended benefaction, 8000 pounds Scots; for twenty years afterwards, when the sum should have more than doubled, according to the high rate of interest in those days, the patrons consented in 1580 to accept one half, or 4000 pounds Scots, and this also appears to have been greatly misapplied." The erection of this university appears to have given great satisfaction to the inhabitants, for as its late Principal has remarked, "in reality, almost all the most valuable grants which were made to the college during the first fifty or sixty years of its existence, were spontaneously conferred by persons in very humble condition, and scarcely any were ever obtained from persons of rank."

At this period of Scottish history the truth and wisdom of the words of the preacher were fully confirmed:—"Woe to thee, O land, where thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning." The court of the young king swarmed with parasites, and the clergy were prevented from informing him that there existed little, if any, authority to execute the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the realm, which were openly disobeyed by two of his most highly favoured nobles. The conspiracy called the Raid of Ruthven, and the banishment of the most talented men in the kingdom, were some of the results of such anarchy. The good effects, however, of the Reformation soon curbed and restrained the evil passions and desires of the nobility, then probably the most uncivilized in Europe. The meeting of the Estates in 1587, enabled the commissioners appointed by the General Assembly, to protest against the voting of the Tulchan bishops, as they had no authority from the Kirk, and no ecclesiastical charge. Among the acts generally considered favourable to the Protestant ecclesiastical establishment, passed during this parliament, we find the act annexing the temporalities of benefices to the crown; but in Dr. Lee's opinion, "the only persons who derived advantage from it were such temporal peers as received gifts of the temporalities; the king had expected an accession of revenue from this source, and the ministers were privately given to understand, that it would also rebound to their benefit, as they might be assured of being put in possession of the tithes; but the hopes of the king and the church were equally frustrated; this act was repealed about nineteen years afterwards, when James thought fit to restore the estate of bishops to their ancient honours and privileges." The intolent act was also passed, declaring "that any professed Papist or seminary priest, found more than a month after the act was published, should incur the pain of death and forfeiture." The first instance of the enforcing of this Act occurred in 1615.<sup>r</sup> The Act appears to have been caused by the imprudent proceedings of the adherents of the Church of Rome, in behalf of which the celebrated Spanish Armada approached the shores of Great Britain, the year after it was passed. The sad fate of this great fleet was in Scotland first intimated to Melville's nephew,

"The person was John Ogilvie, and the place where he suffered was Glasgow. The charge was high treason, and declining the king's authority, alleging the supremacy of the Pope, hearing and saying mass, etc. Several individuals having given him nourishment and protection, suffered for so doing perpetual banishment, not, however, until they had been condemned to be hanged." This extract is from *The Struggle for Religious Toleration* in Macphail's *Edin. Eccles. Journal* for 1854, p. 105, by the writer of the present article,

when minister of Anstruther, a town on the south-east coast of Fife; the interview between him and the Spanish admiral is well described by Dr. M'Crie in the fifth chapter of his *Life of Melville*. Four years after this event the Estates passed the celebrated Act "for abolishing of the Actis contrair the Trew Religioun," dated June 15th, 1592. In the sixteenth lecture Dr. Lee copies it at length from Stevenson's *Collection of Laws in favour of the Reformation*; and he considers it "the constitutional charter of the Presbyterian Church government in Scotland," and remarks, that "now for the first time were the liberties and the powers of an ecclesiastical establishment, constructed on the principles of the Books of Discipline, fully recognized; now for the first time did the people feel that an offence against the discipline of the Church was a violation of the laws of the country. One of the advantages thus secured is especially worthy of notice. The established teachers of religion in a great kingdom admitted into all their judicative as well as legislative assemblies, an intermixture of members chosen from among the people, who had thus the same power as themselves, both in making and executing laws. That such a provision should have been legalized was, in the existing state of the country, of incalculable importance. No regulation could have been better devised for securing the confidence, and maintaining the submission of those of whom they had the charge." The ecclesiastical history of Scotland fully confirms the assertions made in the following extract:—"Till the year 1596, the prosperity and influence of the Church continued undiminished. To this period all true Presbyterians look back as the era of the greatest purity which this National Church ever attained. It is a period of only four years; and whoever wishes to study the true genius of the Presbyterian system of discipline, ought to attend particularly to this interval of its ascendancy, from 1592 to 1596." The Principal commences the lecture which describes the events of this last-mentioned year, by bestowing a well-merited and eloquent eulogy on his great opponent, the late Dr. Chalmers, in the debates which ended in the secession of 400 of the clergy from the Church of Scotland. The year 1596 is considered by some historians, Hallam being the most talented of their number, as remarkable for a display of intermeddling with public affairs on the part of the Scottish clergy. In his *Constitutional History* he asserts that they had no immunity from the civil power, "which," he says, "they pretended to claim as a privilege beyond the restraint of law." This is taking for granted the thing to be proved. When and where did they claim the said immunities? Melville, Hallam maintains, claimed

them in 1584, and Black in 1596; and as they were supported by the General Assembly, the clergy collectively must also be considered guilty. The demands of the "bold demagogues," as Hallam calls Melville and Black, were not what he represents them to be; they were, as Dr. Lee proves, nothing more or less than a simple declaration of their rights as ministers of the Church by law established. The king and his court wished to take away such rights, or as Hallam terms them, "immunities;" the clergy resisted, and, in our opinion, acted as became inhabitants of a civilized country. The insulting comparison which this eminent historian makes, in the following extract, is totally at variance with the facts as narrated by the Principal in his lectures:—"Precedents for such an immunity it would not have been difficult to find; but they must have been sought in the archives of the enemy. It was rather early for the new republic to emulate the despotism she had overthrown. Such, however, is the uniformity with which the same passions operate on bodies of men in similar circumstances; and so greedily do those whose birth has placed them far beneath the possession of power, intoxicate themselves with its unaccustomed enjoyments." To give an affirmative answer, as is here done, to the question, Doth birth give power? is nothing more or less than justifying despotism, and the negative answer would have been expected from an historian who maintains that all power is derived from the law which is above the king.<sup>1</sup> Black, says Dr. Lee, "has been spoken of disrespectfully by late authors; but his congregation and their descendants cherished his memory with the utmost fondness, as that of a man whose prudence was as remarkable as his piety."

When James the Sixth of Scotland became James the First of England in 1603, the clergy were not allowed to have their General Assemblies annually as declared by the Act of 1592. As ecclesiastical laws could not be enforced without a General Assembly, and seeing the same Act gave permission to the ministers, "be themselves to nominate and appoyn time and place quhair the nixt General Assemblie of the Kirk sal be keiped and holden, as they have bene in use to do thir times by-past," the celebrated General Assembly of July, 1605, met at Aberdeen without the sanction of the king; his com-

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<sup>1</sup> The desire and determination to represent in the most unfavourable view the proceedings of the clergy, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, in all the historical works of Hallam, cannot be denied; e.g., his "aversion to Luther," as Archdeacon Hare well defines the severe criticism on the works of the great reformer, in the first volume of his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, fourth chapter.

missioner, however, presented a letter from the privy council, addressed "to the brethren of the ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen." When informed of the meeting, the king ordered the members to be immediately tried for treason; the result is thus briefly stated by Dr. Lee: "Fourteen ministers, the most learned and most eminent in the country, were imprisoned, some in the castle of Dumbarton, others in Blackness, others in Doune, and three or four in Stirling. Six of them were tried before the Court of Justiciary; they were found guilty of high treason—a crime which exposed them to capital punishment in the most horrible form, but the Government durst not risk the odium of carrying it into execution, and the sentence was commuted into banishment for life." John Welch, who married one of Margaret Stewart's "thrie daughters," being among the six, was allowed to return from France to London in 1622. Andrew Melville was also numbered among the banished clergy in 1611, after having been a prisoner in the Tower of London for four years; he, along with his nephew and six other clergymen, were commanded to leave Scotland in 1606, and detained in London, as it is remarked in the eighteenth lecture, "under false pretences, till episcopacy was established in Scotland." Three years after this was done, the tribunals termed the High Commission Courts were established: "the one," says the Principal in the nineteenth lecture, "at St. Andrew's and the other at Glasgow, both invested with power to suspend and depose ministers, and to excommunicate the impenitent, to outlaw the contumacious, and to imprison, fine, or otherwise punish all who were judged obnoxious; the archbishop of the see and four other commissioners formed a quorum, and their sentence was not subject to revision or appeal; schools and colleges were subjected to their visitation, and the clergy who refused to pronounce or to publish their sentences were liable to the severe punishments of imprisonment or deprivation. The power of the Courts of High Commission in Scotland was as great in spiritual matters as the power of the Privy Council in civil proceedings, and the mode in which it was executed was as oppressive and arbitrary as the constitution of the courts themselves was inconsistent with the established laws of the kingdom. When Spotswood, archbishop of Glasgow, was translated to the metropolitan see, the two courts were incorporated into one." The members had also a vote in the Secrete or Privy Council. In 1614 all the bishops were consecrated "without any consultation of presbyteries, or synods, or any other ecclesiastical assemblies." When James was in Scotland the Parliament met in 1617, and "for the first time his ecclesiastical

schemes encountered opposition from the nobility, who were jealous of the aggrandisement of the prelates." A petition in language firm, dignified and loyal, signed by fifty of the clergy, was presented, asking, "in all reverence, by this our humble supplication, to intreat your Highnes and Honourable Estates not to suffer the forenamed article [Bill abolishing Presbytery], nor any other prejudicall to our liberties formerly granted, to passe at this time, to the grieve and prejudice of this poore Kirk ; whereby the universal joy of thousands of this land, who rejoiced at your Maj. happy arriving here, shall be turned to mourning. Wherein as we are earnest supplicants to God to inclyne your Maj. hart this way, as the most expedient for the honour of God and the weal of the subjects ; so if we shall be frustrated of this our reasonable desire, then do we in all humilitie, with that dutifull acknowledgment of our loyaltie to your Majestie as becomes us, protest for ourselves and all our brethren that shall adhere to our protestation, that as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incur the censure of your Maj. law, than to admit or obtemper an imposition that shall not fall from the Kirk orderly convened, having power of the same." This extract is taken from the *Course of Conformatie*, as quoted by Dr. Lee. Although the bill alluded to was withdrawn, yet the promoters of the petition were convicted "of having joined in a seditious remonstrance," by the High Commission Court at St. Andrew's; two of them imprisoned, and one, Calderwood, "was not only deprived of his ministerial office, but sentenced to perpetual banishment." Such proceedings were certainly totally illegal, and one of our historians justly remarks :—"When a remonstrance to Parliament was punished as seditious by the High Commission, ecclesiastical, or rather regal, tyranny was carried to the extreme." The reader will find in the twentieth lecture an excellent account of the last and most celebrated of the Assemblies convened during the reign of James ; after whose death in 1625, Charles I. lost no time in requesting the Primate of all Scotland to make it universally known that "it was his will to have the ordinances and injunctions of his father concerning church matters strictly enforced." This decree was obeyed to the very letter. "The meetings," says Dr. Lee, "of General Assemblies were now altogether discontinued ; there was not one from the year 1618 till the year 1638, and during this long term of twenty years the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, if it existed at all, was to be found only in secret chambers, or in the wildest recesses of the mountains in the south and in the west. Provincial or diocesan synods continued to sit, and in these all the

business was prepared, or rather concluded, in the privy conferences, the members of which were chosen by the bishops, or by the constant moderators."

In the twenty-second lecture we have an account of the contents of the *Book of Canons and Service Book*, or *Scottish Liturgy*, ordered by royal proclamation to be used in Scotland, and "the contraveners condignly censured and punished." When the proclamation was obeyed, riots immediately took place; and the advocates for presbytery, in the November of 1637, assembled in Edinburgh, and formed, with the approval of the privy council, the celebrated confederacy known in history by the name of the Tables. Their demands were, "that the canons should be recalled, that the High Commission Court should be abolished, and that the Liturgy should be revoked with the same formalities which had accompanied its introduction." The answer from the Court was another proclamation, "prohibiting the petitioners to assemble again under pain of high treason." With great boldness and determination, the Presbyterians affixed, beside the royal decree, a protest in all cities and towns, at the cross of which it was to be seen. Thirty of the principal nobility of Scotland joined the now powerful confederacy. Soon after the proclamation the confederacy met again in Edinburgh. As intimations had been sent to all parts of the kingdom, the attendance was excellent, and far beyond expectation. The business transacted shewed that if the Court did not yield, a civil war would soon decide the question in dispute, viz., Is Presbytery to be the State Church government of Scotland, or is it not? The clergy of the confederacy requested Henderson, and the laymen, the advocate Johnstone, afterwards Lord Warriston, to compose the document which has received the name of the Covenant. It begins with the negative confession, and then "enumerates many statutes adverse to the Romish Church, and subjoins a bond of union, renouncing the liturgy and canons, and resolving to resist all innovations in religion; to defend each other, and to assist the king in the preservation of religion, liberty, and law." The extract from the conclusion given by Dr. Lee, proves that the document is the production not of rebels, but of loyal and obedient subjects. As no building could contain the multitudes that desired to sign the Covenant as now prepared and sanctioned by the confederacy, the document was put on one of the gravestones in the churchyard belonging to the Greyfriars Church; and there, on the 1st of March, 1638, it was signed by "noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, burgesses, and thousands of individuals of every rank; copies were dispersed

all over the country, and in two months it was subscribed almost universally; the only place of any consequence where it was refused was Aberdeen." When this transaction was made known to the Primate, he exclaimed, "Now is all our labour during the last thirty years destroyed at once;" and, followed by all the bishops, four excepted, he at once crossed the borders. The king at last convened a General Assembly. It met in the nave of the cathedral of Glasgow, on the 21st of Nov., 1638. Few of the nobility were absent; sixty-three Presbyteries and four Universities sent three commissioners each. Baillie, afterwards principal, who was a member, states in one of his letters, that "the town expected and provided for huge multitudes of people." Many of the laymen present were armed; a fact soon observed and remarked upon by the high commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton. Henderson was unanimously elected moderator. When complaints against the bishops were about to be considered, the commissioner produced his warrant and dismissed the Assembly. Although it was now high treason to continue transacting business, yet as the Earl of Argyle, the most influential of the aristocracy, at once occupied Hamilton's place, the Assembly refused to separate, and continued in session till the 20th of December. The diets were twenty-six in number; nineteen of them being held after the Marquis had left. The acts of this great Assembly "restored," says Dr. Lee, "presbyteries, provincial synods, and national assemblies to their constitution, power, and jurisdiction, as contained in the Book of Policy;" and it was also decreed that the Covenant, which was approved, should be signed by all ranks. Civil war could not now be prevented. The month after the General Assembly had finished transacting business, Charles intimated that he would immediately commence his march at the head of cavalry and infantry; a fleet of sixteen men-of-war was also ordered to sail for Scotland, where the inhabitants were ready for the conflict, General Lesley being made general, and a committee for military affairs organized. "Officers," to quote the words of the Principal, "who had served in foreign armies were dispersed in every county to train the people to the use of arms; the castle of Edinburgh was taken by assault, that of Dumbarton was surprised: Leith was fortified so as to protect the metropolis against an attack from the fleet." Early in the year 1639, the Scottish army, 23,000 picked men, encamped on the hill called Dunse Law. The commanding officers were noblemen; and at the entrance to their tents waved a splendid banner with the arms of Scotland and the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Every regiment had a Presbyterian

minister, "armed with a sword, and with a pair of Dutch pistols at his saddle." The royal troops advanced to Berwick, and after a glance at the army of the confederacy, Charles quickly negotiated, and concluded a treaty, called the Articles of Pacification. Thus ended the first campaign of the Covenanters. The late high commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, shortly before the treaty, entered the Forth with the fleet, which anchored near Leith. The shore was guarded by cavalry and infantry; the former under the command of his mother, the Marchioness of Hamilton, who was on horseback with two pistols at her saddle-bow, one of which she drew from its place when the troops on board the fleet appeared to be making preparations for landing, exclaiming that the contents would enter her son if he should attack the army of the Covenant. An interview between mother and son took place on board one of the ships; and, as expected, no debarkation occurred. The General Assembly again met at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1639; the Earl of Traquair being the high commissioner. The members renewed the Covenant, which the commissioner himself signed, and the privy council commanded to be subscribed by the king's subjects in Scotland. On the last day of the month the Parliament met, and as the members determined to confirm the acts of the General Assembly that had just concluded its proceedings, it was prorogued until June, 1640. The court now determined to renew the civil war, which was again commenced by the king burning the Articles of Pacification. The confederacy, who had still their officers in pay, with great prudence refrained from making open preparations until the Parliament met. On the day to which it had been prorogued, the Parliament assembled; the form of further prorogation was not observed, consequently the members present "declared themselves a lawful parliament, and chose Lord Burley for their president in absence of his majesty's commissioner." The acts of the General Assembly were ratified, and a committee appointed to manage the army, raise money, etc. Being thus supported, the confederacy soon possessed forces to the amount of 26,000, which marched to the Tweed and on to the Tyne, a river they crossed at Newburn, five miles above Newcastle, the Earl of Montrose, afterwards so celebrated, wading middle deep at the head of his regiment. The batteries defending the bank were gallantly taken, and Lord Conway and his army totally defeated. Durham and Newcastle opened their gates to the victorious troops, which was to be expected; for, as Hallam remarks, the English saw "friends and deliverers rather than enemies in the Scottish army." The treaty

of Ripon concluded this the second campaign of the Covenanters.

In the twenty-third lecture, Dr. Lee, in noticing the Westminster Assembly of Divines, gives a short account of the five clergymen sent by the General Assembly, and who "took an active part in the compilation of the *Confession of Faith*, the *Catechisms*, the *Form of Presbyterian Church Government*, and the *Directory of Worship*." When Charles was executed, or, as the Principal terms it, murdered, and when the Commonwealth was established, the General Assembly soon shewed by its acts that the Presbyterians, in Scotland at least, "were sincerely attached," to quote again the words of the historian Hallam, "if not by loyal affection, yet by national pride, to the blood of their ancient kings;" for we find that one of the said acts deposed three clergymen, Guthrie, Gillespie, and Bennet, because they remonstrated against the coronation of Charles II. at Scone in the January of 1651. Thus originated the church party known in history by the name Remonstrants or Protesters, because all who belonged to it "protested that it was unjust to impose on others a prince unworthy to reign in Scotland." In the twenty-fourth lecture the proceedings of the Protesters are severely censured; such criticism is, in our opinion, totally unmerited, as the result of the Restoration proves that they were right, although one of them, Guthrie, being among the first victims, did not live to observe or record the proceedings of a government whose tyranny he had foreseen. Dr. Lee says that many of the clergy "had little intercourse with the most violent party," as he calls the Protesters. In consequence of this determination to withdraw their friendship, followed by deposition, the Resolutioners, as the king's party was termed, certainly made the clergy of the Church of Scotland merit Sir Walter Scott's celebrated comparison in the twenty-second chapter of *Old Mortality*, where the two divines are thus compared with two dogs:—"But although Kettledrummle and Poundtext were thus for the time silenced, they continued to eye each other like two dogs who, having been separated by the authority of their masters while fighting, have retreated, each beneath the chair of his owner, still watching each other's motions, and indicating, by occasional growls, by the erected bristles of the back and ears, and by the red glance of the eye, that their discord is unappeased, and that they only wait the first opportunity afforded by any general movement or commotion in the company to fly once more at each other's throats." In the *Vindication*, we find it asserted that Guthrie's loyalty "was proved by his refusing, during the whole period of the

interregnum, to acknowledge either the Commonwealth or the Protectorate." He was undoubtedly a leading man among the Protesters, consequently the above assertion is contrary to historical facts; for this party favoured, as already stated, Cromwell's designs, if it did not openly adhere to the Commonwealth.

Charles II. commenced his reign by causing the nobleman who had put the crown on his head at Scone to be executed, and shortly after the death of the Marquis of Argyle, a royal proclamation, dated August 14th, 1661, informed the inhabitants of Scotland that Episcopacy was now to be the Church government acknowledged by the State. The notorious Sharpe was made Primate, and the court of high commission again established. During the short period of its existence, the members were guilty of great cruelty; the reader will find instances narrated by the Principal in his twenty-fifth lecture. Before the proclamation was issued, the head of the pious and talented Guthrie was severed from his body, and put on the Nether Bow of Edinburgh. The Court found in the Privy Council of Scotland men willing to enforce its dreadful decrees, as they belonged to, what Mr. Burton well defines, "a secret irresponsible tribunal, with powers never defined, but which expanded or contracted themselves with the state of politics, and were thus greatest at the same time when they were most dangerous." The same historian remarks that "it was one of the institutions which Scotland had adopted by tacit imitation from continental practice; it was totally ungenial to the English constitution, and was equally so to the people of Scotland, among whom it was an importation, not an indigenous production: it did not act under strict rules of law, like the English courts of justice, nor were its members immediately responsible to the representative legislature, like the advisers of the crown in England; they were a separate body, with wide and indistinctly defined powers, with but a partial responsibility even to the Crown, if the monarch thought fit to question their proceedings, and with no effective responsibility to Parliament." As this council prevented the celebrated confederacy from being again organized, the Presbyterians, after the proclamation, found that they were totally unable by any legal means to resist or prevent the arbitrary proceedings now authorized by the king, his court, and council. Rebellion and civil war soon followed the enforcing of their cruel decrees. "Wherever," says Dr. Lee, "the people deserted their parish churches, they were fined, imprisoned, plundered, beaten, wounded, and hunted through the mountains like wild beasts." Sir James Turner, a soldier of fortune, commanded the troops guilty of this military violence. The in-

habitants, to the number of 2000, marched to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, after defeating and capturing Turner, who, however, was set at liberty, when it appeared that, “with all his harshness, he had been far from acting up to the full measure of his instructions.” On the evening of a November day in 1666, Dalzell, commanding the royal forces, after a severe contest, defeated this band of brave and determined men near the Pentland Hills. The result of this conflict is thus described by the Principal:—“Many persons were put to the sword, others were crowded together in dungeons, so that there was not room for them even to stand; some were shot or hanged without even the form of a trial; some were even tortured to death because they would not inform where their nearest relatives were concealed; and the brutal agents of these horrid atrocities were allowed by their commanders to commit every revolting crime which licentiousness, or avarice, or malice could dictate. The judges partook of the iniquitous rigour which disgraced the army. In opposition to the laws of the land, they tried and condemned many gentlemen of property in their absence, and conferred their estates on the military leaders or the officers of state; and knowing that these proceedings were illegal, they applied to Parliament for their confirmation. Every prisoner against whom there was no proof, was required to abjure the Covenant, and if he refused, he was transported to the English plantations, and condemned to slavery. There was no statute authorizing such a penalty; but the king’s instructions were at that time equivalent to law.” The reader is referred to Burnet’s *History of his Own Times*, and also to Anderson’s *Ladies of the Covenant*, for a full description of the dreadful laws enforced at this period of Scottish Church History. The year 1679 was not allowed to pass away until determined but unsuccessful efforts had been made by the Presbyterians to obtain justice. The Primate was assassinated, and the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell-bridge won and lost. The vengeance of the Court and Council was fearful. In the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth chapters of *Old Mortality*, Sir Walter Scott has, in the procession and Privy Council scenes, briefly but truly described what were almost of daily occurrence in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Seeing that every officer and soldier could by law kill any one believed to be a Presbyterian, Hallam in our opinion is justified in asserting, when describing the tyranny of Charles II., “It is literally possible that a continuance of the Stuart government might have led to something very like an extermination of the people in the western counties of Scotland.” No wonder, then, that one of the clergy at last did a great and a

glorious deed. What no layman in the king's dominions had the courage to do, Cameron did ; he put on the market-cross of Sanquhar a declaration renouncing allegiance to Charles. The Privy Council immediately ordered "that whoever refused to disown this declaration on oath should be put to death in the presence of two witnesses." Those who acknowledged the Sanquhar declaration were termed Cameronians. The author of it, the brave and talented Richard Cameron, was killed at Ayrmoss, and his head, with his hands, "displayed," says Sir Walter Scott, "in the attitude of prayer," carried through Edinburgh on a halberd. His death was the commencement of what has been called "the killing time." The Cameronians in the five south-western shires now became society or hill men. "They were no less entirely," says the historian Burton, "the moral offspring of the hot persecutions, than the phenomena which heat or frost produces on the physical world in tropical vegetation or polar aridity, are attributable to their peculiar physical causes. When it is remembered that the curse of persecution lay on the land almost unmitigated for more than a quarter of a century, it can easily be understood how it entered into the soul of society, and made it what we shall find it in these men. In so long a tract of time, habits grew and hardened, they entered into the moral constitution, and took a hereditary hold on the race, while the traditions of a better age, enlightened by milder temper and more charitable affections, were swept away ; and the strange and unpleasing objects which men had by artificial violence been made, seemed the real nature for which God had destined them. When we see how short a time it takes to naturalize those originally surrounded by pure air and pleasant sights, to the polluted atmosphere and social horrors of some pernicious, ill-regulated city, we may understand how twenty-five years of violence may twist and contort moral natures once candid and charitable." The declarations they circulated even Dr. McCrie, in his *Vindication*, cannot justify, as he remarks that they "advanced opinions respecting the essential qualifications of magistrates in a reformed land, and respecting the extraordinary execution of justice by private individuals, which were unjustifiable and dangerous ; but if we examine the matter with candour, we will find that they were driven to these extremes by the intolerable oppression of government." And again : "We cannot but condemn the step taken by the sufferers, as calculated, notwithstanding all their qualifications, and in spite of all the precautions they might use, to open a door to lawless bloodshed, and to give encouragement to assassination. At the same time it is impossible to condemn

them with great severity, when we reflect that they were cast out of the protection of law, driven out of the pale of society, and hunted like wild beasts in the woods and on the mountains, to which they had fled for shelter." It would therefore appear, on his own shewing, that it was perfectly possible for the scene imagined by Sir Walter Scott, and described in the thirty-third chapter of *Old Mortality*, to have taken place during "the killing time." Mr. Burton, in his *Narratives* (vol. ii., p. 273), has also truly remarked that "the Sectarianism of Scotland, the peculiar propensity in each person to get within some narrow sheepfold, where, seeking refuge for his own peculiar opinions, he anathematizes and excommunicates all the world beyond, was the not unnatural fruit of the long dreary sojourns among misty mountains, and the lurking in caves, where the *idola specus* were the reflecting man's sole companions."<sup>t</sup>

One great mistake made by Sir Walter Scott in the novel already mentioned, is animadverted upon both by Dr. M'Crie and Dr. Lee, viz., the historical blunder in taking for granted that prayers were read in the churches after the Restoration; for as the former historian correctly states, "prayers were not read in the parish churches of Scotland at any time, any more than they were in the meeting-houses of the indulged, or in the conventicles of the stricter Presbyterians." The only change, in the opinion of the Principal, "that took place in the worship in the churches, consisted in the discontinuance of the Directory, and the adoption of three articles which had not been thought offensive in the days of Knox, namely, the use of the Lord's Prayer, the repetition of the Creed by parents when they brought their children to be baptized, and the use of a doxology in connexion with the singing of psalms." The celebrated work in which such mistakes occur, we must remember, is a novel and not a history, consequently it is absurd to consider, as Dr. Lee and Dr. M'Crie maintain some do, *Old Mortality* to be an authority, "the best that can be quoted!" Dr. M'Crie also corrects a strange mistake made by Laing in his *History*, often quoted by Hallam and others, viz., that Hamilton, who commanded at Drumclog and Bothwell, was "a preacher!" Hamilton was a layman of rank, and brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preston. The *Vindication* we consider to be the most able

<sup>t</sup> Sectarianism and not intemperance is the curse of Scotland. Not long ago the promoters for the erection of a school in a crowded but poor district in the neighbourhood of a large city, found their efforts nearly frustrated by the office-bearer, or *elder* of the district, belonging to the most recent denomination dissenting from the National Church, obtaining signatures to a petition requesting no site to be given to the parish minister for a school, which said petition was sent up to London to the proprietor!

defence of the Covenanters in the English language, and we trust that the author's talented son, Professor M'Crie, will in a new edition give us the result of his own researches, a portion of which he has already anonymously published; "for as Dr. Lee states, "the man who wishes to form an accurate estimate of the intellectual attainments and moral characters, as well as the theological views and political sentiments of the leading Covenanters, must have the patience to peruse their numerous writings, not a few of which are only to be discovered in the smoky hovels of the poor, all tattered and defaced, not so much by the tear and wear of actual service, as by being long laid on the shelf amidst the wreck of baser matter." The *Vindication* is only a defence, not a history, consequently the Principal is correct in asserting that "no tolerable account of the Scottish Covenanters has ever been published in an extended form, and our National Church ought to feel deeply indebted to any writer of ability who shall supply this desideratum in her history."

The year 1681 is memorable in the annals of the Covenanters as being that in which two young women, Alison and Harvey, were executed in Edinburgh. "Their tragic and deeply interesting story is enough of itself to entail," says Anderson, "everlasting infamy on the bloody rulers who pursued them to the death, not for any crime, for they had committed none, but simply and solely for their private opinions," which the Privy Council had obtained from them by questions. Shortly before the king's decease, the son of the nobleman who was executed at the commencement of his reign, Argyle, was also condemned to death, and suffered "in a most barbarous and ignominious manner," when James II. was sovereign. The lines written by Pope when living at Adderbury are, we doubt not, well known to the most of our readers:—

"Beneath thy roof, Argyle, are bred  
Such thoughts as prompt the brave to lie  
Stretched out on honour's nobler bed,  
Beneath a nobler roof—the sky!  
Such flames as high in patriots burn,  
Yet stoop to bless a child or wife;  
And such as wicked kings may mourn,  
When freedom is more dear than life."

It was during the month previous to that in which Argyle died, viz., May, 1685, that the two women Maclauchlan and Wilson were drowned, "in the tide at the mouth of the river Blednoch, which runs into the sea, about a hundred yards to the

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\* *Macaulay on Scotland; a Critique.* Edinburgh: Miller and Fairly.  
\* *Ladies of the Covenant*, p. 335.

south of the town of Wigton in lower Galloway." The former was a widow near seventy years old, and the latter a girl aged eighteen. They were not, as Chambers and Lord Macaulay assert, offered pardon on the condition of saying "God save the King." Such is one out of many instances on record proving the correctness of Dr. Lee's assertion that "on the succession of James, the massacres continued to increase, with every circumstance of aggravated malignity." In the February of the year 1688 the celebrated Renwick was executed; this clergyman appears to have been the last of the Presbyterians who suffered death.

The lectures by Dr. Lee conclude with a brief description of the revolution settlement. The documents in the appendix to the first and second volumes are valuable, and with one or two exceptions are now published for the first time. They are all well worthy of the reader's careful perusal, especially the remarks on the "Demand for books in Scotland after the Reformation," and the "Extracts from proceedings of Church courts, shewing how the laws against Sabbath-breaking were administered in Scotland." The former gives the best account we have seen of the celebrated book entitled *God and the King*, printed in London 1616, at the request of his majesty, for the use of the kingdom of Scotland. The work is a catechism, which the Privy Council and General Assembly commanded to be taught in all universities, colleges, grammar, and English schools. "It was," says Dr. Lee, "very far from being popular, but though constraint was necessary to induce people to purchase it, the sale must have been rapid and extensive." He also asserts that "it was sold at a price equal to two days' wages of a labourer, a very high price, surely, for a pamphlet of eighty-nine pages small octavo, or forty pages small quarto." The extracts from the Kirk Session Records are curious and amusing. They are all, however, from records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The following, belonging to the eighteenth century, may interest the reader; they are taken from the Kirk Session Records of a parish in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, written in the beautiful hand-writing of the period. "October 1st, 1710. It is declaired that T. Y.,<sup>\*</sup> horse hyror in G——, being formally cited by the officer, did this day compeare before the Session for travelling with his horse upon the Lord's day, having a great pack roll behind him, which was observed by many so publickly immediately after the dismission of the forenoon sermon; was observed riding through this town

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\* For obvious reasons we do not give the names.

of G——, upon Sabbath, as a twentie dayes, as also by severells, when he lighted off horse at the G——; which was very offensive, which he also confessed before the Session, and for the same sine was sharply rebuked by the minister in the Session, as also for other sines that he was guilty off. And they did refere him for civil punishment over to the Laird of Blackhouse, being bailie of the royalty of Glasgow, and bailie to the Kirk Session of G——. And did appoint the officer to cite Hough M——, in the city of Glasgow, and Jean P——, in this paroche, to compeare before the Session the next Lord's day for their going away and being irregularly married by a curate. Oct. 8th, 1710. The same compeared, H. M. and J. P., before the Session, and gave the warrant that they had for their irregular marriage received from Mr. Mushot, late curate in Cummer-nade, who married them, of their certificate shown, which was read before the Session by the minister; and likewise they acknowledged the same, for which the minister sharply rebuked them, and held forth to them how they had gone out of God's way, God being the God of order and not of confusion; and exhorted to deal earnestly with God for a real sight of the evil thereof. And appointed them both to compear in publick the next Lord's day, that they may publickly adhere to their [forced] irregular marriage, and to profess grief for the same sine. Oct. 15th, 1710. This day H. M. and J. P. compeared in publick, and did adhere to their irregular marriage, the evil thereof being held forth to them by the minister, who told them that those that broke an hedge there is alwayes an serpent ready to bite them, and exhorted them over again to fly speedily to God, that so they may obtain pardon for the same . . . all others of their former sines; and did refer them over to the bailie of the royalty of Glasgow for civil punishment."

The Mr. Mushot here mentioned is again alluded to in the same Kirk Session Records, e.g., "Jan. 30th, 1715. The which day the minister informed the session yt [that] he had consulted the presbytery anent young Dowan's irregular marriage by one Mr. Patrick Boll of Antormainio, a curate; the presbytery finding yt it was not by Mr. Mushot quo [who] was deposed by the episcopall clergy for scandall, they only appoint him and his spouse Margaret Gowely to appeare before the session and be sessionally rebuked, and not to be brought to the publick in regard that the said Mr. Boll was not deposed as Mushot, as also finding that he does not habitually use to mary.—Wherefore the session appointed J. C. younger of Dowan and Margaret Gowely his spouse to be cited both to compear before the session the next Lord's day, and be accordingly rebuked as

aforsaid. Feb. 6th, 1715. It is declared that J. C. younger of Dowan and M. G. (daughter to Mr. R. G. of K——) his spouse, according to appointment both compeared before the session and produced and [a] testimonial of their irregular marriage, dated the 2nd day of March xxx, by Mr. Patrick Bell before J. L. of D——, and T. B. at Kirkhoiose of Straeblain subscryband as witnesses, and both acknowledge their wrong of taking such and [an] irregular step, and professed yr [their] sorrow for the samine, and were both sharply repuked by the minister for the samine, and exhorted to repentance for this their breach of order in breaking over the hedge of order that God had set about his house; as also they both testifyed yr [their] willingness to adhere to their forsaid marriage, and were according to ye presbytery's appointment sessionallier rebuked and dismissed from any further censure for their forsaid mārrage."

So late as the year 1755 a clergyman of the Church of England, officiating in Argyleshire, was tried under the act passed to punish "those who celebrate marriages clandestinely and irregularly;" and was banished from Scotland "under pain of death should he return to the country."<sup>2</sup> It would therefore appear that although the Toleration Act was passed in 1711, "to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and the use of the liturgy of the Church of England," yet none but the Presbyterian parish minister could legally celebrate marriage; and that those who, like Hough and Jean, got a curate to do so, were liable to civil punishment. In Glasgow the captors, as those employed by the Session were sometimes called, did not cease to perform their duties until the middle of the last century, when a gentleman named Blackburn, who had been taken into custody because he declined to discontinue walking on a Sunday, raised an action against their employers. The Court of Session decided in his favour; thus the power to prevent individuals from walking during "Kirk hours," could no longer be enforced.

The *History of Scotland*, by Mr. Burton, is an ecclesiastical as well as a civil narrative, commencing where Dr. Lee concludes, and ending with the year 1748. Few laymen would ever think of reading the numerous pamphlets and ecclesiastical documents this historian has undoubtedly carefully consulted. Lord Macaulay has taken many of his facts, and some of his conclusions, in his *History of England*, from Mr. Burton's pages, to whose researches he is greatly indebted, more than he cares

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<sup>2</sup> See the article in Macphail's *Edinburgh Journal* already alluded to.

to acknowledge. In the first chapter we have a brief account of the Scottish advisers selected by William III. One of them was a Presbyterian clergyman; the account given of him by Mr. Burton we extract without any abridgment:—"Though it was with much unwillingness that the king consented to the Presbyterian polity in Scotland, his most esteemed adviser, both in Church and State, was a clergyman of that Church. He seems to have considered himself safer in the hands of an honest Presbyterian minister, than in those of statesmen who adopted the Presbyterian cause for political objects. This so peculiarly selected guide through the puzzling intricacies of the Scottish affairs, was the celebrated William Carstairs, who became Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and was known from his great power in Church and State, by the alliterative title of Cardinal Carstairs. He had suffered greatly for the cause of the revolution, and shewn valuable qualities of secrecy and sagacity. He had been some years in prison, and his hand bore the mark of torture. After suffering inflictions which brought him near the gates of death, he consented to make certain revelations, and it was in this act that his discretion was shewn. He gave some substantial information as to the past and defeated Rye-house Plot; but he was then in intimate correspondence with the Pensionary Fagel and other Dutch statesmen, who brought him deep into the secrets of the probable policy of the Prince of Orange. While driven to confession on the past and defeated plot, he kept his knowledge of intentions and possible future movements as close as the grave. A courageous zealot might have preserved entire silence, but this selection of revelations shewed a discretion which, in the eyes of such a prince as William, was among the most valuable of human virtues. Carstairs had scarcely the rhetorical and literary talents of his rival Burnet, but he was entirely free from that prelate's foppish love of consequence, and dangerous incontinence of tongue. He exhibited the rare phenomenon of a powerful churchman who could look beyond his order, and use his influence, not solely for the advancement of the Church, but for the State too. But whether or not this was but a deeper plan for the success of his order, his services to the State were eminently beneficial to his Church. It will be seen, indeed, that the moderated policy adopted by his advice, kept in existence its Presbyterian foundation, which more stringent measures on either side would have certainly sacrificed. It is rare that any man, that a clergyman especially, should have carried moderation, and a generous estimate of the claims of hostile religious bodies, through that ordeal of persecution which generally

hardens every original element of illiberality, and burns out any sentiments of charity or toleration with which it may be leavened. On the whole, Carstairs ranks among remarkable minds. Yet the influence possessed by Carstairs was of a kind that would have spoilt an ordinary man. Sprung of that respectable middle class to whom it has been in a manner the peculiar pride of the Scottish priesthood to belong, he rose to hold in his hands the destinies of the proudest heads of the proud feudal houses of Scotland. All who desired court influence, and they formed a humiliatingly large proportion of the Scots Estates, paid court to Carstairs. Yet he kept his simplicity of character, as one who had no aspirations after the feudal dignity of the Scottish aristocracies, and was still farther off from such treachery to his Presbyterian predilections as made James Sharpe sell the cause entrusted to his keeping for an archbishopric. Carstairs' integrity has been unquestioned; and among the many dubious and treacherous men of his restless age, he remained firm and honest." The Church of Scotland is indebted to this eminent individual for its existence as a State Church.

The question, How did the society or hill-men act after the Scottish Convention had declared the throne vacant? is one which Mr. Burton has studied with great care, and his results are most satisfactory. During the crisis, he asserts, "they shewed, along with their religious fervour and combative propensities, practical abilities of a high and powerful order, reminding one of the independents of the Commonwealth,—a body to whom, in their fervour, their dislike of ecclesiastical domination, the regularity of their lives, their methodical capacity for public business, and their stern courage in the field of battle, they bore a signal resemblance." The Convention, knowing what persecution had made them, not only allowed the Cameronians to retain the arms they always carried when assembled in the valleys and glens, but voted that 4000 muskets, 100 barrels of powder, 100 chests of ball, and 1000 pikes, should be sent to Glasgow, for distribution among the western shires, a portion being sent to each town as a common centre. This fearless act of the Government made the society men at once the friends of order; and they immediately proceeded to organize themselves in a way little expected from men who shortly before could not dare, in face of day,

"To worship God, or even at the dead  
Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,  
And thunder-peals compell'd the men of blood  
To cough within their dens; then dauntlessly

The scatter'd few would meet, in some deep dell  
 By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,  
 Their faithful pastor's voice."<sup>v</sup>

They formed an independent army. They did not, it is asserted, receive all the arms sent by the Convention. Their love of country, however, made them volunteers. "At their own expense," says Mr. Burton, "and by officers of their own selection, they were formed into four companies, and were an orderly, effective, well-disciplined body, who, though they were scarcely in actual conflict, were of great use to the Convention before the arrival of the king's troops, by overawing opposition." After the crisis, the Government succeeded with great difficulty in forming one regiment, the celebrated 26th, out of their ranks. The history of the Cameronian regiment belongs to that of the British army, and the history of those society men who formed what is termed "the civil branch," belongs to that of the British dissenters. At present it is known by the name Reformed Presbyterian Church. It is not to be supposed that after suffering cruel persecutions, the hill-men allowed the crisis to pass without giving some token of their displeasure to those whom they imagined had caused them. If they had, they would not have been human. Lord Macaulay has described the rabbling of the curates in terms totally at variance with the facts given in the documents of the period. Principal Lee is undoubtedly correct in stating that there are some who consider *Old Mortality* to be a history, not a novel. Lord Macaulay is certainly one of them, as in the description alluded to, he mentions as one of the outrages, "prayer-books burned!" We have already noticed Scott's mistake. There being no prayer-books in Scotland, the society men could not burn what did not exist. In the expulsion of the episcopal clergy from the churches in the south-western part of Scotland, we have, in Mr. Burton's opinion, an instance of the powerful business talents of the Cameronians. A form or style of ejection was made, "better arranged," says the Advocate, "than many legal writs," in which the incumbent is warned that he must cease from performing ministerial functions in the parish, and requested to give up the keys of the Kirk; and the last sentence, "if you refuse you shall be forced to do it," plainly informed the said clergyman that the men were determined to do injury, consequently after such a warning, he had himself to blame if his congregation

<sup>v</sup> *The Sabbath*, by Graham. This poet was a clergyman of the Church of England, consequently his magnificent description of the Covenanters ought not to be forgotten by Presbyterians.

\* *Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 482.

was, as Lord Macaulay maintains, “dispersed by violence,” and his manse “sacked;” although, according to Mr. Burton’s description of the rabbling, the former event could not take place, for the curate wanted both a prayer-book and a congregation to use it. “Had they been,” says the last-mentioned historian, “a people naturally vindictive, there were wrongs sufficient in number rousing them to violence; and had they been indiscriminate in their retaliation, they might have found a sufficient excuse in sufferings and contumelies which, by their intensity, blind the judicial vision, and let vengeance loose to strike indiscriminately. The creed and professions of these men were utterly intolerant; and in their conflicts they had sometimes shewn cruel fatalism, acting, when in the absolute certainty of being crushed by a superior force, as if they were themselves transcendent in power, and removed beyond human responsibility. The essentially sound and healthy nature of the men was, however, shewn in their conduct, when that which they wildly foresaw in their bonds and miseries had really taken place, and their enemies were at their mercy. Thus they discriminated: had Dundee, Mackenzie, Drummond, or any others held as their oppressors in high places, been at their disposal, it is not to be said how far they might have relented from their favourite precept,—Lay on, and spare not. But they did not belong to a vindictive or sanguinary race, and in the full flush of victory they were humane to those who, though nominally ranked with their oppressors, had done them little palpable injury. In truth, the episcopal clergymen in these western shires, where they were commonly called curates, had long felt that sad depression and disheartening feebleness which no minister of religion can avoid feeling *when he has no flock*, and not a particle of sympathy from the people around him. These poor curates were only seeking an invidious living. Whatever oppression came from clerical sources was performed by the bishops, as privy councillors and ministers of state. The humble curates had no concern with it, and their virtual innocence was acknowledged in the moderation of their assailants. In a systematic ejection of the episcopal clergymen of the five western shires, it has not been asserted by any of the most zealous writers or speakers of the time that one life was sacrificed. The immediate business on hand was performed effectively. The clergymen, of course, complained of the usage they suffered, though they never had received much courtesy from their parishioners, and might have anticipated a worse fate, and the Jacobite party were naturally vehement in their denunciations of these ‘rabblings,’ but no impartial man can master the facts without

admitting that these fierce Cameronians behaved towards the clergy, so offensive to them, with signal leniency." On the 13th of April, 1689, the Convention of Estates passed an act enjoining all the clergy publicly to pray for the new king and queen. Those who disobeyed were to be deprived of their benefices. The "rabbled" clergymen were described in this act as having deserted, or been removed from, their churches now declared vacant.

After having made the statement in the Declaration of Rights that the existence of the order of bishops was a grievance, the Convention abolished prelacy and all superiority of office in the Church; and passed an act restoring to their benefices the Presbyterian clergy who "were thrust from their charges since the first day of January, 1661, or banished for not conforming to prelacy, and not complying with the courses of the time." In the May of 1690 the *Confession of Faith* was put on the Scottish statute-book, the preamble being:—"The Confession of Faith under written was this day produced, read, and considered, word by word, in presence of their majesty's high commissioner and the estates of parliament; and being voted and approven, was ordained to be recorded in the books of parliament." Before the General Assembly was convened, a short act was passed repealing "all acts enjoining civil pains upon sentences of excommunication." The General Assembly met on the 16th of October, 1690, Lord Carmichael, "a prudent, quiet, firm man," being the commissioner. The celebrated act enforcing a test to be taken by professors in the Universities of Scotland, was passed in the July of this year. No one could obtain, or retain, a chair who did not "acknowledge and subscribe the Confession of Faith, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and submit to the government of the Church now settled by law." This test, Mr. Burton asserts, did not necessarily drive forth those who chose to accept the revolution settlement, though they might not belong to the Presbyterian Church. "Several professors," he says, "of the episcopal persuasion kept their chairs, and the principal of King's College, in Aberdeen, was an episcopal clergyman." In June, 1693, the act was made "for settling the quiet and peace of the Church," which caused more annoyance to the Church and State than almost any other in the statute-book. Those who desired to be members of the Assembly for 1694, according to this act, were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and assurance. William's advisers knew that the clergy would not obey the act, although the Assembly would undoubtedly meet. One of them sent a message to the king, requesting the oath to be

abandoned. A negative answer was despatched ; the messenger was intercepted by Carstairs, " who recovered the packet in the king's name." Mr. Burton, in describing this instance of high treason, remarks that "towards a monarch of William's firmness and self-reliance, such an act shewed the churchman's signal confidence in his own influence ; but it was just with a ruler of his serene and strong judgment that such a deed, when really done by a wise man in the furtherance of a high duty, would be most apt to receive favour ; the thoughtful monarch probably believed that the audacity of the act proved the sincerity of the agent, and, surrounded as he was by clever knaves, bold, single-purposed honesty was too valuable a quality to be lightly lost : after a rapid discussion, for there was no time to spare, the king yielded, and revoked the order ; a slight delay would have ruined all." The General Assembly had met, and the members about to assert, what they believed, their rights, when the commissioner announced the arrival of an affirmative answer from the court. The Church and State after this Assembly were never again during the reign of William and Mary unfriendly to one another ; the present simple organization of the Scottish National Church being then considered as most agreeable to the inhabitants.<sup>a</sup> "The disputes," says the historian, "between the Church and the civil power in later times, arose not from a doubt that the Church could manage matters ecclesiastical, but from the assertion, right or wrong, that she passed the bounds of her ecclesiastical province, and required to be checked by the law."

The law in Scotland made blasphemy capital until the reign of George III., when it was repealed by the 53 G. III., c. 160. In 1696, a young man, named Aikenhead, was tried for the crime by the High Court of Justiciary, condemned to death and hanged in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. On the evidence of a letter written at the time by the Right Hon. Lord Anstruther, Mr. Burton asserts that "it is impossible to get over the unpleasant belief that the youth was sacrificed to appease zealous cravings, in which those who were the instruments of his death had no participation, and with which they had no sympathy. The incident reminds one too strongly of a later scene in France, where, in Voltaire's day, and in the midst of deep-founded infidelity, some youths committed irreverent frolics, for which, instead of the whipping they might have me-

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<sup>a</sup> The only difference now is the repeal of the University Test Act, as amended in the *Act of Security*, See 16 and 17 Vict., c. 89; and 21 and 22 Vict., c. 83. By this last act a layman can be principal of any of the Universities, except St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's.

rited, judges in high places sanctioned torture and death, to appease the priesthood." Thus blaming the clergy of the Church of Scotland, Lord Macaulay, on the same evidence, remarks in his *History*, that "the preachers, who were the boy's murderers, crowded round him at the gallows, and, while he was struggling in the last agony, insulted heaven with prayers more blasphemous than anything that he had uttered: Wodrow has told no blacker story of Dundee." In consequence of this strong language, Professor M'Crie, after a careful study of the existing documents of the period, has published in the *Critique* already mentioned, "a vindication of the ministers of Edinburgh in the case of Thomas Aikenhead," in which it is clearly proved that, "so far from urging on the execution of Aikenhead, several of the ministers had interceded for his pardon; and that when they failed in this, they continued, down to the day before his execution, to plead for a reprieve;" and a direct refutation given of every one of the statements advanced by Mr. Burton and Lord Macaulay. The former will, we doubt not, in a new edition of his excellent *History*, admit that now the Presbyterian clergy cannot be considered as in the least wishing for Aikenhead's death, and that the civil government, "who were the instruments of his death," and not the clergy, possessed the "zealous cravings," to appease which the youth was sacrificed. The *Critique* was written after Mr. Burton had published his *History of Scotland*, but it appeared before the last edition of the *History of England*, revised by its noble author, who repeats every one of his statements, although he states in a note that he had read the *Critique*!

After the union the Scottish Episcopalians were subjected to prosecutions which did not, Mr. Burton maintains, proceed from the Crown, but from the Church of Scotland, municipal corporations, and zealous citizens. The English families brought with them into Scotland clergymen of the Church of England, who "assumed a position somewhat anomalous for an Episcopal body, since they kept apart from the remnant of the Scottish hierarchy, and thus were not territorially attached to any Episcopal superintendence." The Scottish Episcopal clergy, after the determination to resist Laud's Liturgy, never used one; and in so acting they differed from the practice of the Church of England, the clergy of which were now allowed to officiate in Scotland. The reading of the English Liturgy was allowed, after considerable resistance from the Presbyterians. The case of the clergyman Greenshields is fully stated by Mr. Burton in the second volume of his history. In 1711 the Toleration Act was passed, "to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal

communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England." In 1728 two things happened, says Wodrow, "pretty singular, which, twenty or thirty years ago, would have been very odd in Glasgow; the setting up an Episcopalian meeting-house, and the public allowing of comedies." The year after the Toleration Act became law, the too celebrated Patronage Act was passed (10 Anne, c. 12), although the clergy of the Church of Scotland presented a petition against it to the House of Lords; the said petition is described as a document containing "an historical sketch of the state of the question, simple, brief, and reasonable." Mr. Burton remarks that "this memorable measure, memorable at least in Scotland, where it has been ever associated with disunion and disruption in the established Church, passed through the Commons rapidly." It was called, "An Act to restore the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the Churches vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

After the rebellion of 1715 we find the clergy of the Church of Scotland officially consulted about the state of the country, and Presbyteries sending up to the law-officers of the crown "instructions about the safe distribution of government appointments, and lists of the persons whom it may be expedient to select as justices of peace in their districts." In the nineteenth chapter of his history, Mr. Burton has described the evils arising from the Church discipline of the eighteenth century. The system among the common people was, he asserts, "an innate feature of social habits, for the existence of which the clergy were not responsible; they might modify, as much to their own loss of influence with a large body of their hearers they did; but they could not unmake it, because if they resolved not to provide it, it was sought elsewhere." But among the aristocracy the system made Presbyterianism to be disliked, and the historian, we are obliged to acknowledge, has not in the least too strongly stated the result when he remarks, that "much as has been said about the present religion of the Scots, very little of it has ever existed in the upper classes, among whom we would search in vain for any such decorous observance of the rites and ordinances of a church, as has ever been generally visible in a large body of the English gentry." He proves every one of his statements, and shews by a brief account of Erskine, Lord Grange, the man who voted against the repeal of the Acts allowing the trial of witches, as already stated, how the system of Church Discipline "created several instances of deep and audacious hypocrisy." In 1732 the General Assembly passed

an Act regarding patronage, in which no absolute power of rejection or refusal was given to the congregation. This act was denounced by a clergyman in full communion with the Church of Scotland, and who appears to have been one of the greatest orators of the age. Ebenezer Erskine was a scholar and a gentleman, "a man of lineage, counting kin with some of the first houses in Scotland." When we last visited the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, we copied from one of the tomb-stones, in the most secluded burying-ground in Scotland, the following inscription : "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Henry Erskine, and his sons Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, ministers of the secession Church of Scotland. Henry was born at Dryburgh, last of thirty-two children of Ralph Erskine of Sheilfield and Dryburgh, descended from a brother of the Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland, in James the Sixth's reign. Henry was minister of Cornhill; died after being imprisoned in the towers of the Bass, August 10th, 1696. Ralph, minister of Dunfermline, died November 6th, 1752. Ebenezer, minister of Portmoak, died June 2nd, 1754. Erected by Sir David Erskine, of Dryburgh Abbey." This inscription is not correct in the statement of facts, as Henry Erskine was only sentenced to be imprisoned in the Bass by the Act of the privy council, dated June 6th, 1682; which sentence, in answer to a petition, was changed into banishment from Scotland. Having gone to England he continued to officiate at Cornhill in Northumberland, and his son Ebenezer, Mr. Burton states, is "said indeed, traditionally, to have been born in the state prison of the Bass." This tradition is not only contrary to facts, but is absurd, as he was born July 22nd, 1680, nearly two years before the sentence! Portmoak is a small parish containing four villages, in the county of Kinross. In the twentieth chapter of his history, Mr. Burton has given a brief description of the origin, in 1740, of the dissenting Church, the secession Church, which claims Ebenezer Erskine as its founder; now united, in the May of 1847, with another dissenting Church, the Relief, and called the United Presbyterian Church. Before concluding our sketch of the history of the Church of Scotland, we may remark that in 1759, the last instance of punishment "for exercising the Roman Catholic religion" in Scotland occurred; the victim was Niel Macfie, who was banished by the circuit court of Inverness, for "being held in repute a Popish priest."

From the July number, 1860, of *The Home and Foreign Record of the Church of Scotland*, we obtain the information that, in Scotland alone, at present the Church of Scotland has eighty-four Presbyteries; the number of churches, chapels, and

mission stations occupied by her clergy being one thousand two hundred and eight. The General Assembly authorize collections for the support of what are termed six schemes, *viz.*, Education, India, Home, Jews, Colonies, and Endowment. When it is remembered that these schemes are supported voluntarily, and that no money is received from the State, and when we recollect that in 1843, more than 400 clergy, left along with their large and wealthy congregations, the Church of Scotland, we cannot but admit that the motto printed on the documents of this National Church is most appropriate: *Nec Tamen Consumebatur*. From the *Report of the Religious Worship in England and Wales; Census of Great Britain*, 1851, we learn that the National Church of Scotland has three Presbyteries in England; that of London, containing five congregations; that of Liverpool and Manchester, containing three congregations; and that of the north of England, containing eight congregations.

P. S.

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#### THE CHALDEE OF DANIEL AND EZRA.

In an article in the *Westminster Review*, July, 1860, on the Bampton Lectures for 1859, Mr. Rawlinson is charged with betraying an imperfect knowledge of Chaldee because he has stated that the Aramean of the Book of Daniel is of the same age as that of the Book of Ezra. And the same charge is brought against Mr. Westcott, who in the article "Daniel" in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* has said, "The Aramaic, like that of Ezra, is also of an earlier form than exists in any other Chaldaic document." The reviewer brings forward neither facts nor arguments in support of his own view, but simply asserts that the idiom of Daniel approaches nearer that of the Targums than the idiom of Ezra does. One would have expected at least some general statement of the nature of the difference between the Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra, in so far as the former agrees with the Targums; but not the slightest hint is given, which is all the more remarkable, seeing that the views held by Rawlinson and Westcott are those held by the majority of scholars competent to form an opinion on the subject.

The article "Daniel" for Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopaedia* was furnished by Hävernick, who says that the Aramaic of Daniel differs materially from the dialect of the Targums, and has more relation to the idiom of the Book of Ezra.

In Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für Theologie*, the article "Daniel" is written by Delitzsch, who gives it as his opinion that the radical correspondence of Daniel's Aramean with that of Jeremiah x. 11, and of the Book of Ezra, affords circumstantial proof of their being of the same age.

Even those who deny the authenticity of Daniel on theological grounds have felt themselves bound on philological grounds to admit that there is a close resemblance between the idioms of Daniel and Ezra. This agreement has even been adduced as an argument against the authenticity of Daniel. De Wette<sup>a</sup> says that if Daniel were genuine, there would be a greater difference between the idioms of the two books. Bleek<sup>b</sup> does not indeed say anything about the agreement in language between Daniel and Ezra, but he gives it as his opinion that such incorrect Chaldee as is found in Daniel could not have been written by one who was brought up and educated in Babylon, and lived in constant intercourse with the learned and noble at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. It is evident then that, in the opinion of Bleek, Daniel's Chaldee differs greatly from that of the Targums; but whether it should on that account be called grammatically incorrect is another matter. It depends on the standard by which it is judged, and there are no standards of the same age as the Biblical Chaldee by which to determine whether it was grammatically incorrect *at the time it was written*.

By some other critics the subject has been treated in its details, though neither with completeness nor accuracy. Hengstenberg<sup>c</sup> has enumerated the principal points of difference between the Biblical and Targumic Chaldee, at the same time adducing proof-references to Daniel and Ezra, which shew that the idioms of these two books agree with each other while they differ from that of the Targums.

He has been followed by Keil,<sup>d</sup> who has also given some additional references. Dr. Davidson<sup>e</sup> says the Aramean of the Book of Daniel coincides with the Aramean of the Book of Ezra, and is distinguished from the Chaldee dialect of the oldest Targums by many Hebraisms. He then enumerates these Hebraisms, as they are called, giving copious references to Daniel and Ezra.

But it is not only in regard to the use of the so-called Hebraisms that the Aramean of Daniel and Ezra is distinguished from that of the Targums. The Biblical Chaldee has many

<sup>a</sup> *Einleitung*, p. 332.

<sup>b</sup> In the Berlin *Theologische Zeitschrift*, iii., p. 214.

<sup>c</sup> *Beiträge*, i., 303 ff.

<sup>d</sup> *Einleitung*, § 133.

<sup>e</sup> Horne's *Introduction*, ii., p. 919.

peculiarities which are *not* Hebraisms, and can only be regarded as belonging to a particular age and dialect of the Aramean. In this respect the peculiarities of the Biblical Chaldee have not hitherto been examined with sufficient thoroughness, nor enumerated with sufficient accuracy. The statements of Hengstenberg, Keil, and Davidson are on some points too general, and must be considerably modified in order to present an accurate account of the facts. Sometimes again, by a strange oversight, they have adduced cases which have no proper bearing at all on the subject; for example, differences merely in vowel points; while other things both of interest and importance have not received due attention, or have been altogether passed over in silence. More especially has this been the case with regard to the agreement of the Biblical Chaldee with the Syriac in some of the points in which it differs from the Chaldee of the Targums, and the use of certain grammatical forms which occur neither in Hebrew nor Syriac, and must be considered as belonging to the age and place in which the Biblical Chaldee was written.

Before giving the details of the peculiarities of the Biblical Chaldee, one remark, therefore, must be made. It is a great mistake to regard these peculiarities as corrupt and incorrect grammatical forms; and it is also a mistake to call them Hebraisms: even when they agree with the Hebrew they should not be called Hebraisms. Since a great proportion of these *cannot* be Hebraisms, it is very probable that others *may* not be Hebraisms, more especially if they admit of another explanation. Besides, all the Biblical Chaldee is not the production of Jewish writers; Daniel iv. professes to have been written by Nebuchadnezzar, and it is just as likely that he wrote it as that Daniel wrote it in his name. But there are other portions concerning which there can be no doubt whatever that they are copies of original documents written by people who were not Jews, and could not be influenced by their acquaintance with Hebrew. Ezra iv. 12—16 is a copy of a letter of "Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe to king Artaxerxes;" verses 18—22 are a copy of the king's answer; chap. vi. 3—5 is a copy of a decree of Cyrus found among the records at the palace at Achmetha; verses 6—12 contain Darius's supplement to that decree; and chap. vii. 12—26 is a copy of a letter of Artaxerxes to Ezra. These letters and decrees were not written by the kings themselves, but they were not written by Jews; some of them were not even addressed to Jews. But their language does not coincide with what is called pure Chaldee more closely than that of the rest of the Biblical Chaldee does. Some peculiarities may not be found in some of them, but neither will the so-called

correct forms be found there, and when both are equally absent nothing can be inferred ; besides, the number and variety of peculiar words and forms which do occur prevent us from considering their language as purer than that of the other portions. But it may be said that the grammatical forms were modified when they were copied. This cannot be proved ; on the contrary, we may safely pronounce it extremely improbable. If whoever made the copy could not himself write the language correctly, he at least could make a correct copy of what was already written ; and if he thought that the grammatical forms should be modified in order to become intelligible to Jewish readers, then he would have confined his modifications solely to the introduction of Hebraisms, and would never have introduced peculiarities which differ as much from the Hebrew as from what is called the pure Chaldee idiom.

In short, a careful critical examination of the peculiarities which characterize the Biblical Chaldee places beyond a doubt

I. That in the latter half of the fifth and during the sixth century before Christ, the Chaldee language, as spoken in Babylonia, had reached that stage of development in which it is presented to us in the Biblical Chaldee.

The examples given in the sequel of archaic forms of words, and other peculiar grammatical forms which were laid aside, abbreviated, or weakened at a later period, prove this. Some of the proofs perhaps may not be readily admitted, and some of the arguments given may appear not quite satisfactory, but even deducting these, enough will remain to shew that the Biblical Chaldee presents us with the Aramean at a much earlier stage of its development than that which is met with in the Targums. And even what may be considered the unsatisfactory arguments for this will be found to be in strict accordance with the laws of philology ; for the idiom of the Targums can, according to these laws, be shewn to be a later development of the Biblical Chaldaic idiom, and *every* peculiarity in the Biblical Chaldee can, according to the same laws, be shewn to be an earlier development.

II. The Chaldee of Daniel coincides with that of Ezra in regard to those characteristics which distinguish the Biblical Chaldee from the language of the Targums.

The following are the details of these peculiarities, with remarks and explanations to prove the first position, and references to Daniel and Ezra to prove the second.

A general characteristic which distinguishes the Biblical Chaldee from the Chaldee of the Targums is the very frequent employment in the latter of vowel letters, which are rarely

inserted in the former. This is especially the case with jod, which is generally inserted in the aphel forms without suffixes in the Targums much more regularly than in the Biblical Chaldee. It is used also generally in such forms as **רַבָּתִי**, **רַבָּתְךָ** in the Targums, but in Daniel and Ezra these forms are oftener without the vowel letter. Examples may be found in Dan. iii. 8, 22; Ezra iv. 12, 13, etc. The same difference is seen in nouns and other parts of speech, e.g., **רַבָּתִי** Dan. iii. 2, 3; Ezra vi. 16, 17; but in Targums <sup>1</sup>, even although followed by dagesch forte. In Bib. Ch. **רַבָּתִי**, fem. **רַבָּתִי**, but in Targ. **רַבָּתִי**, fem. **רַבָּתְךָ**. Very frequently words such as **רַבָּתִי** Dan. v. 11; Ezra vii. 25; **רַבָּתְךָ** Dan. vii. 14; **רַבָּתִי** Ezra vii. 19, occur in the Targ. with , after the first radical. Many such examples might be brought forward to shew the agreement of Daniel and Ezra in their mode of writing. The Scriptio plena belongs to a later age. Along with these examples, although slightly different from them, may be classed such forms as **רַבָּתִי** Dan. iv. 12, 20; Ezra iv. 16; in Targ. **רַבָּתִי**.

But it is certainly an oversight in Hengstenberg, Keil, and Davidson to bring forward segholates with Hebrew points, and dual forms, as characteristics of the Biblical Chaldee, for only the consonants were originally written. The points were not added till a thousand years afterwards: and in the unpointed text there is no difference whatever between Hebrew and Chaldee segholates, or between duals and plurals.<sup>1</sup>

The special characteristics of the Biblical Chaldee will be most conveniently arranged under the letter in regard to which the peculiarity occurs.

## N

In the infinitive and future peal of verbs נ, the נ is exchanged for , before the preformatives in the Targums. In the Biblical Chaldee, on the contrary, , is never inserted (not even where נ is dropped), and נ is generally retained. All the occurrences

<sup>1</sup> Since these are mentioned, the details may be given. The only Hebrew segholates used are **רַבָּתִי**, **לַבָּתִי**, **מַבָּתִי**, **חַבָּתִי**, **נַבָּתִי**, **כַּבָּתִי**, and **צַבָּתִי**; regarding which it may be observed, that **רַבָּתִי** frequently, and **לַבָּתִי** occasionally, are found in the Targums: **רַבָּתִי** occurs eight times in Daniel and seventeen times in Ezra written **רַבָּתִי**; **לַבָּתִי** also occurs three times in Daniel. These two forms approach very closely to the Syriac one **רַבָּתִي**, which occurs once, in Daniel v. 1. On the contrary, twenty different nouns pointed as Chaldee segholates occur in Daniel, some of them pretty frequently; and eleven such nouns occur in Ezra, some of them also frequently. But as observed above, all this is the work of the punctuators, not of the authors. The only examples of duals are **רַבָּתִים** "200," Ezra vi. 17; **רַבָּתִים** "feet," Dan. vii. 4; **רַבָּתִים** "hands," Dan. ii. 34; **רַבָּתִים** "horns," Dan. vii. 7; **רַבָּתִים** "teeth," Dan. vii. 7; but in all other cases we have plurals where the corresponding Hebrew word is used in the dual.

are these: וְנִ, infinitive וְנִ; Dan. ii. 9, but וְנִ; Ezra v. 11, future in Dan. ii. 27; iii. 29; iv. 32; ii. 36, all with the נ retained. The same form also occurs in Jer. x. 11, in a verse of Chaldee evidently of the same age as the Biblical Chaldee. The noun וְנִ occurs in Dan. iv. 14; Ezra vi. 9; but in Targ. וְנִ; וְנִ inf. וְנִ Dan. iii. 2; and וְנִ inf., Dan. iii. 19, omit נ, but do not insert ו; וְנִ fut., Dan. iv. 80; vii. 23, in both instances with נ retained: וְנִ fut., Jer. x. 11, also with נ. Now these need not be regarded as Hebraisms; there is no necessity for going beyond the limits of the Aramean, since the infinitive and future of these verbs in *Syriac* coincides with the forms in the Biblical Chaldee, that is, olaph is generally, though not always, retained, and jud is never inserted. The forms in the Biblical Chaldee, which are also preserved in the Syriac, are the original forms; afterwards נ was gradually dropped as not quiescing well in the e sound; then, as in other cases, ו was inserted as a long vowel form, according to the universal custom of a later age.

Regarding וְ verbs, Hengstenberg remarks that in ithpeal and ithpaal two forms are used, and that the one in which נ is rejected, and a compensation given by dagesch in the ו occurs very frequently in the Targums, but never in Daniel or Ezra. This is true, but it is also true that the other form never occurs, for there is no instance of a verb וְ in any of these conjugations in the Biblical Chaldee.<sup>5</sup>

In verbs וְ a considerable difference is observed between the forms used in the Biblical Chaldee and those used in the Targums. It will be seen that the Bib. Ch. coincides very closely with the Syriac. The forms in the Bib. Ch. cannot be regarded as Hebraisms, for they do not coincide with the Hebrew verb וְ. The derived conjugations in the third singular present terminate in jod as in Syriac, not in aleph as in Hebrew. The נ is found indeed throughout the futures, but the aphel future does not insert jod as in Hebrew, but, on the contrary, agrees with the Syriac. Again, if Daniel and Ezra had modified the Chaldee forms to make them agree with the Hebrew וְ, they would not have used ו in the peal present and participle as they have done; if, on the other hand, it is said that these last are Hebraisms, according to the forms of the Hebrew וְ verbs, then that leaves

<sup>5</sup> It may be here observed that Winer, in his *Chaldee Grammar*, does not do justice to the form referred to. He merely says, "Some omit the נ also in ithpaal, its vowel being transferred to the preformative which receives their dagesch forte." This is far from being an adequate account, for the contracted forms occur frequently both in ithpeal and ithpaal; in the former even more frequently than in the latter. In Syriac it occurs only in ethpeel, ל being written twice in these cases. Something similar takes place in Arabic in the eighth conjugation of some of the corresponding verbs in that language.

unexplained why the future and infinitive peal, and the futures of the other conjugations, terminate in  $\text{א}$ —even in those verbs that are written with  $\text{נ}$  in the present and future peal. Besides, the imperative peal ends in *jod* (see Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9, etc.), thus agreeing neither with  $\text{א}$  nor  $\text{נ}$  in Hebrew, but with the Chaldee of the Targums and with the Syriac. The third singular present peal of verbs  $\text{א}$  occurs eighteen times in Daniel, seven times with  $\text{א}$  and eleven times with  $\text{נ}$ , but each verb is not always written in the same way; thus  $\text{אָנֹ}$  occurs twice and  $\text{אָנֵ}$  four times;  $\text{אָנַ}$  once, but with  $\text{נ}$  twice;  $\text{אָנְ}$  and  $\text{אָנִ}$  each once with  $\text{א}$ , and also once with  $\text{נ}$ . The other verbs are  $\text{אָמַ}$ ,  $\text{אָמֵ}$ ,  $\text{אָמַ}$ ,  $\text{אָמִ}$ , and  $\text{אָמֶ}$ , occurring each once only. It must be remembered, however, that manuscripts and editions do not agree; they vary very much in these cases. In Ezra there are only three examples—two of  $\text{אָנְ}$  and one of  $\text{אָנִ}$ .

The same variety is found in the active participle of peal, but  $\text{נ}$  is the prevailing form; it is always used in  $\text{אָנְ}$ , which occurs thirteen times, and in  $\text{אָמְ}$ , which occurs twenty-two times. There are six other examples of  $\text{נ}$ , and also six of  $\text{א}$ , three of these in words which occur also with  $\text{נ}$ , the other three in  $\text{אָמְ}$ . These are all in Daniel; there are no examples of either form in Ezra.

There is one example of the passive participle in Ezra, viz.,  $\text{אָמַ}$  v. 11. In Daniel there are three instances of  $\text{נ}$ , two of  $\text{א}$ , and also the form  $\text{אָמְ}$  in v. 25, 26, which must be regarded as a passive participle. Now *none* of these forms of the *passive* participle agree either with those of  $\text{א}$  or  $\text{נ}$  in Hebrew. And those which differ from the forms in the Targums must be regarded as belonging to the language of Babylonia at the time the Biblical Chaldee was written.

The only satisfactory explanation also that can be given of the different forms in the active participle and present is, that they were the forms in use at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote. No doubt a few of the varieties, especially when they occur in the same word, are to be ascribed to the errors of transcribers, but all the phenomena cannot be accounted for in that way; and to regard them as Hebraisms would not be consistent either with their variety or with the use of other forms (mentioned below), which cannot be referred to the Hebrew. It is best to consider them as characteristic of an early stage of the development of the Aramean. Some of them occur in the Targums, but in the later Targums especially they gradually disappear, and  $\text{א}$  becomes the most frequent termination even of the present peal. The original third radical of many of the verbs  $\text{א}$  was *jod*, but the *jod* was restored again not as a radical, only as a vowel letter. This is especially the case with

the forms which end in  $\text{ן}$  and  $\text{נ}$ . These in process of time were written  $\text{ן}$  or  $\text{נ}$ , according to the later custom of the Jews; and afterwards the  $\text{ן}$  and  $\text{נ}$  were rejected, jod thus coming in as a vowel letter to take the place which it formerly occupied as a radical. Some of the verbs, such as  $\text{נְבָא}$ , originally terminated in vau, which was afterwards weakened to  $\text{ן}$  or  $\text{נ}$ . Others (but very few) had  $\text{ן}$  or  $\text{נ}$  for their original final letter. At the time of Daniel and Ezra  $\text{ן}$  and  $\text{נ}$  were equally prevalent as terminations of all the verbs, without respect to their original termination, but five or six hundred years afterwards jod began to be prevalent in the manner stated above, or was written for the sake of uniformity.

In the infinitive construct the form  $\text{לִבְנָה}$  is always used in the Biblical Chaldee. It occurs seven times in Daniel, and eight times in Ezra; but the Targums use  $\text{לִבְנָה}$  for the infinitive construct, and the form with  $\text{נ}$  (generally preceded by  $\text{ל}$ ), is used to denote the absolute. The Biblical form is not an Hebraism; there is no necessity for going beyond the limits of the Aramean. The Syriac has always  $\text{ل}$ .

The same difference from the Targums and agreement with the Syriac is found in the future peal, which in the Targums terminates in  $\text{ן}$ , but in the Biblical Chaldee in  $\text{נ}$ , the Syriac form being  $\text{l}$ . All the occurrences are Dan. iii. 31, and sixteen other places in Daniel; in Ezra only iv. 22, vi. 8, and vii. 17. The form in  $\text{ן}$  never occurs in either of the books, but  $\text{ן}$  is used in some exceptional cases: it is found in Dan. vii. 14 (but the same verb occurs with  $\text{נ}$  in vi. 9, 13), also in v. 7 (but the same verb with  $\text{n}$  in verse 17); besides  $\text{לִבְנָה}$  occurs five times in Daniel, but with  $\text{n}$  only in vii. 23. There are no examples of futures in  $\text{ן}$  in Ezra. Whatever explanation of the variety may be given, one thing is certain, Daniel does not approach nearer the Targums than Ezra does.

As for the common form in  $\text{נ}$ , it must not be regarded as an Hebraism. The verbs in which it occurs correspond for the most part to  $\text{נ}$  verbs in Hebrew, *very few* of them are  $\text{ל}$  in Hebrew. The form, then, is not to be explained as an Hebraism, but is to be illustrated by the Syriac. The original form was  $\text{ן}$  (the jod is retained in Arabic), it was afterwards softened into  $\text{נ}$ , which is preserved in Hebrew, and was occasionally used in Chaldee at the time that *Daniel* wrote, but a softer form still was  $\text{n}$ , which was most commonly used in the time of Daniel, and universally in the time of Ezra, and was also retained in Syriac; but the Jews, after they got into the habit of writing plene  $\text{n}$ , rejected the  $\text{n}$  as we find in the Targums.

Throughout the other conjugations the coincidence with the

Syriac is perfect, that is, the third singular present ends in jod as also in the Targums, but in the future and participle  $\pi$  is always used, while the form in the Targums ends in jod.

The instances of the present tense are  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. iii. 19;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 24, 49;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 48;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Ezra v. 1;  $\pi\pi$  Ezra iv. 10; v. 12;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. v. 13. These are all the examples which occur, but they are sufficient to shew what form was in use. And they afford an argument against Hebraisms elsewhere; for why should the termination in these cases be left unchanged, while modifications were made in peal, and even in the future of all these conjugations? The Hebraism-theory cannot account for that as well as for many other things. The safest and most consistent view is that no modifications were introduced anywhere. Daniel and Ezra employed the forms which were regularly used at the time.

The instances of the future tense and participle are  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. iii. 6;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Ezra vi. 11;  $\pi$  twice in the participle, and four times in the future ithpeal of  $\pi\pi$ ;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. vii. 25;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 24;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 4;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. iv. 32;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. v. 12;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 9;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 21;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Ezra vi. 11;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. vi. 11;  $\pi\pi\pi$ , Dan. ii. 23; and  $\pi\pi$  (contracted as in Syriac  $\text{לְמַךְ}$ ) Dan. v. 19. Also the following exceptional cases:  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 21;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. iii. 29;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 7; and  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. v. 12; in which verse also occurs  $\pi\pi$ , the *only* example of a future in jod in the Biblical Chaldee. It is also to be observed that the three examples of  $\pi$  are all in Daniel, as was the case with the future peal. The eight instances in Ezra are all in  $\pi$ , which also occurs ten times in Daniel, as given above; these coincide with the forms of the verb in Syriac, they were also the regular forms of the verb in Chaldee at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote; but in the time of Daniel the older form in  $\pi$  was occasionally used in some verbs, and traces of that usage appear in his writings as given above. The solitary instance of  $\pi$  must decidedly be called an exception, perhaps it is an error of the transcriber; the probabilities are twenty-one to one that it is so. It must be remembered that the manuscripts vary very much in regard to the different forms of these verbs.

Another peculiarity of the Biblical Chaldee is the use of  $\pi$ , in the plural of the participle of verbs  $\pi$ .

The instances of it are  $\pi\pi$  Dan. ii. 38; iii. 31; iv. 32; vi. 26;  $\pi\pi$  Ezra vii. 25;  $\pi\pi$  Dan. v. 19; vi. 27;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. iii. 3;  $\pi\pi\pi$  Dan. vii. 16. This last example has no  $\pi$ , but in the case of all the others a  $\pi$  substitutes for  $\pi$  a double jod, the jod being doubled to denote its consonantal power. In the Targums these forms are written with jod. The form in the Biblical

Chaldee has been called an Hebraism, but there are no grounds for doing so; the Hebrew inserts neither the one letter nor the other, but always writes וְ, etc. The few examples of וְ being inserted are in Ezekiel xvi. 57; xxviii. 24, 26, and ought to be called Chaldaisms instead of the Chaldee form being called an Hebraism. Ezekiel wrote "in the land of the Chaldeans;" the form in the Biblical Chaldee was the regular form at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote. There is no necessity for going to the Hebrew, seeing that in the Targums generally, and in Syriac always, וְ is found in the masc. sing. abs., while in pure Hebrew no vowel letter is inserted.

A very marked peculiarity of the Biblical Chaldee is the use of וְ instead of וּ in the aphel conjugation. There are no less than ninety-six examples of forms beginning with וְ, and only three of forms beginning with וּ. In addition to these ninety-six, there are thirty-five in which וְ is retained before the preformatives of the future and participle; there are, however, twenty-five examples in which וְ is not retained. The three examples of וּ are two imperatives, וָאֶתְּנֵךְ Ezra v. 15, and וָאֶתְּנֵךְ Dan. iv. 11; and one present, וָאַתְּנִיחֵךְ Dan. iii. 1; which last is very remarkable, seeing that Daniel uses the present tense of *the same verb* elsewhere nine times with וְ, and that eighty out of the ninety-six examples of וְ are in Daniel.

Regarding the insertion or rejection of וְ before the preformatives of the future and participle, it is to be remarked that uniformity is not observed even in regard to the same word; for example, וָיְמַלֵּךְ Dan. ii. 23, but וָיְמַלֵּךְ, in vi. 11; וָיְמַלֵּךְ Dan. ii. 40, but fem. וָיְמַלְכֵה in vii. 7, 19; וָיְמַלְכֵה Dan. ii. 15, but וָיְמַלְכֵה in iii. 22; וָיְמַלְכֵה Dan. v. 21; vi. 16, but וָיְמַלְכֵה in ii. 44; iv. 14; וָיְמַלְכֵה Ezra vi. 5, but וָיְמַלְכֵה in v. 5. These are all the instances that occur of want of uniformity in the same word. In addition, there are the following examples of difference between different parts of the same verb; וָיְמַלְכֵה Dan. ii. 40; but וְ is not retained in the future, which occurs in the same verse as well as in verse 44, and in vii. 23; וָיְמַלְכֵה Ezra vi. 1, but וְ is not retained in the future, which occurs in verse 5. On the other hand, וָיְמַלְכֵה Dan. vii. 24, but וָיְמַלְכֵה in v. 19.

The use of וְ in this conjugation instead of וּ is often called an Hebraism; but the retention of the letter after preformatives cannot be so explained, for such a form occurs in Hebrew only very rarely: throughout the whole Hebrew Scriptures there are only six examples, while in the narrow limits of the Biblical Chaldee there are no less than thirty-five. The six examples are Neh. xi. 17; Psalm xlvi. 18; Psalm cxvi. 6; 1 Sam. xvii.

47; Isa. lli. 5; and Ezek. xlvi. 22. The first five are in verbs **בְּ**, the last one is **מִבְּשָׂרֶם**, which is marked as a suspicious word by the Masorites, but should rather be called a Chaldaism. In the Biblical Chaldee eleven of the examples are in the verb **תְּ**, one in **תַּ**; the remaining twenty-three are in other verbs: the use of these forms therefore cannot be called an Hebraism. It would have been remarkable if Daniel and Ezra had employed as an Hebraism in writing Chaldee a form which they never employed in writing Hebrew. The peculiarity can only be explained by its being common in Chaldee at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote. If then **נַ** was often written after the preformatives of the future and participle, it must also have been used in the present tense; so we are compelled to come to the conclusion that the use of **נַ** throughout the causative conjugation was not an Hebraism at all, but belonged to the stage of development which the Chaldee had reached in Babylonia at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote. Traces of it are found in the Targums; in verbs **אֵלֶּה** it is very frequently employed in the present and retained in the future and participles. This is occasionally the case also with verbs **יְ**, and with some verbs **וְ**. In the Targums in the causative of **פָּנָה**, **נַ** is never employed, but **נַ** is always used, and besides is always retained in the future and participle. In Syriac also we always find **סֹכִּי**, and the **סִ** is retained after preformatives. Bernstein calls this a pael form as if from **סֹקָּת**, but there is no necessity for doing so; it is simply a relic of antiquity. In Arabic too, besides the regular form of the 4th conjugation of **أَمِنَ** we find also **هَيْمَنَ** and participle **مَهِيمِنَ**, which also occurs in Ethiopic. There are various other examples in Arabic, and this is the prevailing causative form in the Himyaritic inscriptions. In all these cases **נַ** is retained after the preformatives. The few examples of **נַ** retained in future and participle in Hebrew may be considered either as poetical archaisms, or as Chaldaisms. The examples from the Psalms and Isaiah may be called the former, as also the example from 1 Samuel, where the phrase **נִתְּבָנָת** is evidently a paronomasia. The example from Nehemiah is most probably to be regarded as a Chaldaism, and the one from Ezekiel cannot be anything else; but the converse of this cannot be successfully maintained. It is evident from what has been already adduced, that the use of **נַ** in the causative of verbs in the Biblical Chaldee cannot possibly be an Hebraism, and cannot be consistently explained as such.

Connected with the above is the use of hophal. It occurs

only once in Ezra, viz., chap. iv. 15 ; but in Daniel it is found in chap. ii. 10 ; iii. 13 ; iv. 33 (twice) ; v. 13, 15, 16, 20 ; vi. 24, 18 ; vii. 11. (Besides,  $\text{רְמַנֵּן}$  in vii. 4, and  $\text{רְמַנֵּת}$  in verse 5, in that case to be read also " $\text{רְמִנָּה}$ , as many editions have it, may be considered as hophal forms ; but it would be better to take them both as hiphils, which gives quite a good construction, and at the same time agrees better with the form of the word, apart from the points.) The use of hophal is generally called an Hebraism, but it is found occasionally in the Targums ; and it may be asked why did Daniel and Ezra not use pual as well as hophal ? Ithpeal and ithpaal could not have been less foreign to Jews than ittaphal. Why was the one rejected and the others adopted ? The only satisfactory answer that can be given is, that hophal was in use in Chaldee at the time, but afterwards fell out of general use. This view is supported by a parallel case, which may be noticed here. Frequently in the Biblical Chaldee the passive of peal is formed, not by prefixing  $\text{בְּ}$ , but by internal changes, and the word thus formed has been called the passive participle inflected : it does not take fragments of the personal pronoun, as the two participles do in the Targums as well as in Syriac, but, on the contrary, it has the regular verbal sufformatives. This form occurs once in Ezra, viz.,  $\text{וְרַמֵּן}$ , v. 14, and in Daniel frequently. The occurrences are,  $\text{וְרַמֵּן}$ , vii. 4 ;  $\text{וְרַמְנֵה}$ , vii. 11 ;  $\text{וְרַמְנֵת}$ , v. 28 ; vii. 11, 12, 27 ;  $\text{וְרַמְנֵת}$ , v. 28 : also without inflection,  $\text{וְרַמֵּן}$ , v. 30 ;  $\text{וְרַמֵּת}$ , vi. 4, used as finite verbs. Active forms of these verbs occur elsewhere ; for example,  $\text{וְרַמֵּן}$ , Dan. iii. 28. The forms given above must be considered as passive forms, which afterwards fell out of use. They are certainly not Hebraisms ; and this affords an argument against considering the hophals as Hebraisms. The fact that the latter happen to be used in Hebrew ought not to influence our judgment, seeing that the former, which are not found in Hebrew, are found in the same writings of an early age, but afterwards shared the same fate. They are both passives formed from their respective actives by internal change, and were both regularly used in Chaldee at the time that the Biblical Chaldee was written ; ithpeal was also in use at that time, but ittaphal did not come into use until a later period.

In the conjugations ithpeal and ithpaal there is considerable variety ;  $\text{רַמֵּן}$  is used eighteen times in Daniel, and four times in Ezra. On the other hand,  $\text{רַמֵּת}$  is used in Dan. ii. 45 ; iii. 19 ; iv. 16 ; vi. 8 ; vii. 8, 15 ; and Ezra iv. 12. It is to be remarked, that in four of the six examples in Daniel, the punctuation is  $\text{רְמַנֵּן}$ , as in Syriac ; however, that was not the work of the author. More important is it to observe that the same word, which occurs

in ii. 45, with  $\text{מ}$ , is used in verse 34 with  $\text{מ}$ , and that in iii. 19,  $\text{מ}$  and  $\text{מ}$  both occur. These are all the variations. It will be seen that  $\text{מ}$  greatly predominates, and as it is found often in the Targums, the safest view to take is that both forms were in use and continued to be in use, but that the rougher  $\text{מ}$ , which prevailed at an earlier period, was at a later period not so often employed as the softer and smoother  $\text{מ}$ . This view is the best one to adopt also in other cases of interchange already mentioned, or mentioned below: at all events the Hebraism-theory cannot account for the seven examples of  $\text{מ}$  as given above.

$\text{מ}$  is the most usual termination of the emphatic state in the Biblical Chaldee, but there are eleven examples of  $\text{מ}$  in Daniel and eleven also in Ezra. The variations are so remarkable that they may be given in detail. Not only is  $\text{מ}$  found in the same verse occasionally with  $\text{מ}$ , but also the same word has its emphatic state sometimes in the one letter and sometimes in the other, not only when employed by different writers, but even when employed by the same writer. Ezra has  $\text{מ}$  twice, but with  $\text{מ}$  four times. Ezra has  $\text{מ}$  three times, while Daniel has it with  $\text{מ}$  fourteen times; and Ezra himself always writes  $\text{מ}$  in the same verse (v. 14; vi. 5; vii. 18): Ezra vii. 26,  $\text{מ}$ , but with  $\text{מ}$  in Daniel four times:  $\text{מ}$  Dan. v. 20, but with  $\text{מ}$  in verse 18, and in ii. 37:  $\text{מ}$  Dan. iv. 15, but with  $\text{מ}$  fifteen times:  $\text{מ}$  Dan. ii. 5, but with  $\text{מ}$  twelve times:  $\text{מ}$  Dan. iv. 16, but with  $\text{מ}$  one hundred and two times (nine of these in chap. iv.):  $\text{מ}$  Dan. v. 7, 15, but with  $\text{מ}$  five times in the same chapter, and three times elsewhere:  $\text{מ}$  in Ezra nine times, but also in iv. 16, with  $\text{מ}$ , although an example of  $\text{מ}$  occurs in the next verse:  $\text{מ}$  Ezra v. 12, but  $\text{מ}$  in vii. 13, 16, 25:  $\text{מ}$  Dan. ii. 7; v. 12, but with  $\text{מ}$  eight times:  $\text{מ}$  Dan. ii. 18, but with  $\text{מ}$  four times in the same chapter, one example being in the next verse:  $\text{מ}$  Ezra iv. 16, but with  $\text{מ}$  in verses 12 and 13 of the same chapter. These are all the variations. The examples which have no variations are only  $\text{מ}$  Ezra vi. 2;  $\text{מ}$  Ezra vii. 17;  $\text{מ}$  Dan. vii. 7, 19; and  $\text{מ}$  Dan. ii. 38. Some of these examples, especially when variations occur, may be the result of transcribers writing  $\text{מ}$  for  $\text{מ}$ , or the converse; some may be errors of punctuation, where  $\text{מ}$  has been put instead of  $\text{מ}$ , but certainly they cannot all be explained in that way. It must also be remembered that manuscripts and editions vary considerably, but still some other explanation must be sought. The Hebraism-theory is also unsatisfactory; it cannot account for the variations, and leaves unexplained why, after all,  $\text{מ}$  is the most frequently used termination of the emphatic state both in

**Daniel and Ezra.** None of the above-mentioned causes can throw any light on such cases as Ezra always writing נָאַת and נָאַתְּ in the same verse close together. Surely it is safest to say, that in the time of Daniel and Ezra the original and rougher נ was occasionally used to denote the emphatic state. As already observed, it occurs an equal number of times in Daniel and Ezra.

Regarding the use of נ as a feminine termination, the Biblical Chaldee differs considerably from the language of the Targums. In the latter, נ is only used when preceded by נ, but in the Biblical Chaldee, especially in Daniel, it is employed in other cases also. *Exclusive* of examples in which נ is preceded by נ, there are in nouns, adjectives, and participles, fifty-eight instances of it in Daniel, but only seven in Ezra, for Ezra generally uses נ in the feminine. Occasionally there is a want of uniformity in the mode of writing the same word, but examples of this are by no means so frequently found as they are in the other cases in which נ and נ are interchanged. The only variations which occur are,—נָאַת Dan. vii. 12, but with נ in iv. 24 : נָאַתְּ Dan. vii. 5, 7, but with נ in iv. 13 : נָאַת Ezra iv. 10, but with נ in verse 15 : נָאַתְּ Dan. ii. 40, but with נ in verse 42. Also the following :—נָאַת six times in Daniel in an adverbial construction, but with נ in v. 12 as an adjective : נָאַת in Daniel three times, and in Ezra twice, as an adverb, but with נ twice in Daniel and once in Ezra construed as an adjective : נָאַת five times in Daniel and in Ezra vi. 15, but with נ in Ezra vi. 4. It will thus be seen that four out of the seven examples in Ezra are also used by him with נ, the remaining three are נָאַת and נָאַתְּ iv. 13, 20 ; vii. 24 ; on all other occasions Ezra has נ in the feminine, but נ is the usual termination in Daniel, especially in participles and adjectives : in the feminine of participles it is always used.

The infinitives also often occur in the derived conjugations with a feminine termination. In Daniel twenty times, and in Ezra four times, the termination נ is employed. The only examples of נ are נָאַת Ezra iv. 21 ; vi. 8 ; and נָאַתְּ Dan. ii. 24 (but with נ in verse 12, and also in vii. 16) : נָאַת Dan. vii. 19 (unless the other reading נָאַתְּ be preferred) is an adjective, and there is no necessity for adopting the other reading. Thus the only example of נ in Daniel is probably a transcriber's error, seeing that the same word occurs once in the same chapter and once elsewhere with נ, and that the other eighteen infinitives all end in נ. At all events, its use by Daniel must certainly be considered as an exception.

Now in order to account for this use of נ to denote the fe-

minine, there is no necessity for calling it an Hebraism ; indeed all the phenomena cannot so be accounted for. Hebraism will not account for *n* being used by Daniel always in participles always (with only one suspicious exception) in the infinitive, and generally in adjectives, while feminine substantives, especially in Ezra, end in *s*. That *n* as a feminine termination was not altogether foreign to the Chaldee, is proved by its being always employed when through any cause *s* precedes it. The only explanation that can account for all the phenomena is as follows : —The original feminine termination for all verbs, participles, substantives, and adjectives in all the Shemitic languages was *n*. In verbs, the *n* has been always retained in Arabic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Chaldee, but in Hebrew it has been softened to *n̄*; only the original *n* is restored before suffixes. In regard to participles, nouns, and adjectives, there is greater variety ; and the variety that is found especially in Arabic and Ethiopic throws light on the variety that is met with in the Biblical Chaldee. In Hebrew, *n* is retained in some segholates, also when preceded by a feeble letter ; in all other cases (with a very few exceptions in the poetical books) it is softened into *n̄* : but the original form is restored in the construct and before suffixes. In Syriac, and in Chaldee as it is found in the Targums, *n* has altogether disappeared in the absolute state (except in a very few instances), and the terminations are, *s*, *t*, *z*, *h* ; in the first case, *s* has been substituted ; in the others, *n* has been simply dropped : but in Chaldee *s* was not always substituted, the stronger *n* was always used when preceded by *s*, and was also at an earlier period, viz., at the time that Daniel wrote, used always in participles and verbal nouns, generally in adjectives, and also frequently in substantives. This diversity has its parallels in other languages.

In Arabic, all participles end in *س* in the feminine, so do verbal nouns, and adjectives for the most part, as also many substantives ; but a few adjectives and a considerable number of substantives have their feminine in *ت* and *ذ* as well as *س*. Thus in Arabic we have both *n* (which however is in these cases pronounced as *n*) and *s* ; and these terminations existing at the same time illustrate the same phenomena in the Biblical Chaldee. In process of time the weak *s* became universal in Chaldee, with the single exception of *n* being retained after *s*, but the very circumstance of its being found there suggests the probability of its being once used elsewhere. The softer letter became prevalent in Chaldee, just in the same way as in the Arabic of the present day all feminines, without distinction, have their termination pronounced *a*, no matter how it may be written. The

Ethiopic also affords an illustration. In that language the original *n* is retained in the feminine in all adjectives and participles as well as in verbal nouns, also in many other nouns; but in many classes of substantives a much weaker termination is employed in the feminine, viz., the vowel *ā* is annexed to the final consonant, no vowel letter being used. Thus in Ethiopic there is very much of the same variety as in the Biblical Chaldee, only the rough form is harder, and the weak form is softer, than in the Biblical Chaldee. The Arabic, as we have seen, affords the best illustration, both in regard to the terminations employed, their coexistence, the cases in which they are used respectively, and their subsequent weakening. The language as spoken in Babylonia at the time of Daniel thus receives illustration from the Arabic, but of course the phenomena are not to be called Arabisms; besides, the parallel is not perfect. It is evident, however, that the Arabic affords a much better illustration than the Hebrew does; and this also is certainly evident,—the language of Daniel is anything but more closely allied to the idiom of the Targums than that of Ezra.

Besides the examples already given of the use of *n*, there remains the very frequent employment of *ny* both in Daniel and Ezra as an adjective and as an adverb. In the Targums *ny* is sometimes used in the latter construction, but much more frequently *yn*, which is never used in the Biblical Chaldee as an adverb or conjunction. As regards the termination *n*, it was doubtless the regular one when the Biblical Chaldee was written, and was changed to *n* at a subsequent period, as it was in other cases already mentioned.

Winer and Hengstenberg mention as a peculiarity of the Biblical Chaldee the use of the Hebrew article *n* instead of the emphatic state. They give no examples, for a very good reason,—there are none to be found. Whatever may have been the origin of *ny*, which occurs four times in Daniel, one thing is certain,—*n* is not the article prefixed *instead* of the emphatic state, for the word occurs once in the emphatic state, once in the construct, and twice with a suffix. There is no example of the *use* of the Hebrew article.

The first personal pronoun is written *ny* frequently in Daniel, and in Ezra vii. 21; but *ny* in Dan. ii. 8, and Ezra vi. 12. The plural is written *nyy* in Ezra iv. 16, but *nyyy* in Ezra v. 11, and in Dan. iii. 16, 17. No doubt both methods were equally in use when the Biblical Chaldee was written.

The second personal pronoun is written *nyw* in Daniel; it occurs thirteen times: it is evidently an ancient form.

Jod is used sometimes in the Biblical Chaldee in cases where it is not used in the Targums.

In the Targums the emphatic state plural of nouns in יְ is of the form יְמָרֵא, but in the Biblical Chaldee of the form יְמָרַא, precisely as in Syriac مَرْأَةٌ. This must have been the regular form at the time. Examples may be found in Dan. ii. 5; iii. 2, 8; vii. 24; and in Ezra iv. 9, 12, 13; v. 1; vi. 7. The two writers agree in this, in differing from the Targums, as on other occasions.

Another peculiarity is, יְ with the suffix of the first person יְךָ Dan. v. 13; instead of this the emphatic יְךָנָה is always used in the Targums. The form in Daniel need not be called an Hebraism, for the Syriac has أَنْكَلْ. It was no doubt regularly used at the time in Babylonia.

Both Daniel and Ezra use, without exception, יְ as sign of the genitive, relative, and conjunction; but this form never occurs in the Targums, which always have יְ prefixed to the word which follows. The form in the Biblical Chaldee is evidently the more ancient.

In Daniel ten times, and in Ezra iv. 16; v. 17, we find יְ “there is,” or יְנִי “there is not;” but in the Targums always יְנִי and יְנִי. Here also it is evident that the form in the Biblical Chaldee is the more ancient. It is another of the peculiarities of the Babylonian Aramean at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote.



A very marked peculiarity of the Biblical Chaldee is the use of יְנִי eight times in Daniel (once with יְ as last letter) and six times in Ezra; also the plural יְנִי four times in Daniel and twice in Ezra, and feminine יְנִי Dan. v. 17. The different views that have been taken of this difficult form are discussed, and its most probable explanation given, by Beer.<sup>4</sup> The same view is also adopted by Winer,<sup>5</sup> and is the one now commonly taken. The form can only be explained as a peculiar future form belonging to the time of Daniel and Ezra.



Another peculiarity is the use of יְנִי and יְנִי for יְנִי or יְנִי. The form יְנִי is used in Ezra nine times, and the form יְנִי is used in Daniel three times: יְנִי is evidently the older of the two; it also approaches very closely to the original Shemitic

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptiones et papyri veteris Semitici in Aegypto reperti*, part i., p. 18 sq., quoted by Maurer, com. ii., pp. 84—87.

<sup>5</sup> *Gram. Ch.*, § 23, note 2.

plural termination.<sup>j</sup> The suffixes  $\text{ם}$  and  $\text{ם}$  are used in the Targums occasionally as well as in Daniel and Ezra. Examples of plurals in  $\text{ם}$  are  $\text{מ}$  Ezra iv. 13 (but four times in the same chapter  $\text{מ}$ );  $\text{מ}$  Dan. vii. 10; and  $\text{מ}$  Dan. iv. 14.

Hengstenberg says that the resolution of dagesch forte into nun in words and forms with which nun has nothing to do, is peculiar to Daniel. This is scarcely correct. It occurs in Dan. iv. 9, 11, 18, where we have  $\text{מ}$ , but it is also found in Ezra iv. 13; vii. 24, where we have  $\text{מ}$ , and it is also found occasionally in the Targums, for example,  $\text{מ}$  Micah i. 16.

Regarding : being *retained* where we might expect its place to be supplied by dagesch forte, there is considerable variety both in the Biblical Chaldee and in the Targums. In Dan. ii. 46, iii. 19, we find  $\text{מ}$ , but that occurs also sometimes in the Targums, though most frequently we find the contracted form used there;  $\text{מ}$  and plural  $\text{מ}$  also occur in the Targums, but the contracted forms are more common.

In Ezra iv. 13, 15, 22, : is retained in the future, infinitive, and participle aphel of  $\text{מ}$ , but we find the same form often in the Targums. On the other hand, : is not retained in the aphel of  $\text{מ}$  in the Targums, nor in Ezra v. 15; vi. 1, 5; but it is retained in Dan. v. 20, hophal : is not retained in the present aphel of  $\text{מ}$  Dan. iii. 22, but it is retained in the infinitive, Dan. vi. 24. In Dan. v. 2, 3, and in Ezra v. 14; vi. 5, : is retained in aphel of  $\text{מ}$ , but not in the Targums. In Ezra vii. 20; iv. 13; and Dan. ii. 16, the first nun in  $\text{מ}$  is retained after preformatives, but it is not retained after them in Dan. iv. 14, 22, 29; and it is never retained after them in the Targums. Thus in the Biblical Chaldee the older uncontracted forms prevail, and in the Targums the later contracted forms, but there is considerable variety; and Daniel does not approach more closely to the idiom of the Targums than Ezra does.

In Dan. ii. 25; iv. 3; vi. 19, nun is inserted after : in the aphel of  $\text{מ}$ , but in v. 7; ii. 24, the nun is not inserted, nor in v. 13, 15, in hophal, nor in the Targums; the verb does not occur in Ezra.

In Dan. ii. 9, 30; iv. 14, 22, 23, 29, and Ezra iv. 15, : is inserted in the future peal of  $\text{מ}$ ; also in Dan. ii. 21; iv. 31, 33; and v. 12, the noun  $\text{מ}$  occurs. Hengstenberg, Keil, Davidson, and others, have said that the only example of this formation

<sup>j</sup> See Ewald's *Ausföh. Lehrb.*, § 117 b, and *anm.* 4, where all the plurals of nouns, pronouns, and verbs of both genders, in all the Semitic languages, are harmonized and traced to their origin.

that has hitherto been discovered in the Targums is וְתַחַת, Ruth iv. 4, but there is at least one other example of it, viz., וְתַחַת Psalm ix. 21. And the noun וְתַחַת occurs frequently in the Targums.<sup>k</sup>

With regard to the use of ז, then, it is evident that Daniel and Ezra agree, and use for the most part forms which occur in the Targums only rarely, and as exceptional cases.

Thus we have seen that the Biblical Chaldee is distinguished by many peculiarities which mark an early stage of the development of the language. Some of these peculiarities are also found in Syriac; others have altogether disappeared from the Aramean, or are found in the later language only as exceptional cases which rarely occur. And we have certainly seen that Daniel does not approach nearer than Ezra to the language of the Targums. On the contrary, there are one or two phenomena which shew that the Book of Daniel was written a considerable time before that of Ezra.

J. M'G.

### EXEGESIS OF ROMANS viii. 18—25.

#### OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE DESTINY OF THE CREATURE—SUBJECTION TO VANITY—SALVATION BY OR IN HOPE?

Λογίζομαι γὰρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν οὐών τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. Τῇ γὰρ ΜΑΤΑΙΟΤΗΤΙ ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη (οὐχ ἔκοῦστα, ἀλλὰ διὰ Τὸν Τποτάξαντα) ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οἴδαμεν γὰρ, ὅτι ΠΑΣΑ Ή ΚΤΙΣΙΣ συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. Οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸι τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ Πινεύματος ἔχοντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς

<sup>k</sup> The remarks of Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, and Fürst in his *Concordance*, about certain words never occurring in the Targums, cannot be implicitly relied on, for the statements often rest only on the fact that Buxtorf has adduced no instances of the words in his *Chaldee Lexicon*; for examples, Buxtorf gives no instances of בָּטָן from the Targums, and Gesenius says that it never occurs there, but it does occur in Isaiah v. 29. Buxtorf gives no examples of מִתְּפָרֵעַ, hence Fürst says it is quite peculiar to the Biblical Chaldee, and Gesenius says that it never occurs in the Targums, but it does occur in Esther ii. 21. On the other hand Gesenius says that the word מִתְּפָרֵעַ occurs in the Targums once only, viz., Job xv. 32; this is an oversight. Buxtorf's citation refers to the Hebrew of Job, not to the Chaldee, which has מִתְּפָרֵעַ in that passage.

αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν, νιοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. ΤΗι γὰρ ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ἐσώθημεν ἐλπὶς δὲ βλέπομένη, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπὶς δὲ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει; εἰ δὲ δὲ οὐ βλέπομεν, ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

Few passages have been struggled over more vehemently than this, and few are exegetically in a less satisfactory condition. Some of the questions raised upon it are simply important, if at all, in point of scholarship; others have a direct bearing upon the interpretation of the passage and the logical development of the argument of the Apostle. Among the comparatively unimportant questions are these: Whether ἐπ' ἐλπὶς is to be connected with ἀπεκδέχεται, ὑπετάγη, or ὑποτάξαντα? Whether ὅτι in ver. 21 is to be translated *because*, as in the Authorized Version, or *that*, as in Philip. i. 20, where it occurs in a similar position after the word ἐλπὶς? It is clear from the most cursory perusal, that the logic of the passage is not seriously affected, whichever way the first of these questions be answered, and we hope to shew that the second of them is equally immaterial to the argument. Origen clearly takes ἐπ' ἐλπὶς with ὑποτάξαντα, and we do not feel certain that he is not right, although Professor Ellicott and Dean Alford argue very plausibly for the claims of ὑπετάγη. Origen and Chrysostom both *appear* to take ὅτι=that, although the former especially, or rather his translator Rufinus, leaves us somewhat in doubt on the subject.

We shall take for granted that τὸν ὑποτάξαντα in ver. 20 is God, rejecting, as satisfactorily refuted by Dean Alford, the interpretation which applies so strong a term to Adam, through whose sin we fell under the law previously appointed by God to provide against that contingency, and as puerile, that which makes the devil our ὑποτάξας. We shall also take for granted that τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν in ver. 23, signifies the redemption of our body from ματαότης, whether it be understood of the individual's body or of the collective body, the Church. And if we are blamed for summarily rejecting interpretations in favour of which great names can be pleaded, let it be remembered that no folly is too great for a learned commentator, and no nonsense too absurd to be palmed off by learning, without good sense, upon an inspired writer. What would be scouted at once in a commentator on Aristotle or Plato, is sometimes almost commanded to be received on the *ipse dixit* of a commentator on the Scriptures under pain of being declared guilty of want of faith. It is supposed to be the duty of faith to swallow any garbage that an expositor, especially if he be a leading man in his sect or party, chooses to declare to be the

veritable mind of the Spirit. For our own part, twenty years of constant study of the Scriptures of the new covenant have caused us considerably to lose confidence in great divines, and to form the decided opinion that there is far more latent and undiscovered in Scripture than is usually supposed, and that our motto must be *Forward, forward, forward*, if we are to contend successfully against the infidels, or rather *semi-infidels* of the present day. To quote the words of an excellent little *Hand-book to Butler's Analogy*: “To the Christian philosopher the Bible presents the same field for investigation that the world does to the physical philosopher. Neither the Bible nor the world have as yet been fully explored.”<sup>a</sup> Justly too has it been remarked in a beautiful series of sermons preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, by the Public Orator, one of the tutors, that “New discoveries in the natural sciences, particularly those of geology and physiology, have modified or entirely subverted many theories respecting the material world, hitherto received with unquestioning assent, and have proved, that to many passages of Holy Scripture men had applied an untenable interpretation and assigned a wrong value.” But to return.

The questions that we propose to discuss are the following, which we have already indicated in the Greek passage, which stands at the head of this article, by the employment of capital letters.

I. What is the *KΤΙΣΙΣ*?

II. What is *MΑΤΑΙΟΤΗΣ*?

III. Which is the proper translation of *THι ΕΛΠΙΔΙ*, *by hope* or *in hope*?

I. What is the *KΤΙΣΙΣ*?

To this question various answers have been given, the principal of which are,—

(a). Inanimate creation.

(b). Mankind, arbitrarily limited to the unconverted.

(c). The rational creation, *i.e.*, angels and men.

(d). The whole creation, animate and inanimate.

(e). All animate and inanimate nature as distinguished from mankind.

Such as the following: “The yet unconverted Gentiles;” “The yet unconverted Jews;” “The converted Gentiles;” “The converted Jews;” “All Christians;” we think may safely be neglected as unworthy of notice. Dean Alford, following De Wette, has undertaken the patronage of (e), and Professor Ellicott in his *Sermons on the Destiny of the Creature* that of (d). Origen

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<sup>a</sup> Swainson's *Hand-book to Butler's Analogy*, note 32.

pronounces most emphatically in favour of (c), and Augustine in favour of (b), which to a very great extent coincide, and if we are not very much mistaken, it will be found that the opinions of Origen and Augustine, *so far as they coincide*, are irrefragable.

De Wette fairly enough refutes (a) from the very wording of the passage. The words *οὐχ ἔκοῦσα, συστενάζει* and *συνωδίνει*, imply life in the *κτίσις*, and it is extremely arbitrary to set them down to mere personification. Besides, if the *κτίσις* refers to *inanimate* matter, there is no reason why it should not also refer to *animate*, though irrational, matter. We may, therefore, dismiss (a) from further consideration.

Let us proceed to the consideration of (d), which supposes the *κτίσις* to include the whole creation animate and inanimate, and (e), which specially excepts mankind from the *κτίσις*. The objection above alleged against (a) is not without its force here, in that the words, *οὐχ ἔκοῦσα* and *συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει*, implying life in the *κτίσις*, can only have a partial application to it under this interpretation. What is predicated of *ΠΑΣΑ ἡ κτίσις* ought surely to be true, when examined with regard to any given thing included under the general term *κτίσις*. But are the words *συστενάζει* and *συνωδίνει* predicate of a stone or a pear-tree? Is *ἀποκαραδοκία* predicate of a lily or a diamond? It certainly appears to us, that this objection is fatal to (d) and (e), so far as they include inanimate nature in the term *κτίσις*. We thus reduce (d) to “the whole animate creation,” and (e) to “the whole animate creation excepting man.”

We must now consider these interpretations separately, first premising that all arguments used against the inclusion of irrational animate creatures in the *κτίσις*, must from the nature of the case have an *à fortiori* force against the inclusion of inanimate matter. We will begin with (e), which excludes mankind.

1. We find here a considerable difficulty in the word *ἔκοῦσα*, which clearly implies deliberate volition. It is awkward, to say the least, to assert that a class of beings, not possessing proper volition, but obeying an indelible and uniform law of instinct, was not *voluntarily* made what it is. By its very nature it *could not* have been made so voluntarily, it *could not* have exerted any such power of choice as implied in *ἔκοῦσα*; so that the assertion becomes so stale and so needless a truism, that we should be sorry to father it upon St. Paul.

2. The *κτίσις* is represented as hoping to be “emancipated from the slavery of corruption into the glorious liberty,” or “liberty of the glory of the children of God.” Such a hope must surely be a *conscious* hope; but neither a conscious hope, nor self-consciousness in any way, can be predicated of the beasts that

perish. What beast can say, “Cogito ergo sum?” Or more exactly, “Spero ergo sum?” But here Dean Alford will reply: “I do not admit your translation; I put a semicolon after ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι, and take ὅτι = *because*.” To this we answer that our argument still holds, since hope, though it may not be so *definite* a hope as that indicated by the translation which we prefer, must surely be a *conscious* hope to be hope at all. And the expression ἀποκαραδοκλα surely indicates some point towards which the inner eye must be turned, something in short, at any rate, analogous to a *conscious* hope, of which we have no trace in the brute creation.

3. So far as we are acquainted with the nature of beasts, are the terms “slavery of corruption,” and “glorious liberty of the children of God,” suitable to apply to them at all? Would not the more appropriate terms have been “slavery of instinct,” and “glorious freedom of self-conscious intelligence?” It would seem to us, that beasts in their present state bear the same ratio to man in his present state, that man in his present state bears to man in the future glorified state.

4. The opposition in verses 22 and 23 is between ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ, the possessors of the ἀπαρχὴν of the Spirit, and πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις. Now, if man be excluded from the *κτίσις*, then the apostles and first Christians are opposed simply to the beasts that perish, and the whole remainder of the human race is entirely left out of consideration. Is it possible to imagine a man like the apostle Paul constructing a serious argument in a manner so utterly monstrous?

5. The word οἰδαμεν in verse 22 refers to the groaning and travailing of the creation as a well known fact. But what acquaintance have we with the internal and mental condition of the beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, etc.? St. Paul is speaking of a knowledge common to himself and the Roman Christians at least, if not to educated people generally, yet in the present state of our knowledge the statement that follows οἰδαμεν ὅτι is, if true, under this interpretation of *κτίσις*, a matter of revelation, not of ordinary knowledge. We think we may now fairly pass on to the consideration of (d), which includes mankind in the *κτίσις*. Nor here either will the above arguments be without their weight, and it would be simply prolix to recapitulate them except where absolutely necessary. But there will also be some new elements introduced into the discussion.

1. To the argument from authority brought forward by Professor Ellicott, we can oppose a similar argument. In note b, page 142 of his sermons on the *Destiny of the Creature*, he quotes several passages from Greek Fathers, and refers to Origen as seeming “to refer the *κτίσις* to what has been invested with a

material and corruptible bodily substance.” But Origen in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, only the page before that which Professor Ellicott refers to, not only gives his distinct opinion as to the nature of the *κτίσις*, but also states the ground of it. He states that “the apostle says that the creation, ~~as~~ BEING RATIONAL, entertains a certain expectation, and bears a hope of that time when the glory of the sons of God is to be revealed,” evidently implying that the terms “expectation” and “hope” are inapplicable to other than rational creatures. And in page 102, vol. vii., Ed. Lommatsch, he sums up his argument in the following words: “*Per hæc ergo singula deprehenditur rationabilis creatura vanitati esse subjecta, non volens, sed propter eum, qui subiecti in spe.*” It is most clear that Origen considered the material *κτίσις* to include simply the race of man, possessed of reason and subject to *ματαύτης*, and that he did not believe any other portion of matter, organized or inorganized, to have anything whatever to do with St. Paul’s reasoning. Thus the argument from the consensus Græcorum Patrum falls to the ground at once, the most clear-sighted and clear-headed of them all being found to dissent most emphatically from the view of Prof. Ellicott’s quotations. Augustine, quoted by Prof. Ellicott, is also, so far as the human race is concerned, of almost the same opinion, and treats the view in question as a Manichæan heresy. Nor do we see why he should be said to have “receded from his usual expansive interpretation of Scripture under the pressure of Manichæan antagonism.” Nothing is revealed to us in other parts of Scripture about the inner life of the beasts that perish, and the spirit of which “goeth downward into the earth;” why should we be so eager to make out that *this* passage contains a revelation with regard to them? Augustine and Origen are good company for a theologian to walk with, especially when they are agreed, and so far as they are agreed; and as regards this passage they are so far agreed as to consider no other part of the material creation but the human race included in the *κτίσις* here spoken of by St. Paul. Irenæus, on whom Professor Ellicott greatly relies, has an amusing passage at the end of cap. xxxiii. of lib. v., *contra Hæreses*, which is referred to, but not quoted by Prof. Ellicott, and the absurdity of which will go far to weaken the authority of his opinion. Speaking of the prophecy, that “the lion should eat straw like the ox,” he not only accepts it literally, but says, that “by this the prophet indicated the magnitude and richness of the crops: *for if the lion eats the straw, what will the wheat itself be, the straw of which is fit for the food of lions?*” It is clear enough from the words of Irenæus, that he had no aid whatever from apostolic tradition upon this

subject, but merely speculated and argued upon it as we do now, and the value of his opinion as a *reasoner*, not a *witness*, on such a matter, may be gathered from the precious specimen just quoted.

2. Messrs. Conybeare and Howson make a singular use of verse 22. They say that “the very struggles which all animated beings make against pain and death, shew that pain and death are not a proper part of the law of their nature, but rather a bondage imposed upon them from without. Thus every groan and tear is an unconscious prophecy of liberation from the power of evil.” This they call “an argument as original as it is profound.” To this we would reply: Are people in the habit of introducing arguments of such a nature as to be fairly styled “as original as they are profound,” by such expressions as “we know,” *οἶδα μεν*? Again,—not to insist upon the absolute necessity of pain as a motive for self-preservation in the present economy of animal life,—are the throes of a volcano or the fluctuations of the sea tokens of a bondage imposed upon them from without, or a part of the proper law of their nature under their existing relations to other things? Is wear and tear a proper part of the nature of a steam engine, or is it a bondage imposed upon it from without? And what ground have we to look upon the brute creation, regulated as it is by nearly as uniform an instinct as a kind of self-acting machinery, as destined to glorification and immortality? Butler fairly enough says that we do not know what latent powers brutes may have or what they may eventually come to; yet on the other hand, we have no ground for supposing that they actually will come to be anything more than they are at present. Whatever speculations we may indulge in about them, and no doubt we may fairly indulge in speculations about them, we contend most firmly that there is no revelation about their inner life and spiritual development in Scripture, and that *this* passage of St. Paul has no reference whatever to them. Again, the researches of geologists shew, that the pre-adamite animals were furnished with the same weapons of offence and defence as those of the present day, so that pain and death must have been part of their nature long before sin entered into the world, and death through sin. For the connexion of sin and death, as revealed to us in Scripture, is in the human race and in that only. Nowhere are we told that there was any change in the condition of the animals at the fall, but only—to say the most that can fairly be said—that such a change took place in the earth, that vegetables fit for man’s sustenance were no longer spontaneously produced, but had to be sought for by cultivation and the sweat of the brow, while weeds and thorns were ready

to grow anywhere and everywhere. And when we consider the elaborate system of checks and counter-checks devised by Providence to regulate and keep under the numbers of various animals, a system of checks and counter-checks which displays itself most wonderfully in the insect world, it seems like utter folly to suppose the whole of this a mere afterthought, rendered necessary by the fall of man, especially when geology reveals to us the very same system as in action long before the creation of Adam.

3. It is perhaps a pity that the late Professor Oersted should, as Prof. Ellicott says, "have expressed almost undisguised contempt for opinions which, as he himself admits, were conceived to rest on the authority of St. Paul." Yet holding as we do, that these opinions are merely conceived, and indeed misconceived, to rest on the authority of St. Paul, we can fully sympathize with the Professor in his feelings towards them. In support of his views thus far, without at all following him in his further speculations, we may quote our own great blind poet, although we cannot agree with him in placing, contrary to the facts of geology, the creation of predaceous animals at the moment of the fall. But that was well enough for the then state of physical science. Milton says,

"Man hath his daily work of body or mind  
Appointed, which declares his dignity  
And the regard of heaven on all his ways;  
While other animals unactive range,  
And of their doings God takes no account."—*Par. Lost*, iv.

With this, in the sense in which Milton evidently intended the last line, *i.e.* that God takes no account of the doings of the lower animals, *so far as responsibility is concerned*, we fully agree. And the absurdity into which that great man fell with regard to predaceous animals, when his theory is compared with the facts of geology, may well make us distrust those theologians who persist in professing an acquaintance with the destiny of the lower animals, with which the Christian revelation is not concerned. In all probability they will find themselves eventually in a similar position to that of the learned monks and friars, who were so marvellously disconcerted in their physical theories by the perverseness of Columbus in discovering America, and thus practically proving the roundness of the earth. In this way admitting our real ignorance of the moral and spiritual state (if any) of the lower animals, we lie under no compulsion to say with a popular author, that there can be no such thing as retributive justice, unless every overdriven carthorse receives compensation in the next life.

4. And if we granted for a moment, that St. Paul did use the terms ἀποκαραδοκία, συστενάζει and συνωδίει of the inferior part of the creation as well as of man, yet it is clear enough, that they could only be used of it *hyperbolically* and *rhetorically*. So that those who persist in arguing *logically* upon them as applied to it, and endeavouring to push them to their utmost consequences, fall implicitly under the censure of Selden's famous apophthegm on the subject of transubstantiation, *i. e.*, that it was "rhetoric turned into logic." Nay, St. Paul has himself given us (1 Cor. ix. 9) an indication, that even if his *words* may be stretched in an isolated passage, so as to appear to include the lower animals among the parties interested in the great work of redemption, such thoughts were never actually and definitely present to his *mind*. After quoting the prohibition to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, he goes on to say, "Doth God take care for oxen? or said he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written, because he that ploweth ought to plow in hope, and he that thresheth in hope of participating."

Let us now pass on to the consideration of (c) the opinion of Origen, who includes the angels or higher orders of rational creatures in the *κτίσις*. This he seems, so far as we can gather from the Latin translation, to rest upon the word *condoleat*, instead of *parturit* (= [σὺν]ῳδλεῖ) in verse 22, which he understands of the sympathy of the higher orders of rational beings with fallen and struggling man. Nor is this view entirely without support in Col. i. 20, where God is said to "reconcile all things, whether things on the earth or things in the heavens, to himself, making peace through the blood of his cross;" a passage which appears to indicate, that the angels are more or less interested in the great sacrifice of the Son of God. Nor is this idea inapplicable to parts of the passage of the Epistle to the Romans under consideration; but it is certainly inapplicable to others. It may be said that the angels may well "entertain an ἀποκαραδοκία of the revelation of the sons of God," and also possibly, though awkwardly, that they are "subject to the slavery of corruption," in that they are bound to minister to the heirs of salvation during the toils and sorrows of this mortal life. But it cannot be said that they are subject to *ματαιότης*. And surely the words *ἡ κτίσις* must have a like signification throughout the whole passage. So that an explanation must be rejected, which is inconsistent with any one of the three places in which they occur.

Nor do we think that the arbitrary limitation (*b*) of the signification of *κτίσις* to the unconverted is any more tenable. It

is pretty plain from the wording of verses 22 and 23, that *τὴν γῆν* *αὐτοὶ* are merely excepted from the *κτίσις* by the possession of the ἀπαρχὴν of the Spirit, and that the common law of the *κτίσις* affects them in spite of that exceptional advantage. Nothing but a most intense feeling of the distinction between Christians and non-Christians, could ever have led a great commentator to obscure the delicacy and subtlety of St. Paul's reasoning by such a limitation.

But passing from the negative process of excluding the inanimate and lower portion of the animate world, and perhaps also the incorporeal part of the rational world from the creation as here spoken of, let us proceed to consider the use of the word *κτίσις* in other parts of Scripture. And here we meet with a most astounding assertion on the part of some commentators, which is, strange to say, accepted and indorsed by Dean Alford. But *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*. In Mark xvi. 15, our Lord bids his disciples to go into all the world, and proclaim the gospel πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. Upon this Dean Alford remarks, that “*κτίσις* appears NEVER in the New Testament to be used of mankind alone,” and explains the charge of our Lord to his disciples, by saying, with Bengel, that the gospel was to be preached *primarily* to mankind, and through them *secondarily* to the rest of the creatures! There is a similar passage in Col. i. 23, where St. Paul speaks of the gospel as *κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει [τῇ] ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*. Bengel explains this by a simple reference to his note on Mark xvi. 15. Now we ask whether such an explanation be not an affront to common sense, logic, and the plain grammatical meaning of words? For amongst what beings or things can the gospel be by any possibility proclaimed, but the RATIONABILIS CREATURA or mankind, *ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*, as contradistinguished from angels, *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*? And if it be said, that it can be proclaimed *ἐν*, *amongst* the beasts, birds, reptiles, etc., though they cannot understand it, let us return to the *πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει* of Mark xvi. 15, where a similar evasion is impossible. For if anything is to be proclaimed *to* a certain class of beings, that class of beings must surely be supposed capable of *hearing and understanding* the proclamation. Yet Bengel says, that the apostles were commissioned to proclaim the glad tidings *primario* to beings that *could* hear and understand, and *secundario* to beings that *could not*. Can any thing be more monstrous, or even more ludicrous? Can we wonder at such views being treated with contempt by philosophers like Oersted?

And if we turn to what we may call the cardinal passage of these commentators (Col. i. 15—20), which by the way is so

closely followed by the clear application of *πάσα ἡ κτίσις* to man only in verse 23, as to be much diminished in value for their purposes, we think we shall be able to find a way of escape from the hypothesis of an imaginary revelation of the destiny of the inferior creatures, without the slightest wresting or torturing of the words of the Apostle. St. Paul desires to state, (1) the eternal pre-existence, (2) the sovereignty, and (3) the Mediatorship of the Son in the most *general* terms possible. And in so doing, instead of using indefinite language like *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, or words to that effect, he proceeds by way of comparison, and calls the Son *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*. We need not stop here to enquire whether this means “begotten antecedently to any act of creation;” or “antecedently to every existing creation or class of created things;” or, by a somewhat ungrammatical omission of the article, which De Wette favours, “antecedently to the whole creation.” Reading on, we find what is expressed or implied in the word *κτίσις* paraphrased by *τὰ πάντα*, which is again expanded into *τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα*. And we further notice, that *τὰ ἀόρατα*, which seems to be an epexegesis of or another way of expressing *τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, is further drawn out into detail by the words, *εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἔξουσιαι*, terms which are all applicable to spiritual and therefore intelligent existences, and to them only. Does not this give us an indication, that *τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* with its counterpart *τὰ ὄρατα* is intended to signify the “*rationabilis creatura*,” the human race only?

But this explanation is only probable, and cannot be proved to demonstration. We will therefore assume that *τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* is a different classification from *τὰ ὄρατα καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα*, although including the same objects, and that every kind of created things as well as beings is here intended. Is it not then pretty manifest, that St. Paul’s object was to exhibit beyond the possibility of question the eternal pre-existence of the Son, “through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made that has been made” (John i. 3)? And passing on to the Mediatorship of the Son, is it not quite possible that St. Paul dropped the material creation altogether out of his view, as, comparatively speaking, of infinitely small importance, when he spoke of God reconciling *τὰ πάντα* to himself, “making peace through the blood of his cross?” Here the Apostle again repeats an epexegesis of *τὰ πάντα*, paraphrasing it by *εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. These words again lead us to men and angels, *τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* corresponding to *πάσα ἡ κτίσις ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν* in

verse 23, where *τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* is paraphrased, as above mentioned, in a manner in which it can only be understood of angels and spiritual beings. But granting that the allusion includes all created *things* as well as *beings*, it would certainly appear that the *things* would simply follow the fortunes of the *beings*, and that the *things* in and for themselves required no reconciliation, but required it merely as belonging to rational and accountable beings, and as having been polluted by their crimes and misconduct. And in this very minor sense we will not raise any great objection against the inclusion of all things, whether animate or inanimate, in the *κτίσις* along with the human race, as its property, and not as being contemplated or spoken of in and for themselves.

For in the descriptions of the new heaven and new earth, freedom from pain and sorrow for *man*, and the presence of *righteousness*, are the points principally insisted upon. And we may surely, in spite of Irenæus, set down the splendid passage of Isaiah xi. 1—10, which describes the wolf as lying down with the lamb, and the lion as eating straw like the ox, as allegorical, and applying to the cessation of human crime and passion. If *before* the fall of man, animals chased and devoured each other, so possibly, as far as our revelation goes, a similar system may go on *after* our restoration. Only this we may be sure of, that the condition of the lower part of the creation, by which we shall be surrounded, *if we be surrounded by it at all*, will be suited to minister to our requirements in a glorified state. But we cannot see any ground for supposing, that St. Paul contemplated the material world as otherwise than entirely subordinate to the **RATIONABILIS CREATURA**, whether angels or men, or that he does more than introduce it into his argument, if he does introduce it at all, as pertaining to and dependent upon the higher orders of intelligences, and because he desired to express with the greatest possible fulness the *πρωτότοκία*, and universal sovereignty of the Son. Otherwise he would hardly have used, only two or three verses on, the expression *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν*, which is exactly equivalent to *τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* in 20 and 16, in a collocation, in which it is an affront to common sense to consider it as including the lower animals, and *à fortiori* still more so to consider it as referring to the inanimate part of the creation. Besides, under the theories of these expositors the natural immortality of brutes must be taken for granted, whereas we know nothing at all about it, nor can we tell whether the new earth will contain a new set of creatures, or the old ones in the same or an improved condition.

Whatever may be thought of our arguments on Col. i. 15—

20, we certainly consider that the two passages, Col. i. 23, and Mark xvi. 15, are amply enough to dispose at once of Dean Alford's assertion, that *κτίσις* is NEVER used of the human race only in the New Testament. And if the word be used twice of the RATIONABILIS CREATURA, the human race only, we surely need not hesitate to suppose it used a third time in the same sense, viz., in Rom. viii. 19—25, especially when the exclusion of the *rationabilis creatura*, and the inclusion of the *irrationabilis creatura*, are shewn to involve that passage in serious, or worse than serious, logical difficulties.

And, indeed, etymologically considered, *ἡ κτίσις* is a most proper term to apply to the human race. *Ktisis* would mean primarily "the act of creating;" secondly, "the result of that act," or "a creation;" thirdly, "a class of created things or beings," while *κτίσμα* would be properly applied to any individual thing in such a class. We have *κτίσις* again, Rom. viii. 39, where we would translate, "For I am persuaded that neither death nor life . . . nor any other kind of created thing will be able to separate us from the love of God." And 2 Cor. v. 17, "Consequently, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation," i. e., a new kind of created being (if the correct translation be not, "IT is a new creation"); "the old things have passed away; behold, all things have become new." So too in Gal. vi. 15, "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision is anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation," i. e., the becoming a new kind of being. Now of all classes or kinds of created things or beings the one in which we are most interested is the human race, to which κατ' ἐξοχὴν the term *ἡ κτίσις* may most properly be applied. And this is the meaning for which, coinciding in the main with Origen and Augustine, we are contending in the passage of the Epistle to the Romans under consideration.

Nor can we forbear here from drawing attention to the well-known spread of ἀποκαραδοκία of some great event in the times immediately preceding and following the coming of our Lord. Before the siege of Jerusalem there was an ἀποκαραδοκία, as we find from Tacitus, *Hist.* v., 13, "fore ut profecti Judæā rerum potirentur." What St. Paul says here of the *κτίσις* in general was then manifestly true in a most remarkable sense of that part of the human race, with which he was especially conversant, his own countrymen, and those who worshipped with them. We may fairly claim this as an additional probability in favour of our explanation of *κτίσις* in connexion with ἀποκαραδοκία, as including the human race and that only.

How simply and how beautifully the argument of the Apostle draws itself out under the interpretation of *κτίσις*, which is

exhibitcd by a fusion of the views of Origen and Augustine, rejecting the angels from the *κτίσις* of the former, and the arbitrary limitation of the unconverted from that of the latter, will appear when we go through the whole passage at the conclusion of this article, after considering the remaining questions affecting *ματαιότης* and *τῇ ἀπλοΐ*.

We will now proceed to question (II), what is *MATAITO-*  
*THΣ?*

Here the Scriptures of the Old Covenant may well be called to council to supply us with an *à priori* commentary on those of the New. Who that has read the Book of Ecclesiastes can doubt that the reference is to the finiteness, the transitoriness, and above all the DISAPPOINTMENT, that are the very law of our being: — *ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, εἰπεν ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής, ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης.* And this view of our nature coincides remarkably with what Butler says in the *Analogy* of the finiteness and disappointing nature of things here acting as a preparation for another and a higher state. To this “vanity” we were subjected by our Creator on his own account and to work out his own purposes. Whether those purposes are limited to ourselves, or whether they extend to other beings, respecting which we have but little enlightenment, is a matter of which we possess very scanty scraps of information, just as is our case with regard to the lately agitated question of the plurality of worlds. Although it cannot be denied, that the passage of the Epistle to the Colossians (i. 20) above quoted gives great reason to think with Origen, that higher rational beings are interested in the Christian dispensation as well as ourselves.

And we are thus subjected IN HOPE, whether, taking *ὅτι=that*, our hope be a definite one, THAT we shall eventually be “emancipated from the slavery of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God;” or whether, taking *ὅτι=because*, our hope be an *indefinite* hope and anticipation of something better, BECAUSE we shall at some time be thus emancipated; a fact of which we have more or less obtained an inkling. How consistent all this is with the heathen legend of Hope at the bottom of Pandora’s box, and the singular words of *Æschylus*, in which he exhibits the sunny rather than the dreary side of our *ματαιότης*: —

*Τυφλᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλπίδας κατώκισα.*

μέγ' ὠφέλημα τούτ' ἔδωρήσω βροτοῖς —P. V., 250.

Amidst such contemplations how absurd, how out of place does it seem to our mind to draw in, with many commentators,

every rabbit, every chicken, every flea, every cabbage, as partakers of a hope, which, metaphysically speaking, is surely the property of the human race, the “rationabilis creatura” only.

It would appear that man was so constituted from the first, as to be subject to *ματαιότης*, unless specially supported and protected against it, as in the neighbourhood of the tree of life, during the period of his primeval innocence. The first tasting of the forbidden fruit was itself the first DISAPPOINTMENT, the first instance of the law of *ματαιότης*, to which he had been previously subject *potentially*, and to which he was thenceforth subject fully and completely. There is no confusion here of *ματαιότης*, the generic, with *death* the more specific term. Death is but a particular case of the general law of *ματαιότης*. And the lower animals are not subject to *ματαιότης* in the same sense that man is, simply because they are not *aware* of the law, in fact, because they are devoid of self-consciousness. To their own minor kind of *ματαιότης*, finiteness, transitoriness, and alternations of sensual pleasure and pain, they are shewn by geological researches to have been subject long before the creation of man. But the sense of DISAPPOINTMENT, except possibly in the very lowest signification of the word, is surely peculiar to self-conscious, intelligent, responsible man in the material creation. Nor does this view differ materially, except as taking in a wider horizon from a higher point, from that maintained by Origen, who understands by *ματαιότης* the necessities and vexations entailed upon the soul by its union with a mortal and material body.

We may now proceed to question (III) : which is the proper translation of *τῇ ἐλπίᾳ*, BY hope or IN hope?

The great text book of modern commentators on the New Testament is Winer's *Grammar*. And justly so, for there is no work of the kind existing that can in any wise compare with it. Yet it is not altogether faultless. However good Winer was as a *grammarian*, we cannot but agree with De Wette in rating him somewhat low as an *exegete*.<sup>5</sup> In fact, provided he could be sure that the sacred authors were writing good grammar, he had not the slightest objection to making them write what amounts to neither more nor less than illogical nonsense. Even Dean Alford seems to us scarcely free from the same fault, which we should hardly have expected in him after his masterly development of the meaning of Gal. iii. 20; ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἰς ἔστιν, by logical inference from the form of the sentence. It is perfectly true that the sacred writers are not free from the ordinary rules of grammar, but it is also true

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<sup>5</sup> Preface to the Second Edition of vol. ii., part 3, of his *Handbuch*.

that they possessed clear and logical minds, and did not involve themselves in contradictions and absurdities, which would be scouted at once, if supposed by any commentator to exist in the writings of any profane author of the slightest eminence.<sup>c</sup> Grammar and logic must go hand in hand. A purely grammatical method of interpretation would destroy great part of the value of the sacred writers, considered merely as writers; a purely logical one would foist upon us the notions of the commentator instead of the ideas of the original author.

In the present case, Dean Alford translates (with the Authorized Version) *τῆς γὰρ ἐλπίδοι ἐσώθημεν*, “for *by* hope we were saved.” According to this, our being saved *by* hope is stated as the ground why, “though possessing the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves,” Paul and his converts, “groan within ourselves, awaiting adoption, the redemption of our body.” Now what logical connexion is there here? How can the fact of our having been saved *by* hope account for our still groaning in an attitude of expectation? How can the nature of the instrument of our salvation affect our subsequent position? What matter how we were saved, provided we have been saved?

Take other words, and *try* the logic of the sentence. Let us suppose the parallel case of slaves taken by the Algerine corsairs of old, some of whom have received a promise of future ransom and deliverance, in which they place implicit trust, while others have either not received or not believed the promise. We who have received the promise are still groaning and travailing in slavery, expecting the actual liberation of our persons. Why so? Because we have been ransomed *by* hope? Is not this simple nonsense? We have not, in fact, been ransomed *by* hope at all, nor could hope possibly ransom us, though it would naturally cheer and encourage us. We have only, as yet, received the hope of ransom and liberation. And this is to have been ransomed and liberated IN hope, not BY hope.

To the authority of Winer and De Wette, the latter of whom says, that the instrumental dative offers itself naturally, while that of respect has first to be looked for (!), we can oppose that of Origen, whose commentary on the whole passage is most remarkable, and it is a great pity that it is only extant in a Latin translation, which, however, appears here sufficiently literal to serve our purpose. Origen does not appear to have spent much time in looking for the dative of respect, but to have found it at once, without being at all annoyed by the in-

<sup>c</sup> These remarks were written before the appearance of the article on *Modern Controversy* in the last number of the *J. S. L.*, with which they to a great extent coincide.

strumental dative, which so naturally and so pertinaciously presented itself to Winer and De Wette, and backed by their recommendation to Dean Alford. “Quamvis hoc ipso jam,” says Origen, “quod Christo credimus, salutem nobis præstitam novemus, tamen IN spe adhuc est salus nostra, non in adspectu visibilium. Si enim jam videretur, non utique speraretur. Sperat enim quis, ut videat. Si vero videat quæ sperabat, superfluum est ultra sperare quæ videt.”

So too, to the same effect as regards the sense of the passage, we find Augustine saying (Tract. lxxxvi. 4), “Sicut immortalitatem carnis et salutem animarum futuram expectamus, quamvis jam pignore accepto salvi facti esse dicamur; ita omnium notitiam, quæcumque Unigenitus audivit a Patre, futuram sperare debemus, quamvis hoc jam se fecisse dixerit Christus.” And in Titus iii. 7, we find St. Paul himself speaking expressly to the point: *Ινα δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι, κληρονόμοι γενέρωμεθα κατ' ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰώνου.* Heirs of what? of eternal life. What kind of heirs? Heirs *expectant*, or *κατ' ἐλπίδα*, “according to hope.” Here the Authorized Version, by inserting the article before “hope,” and making “of eternal life” dependent upon “hope,” instead of upon “heirs,” reduces the passage to simple nonsense; unless, indeed, we accept Dean Alford’s very violent expansion of “according to hope,” into “in proportion to our realization of the hope of eternal life;” an alternative which few will be found to adopt after reading Prof. Ellicott’s note on the passage.

In the same note Prof. Ellicott also favours the rendering of *τῇ ἐλπίδι*, in Rom. viii. 24, as a *modal* dative, i. e., IN hope. This dative is too common with adjectives in the New Testament to require illustration. We shall therefore confine ourselves to its use with verbs and participles. 1 Thess. iii. 12, *Τμᾶς δὲ ὁ Κύριος πλεονάσαι καὶ περισσεύσαι τῇ ἀγάπῃ* (=in point of love) *εἰς ἀλλήλους.* Gal. ii. 5, *εἰχαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ* (=by way of subjection). Plato, *Apol.*, 36 d, *εἰ δεῖ γε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι.* 1 Pet. iii. 18, *Θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι.* Rom. xiv. 1, *Τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πίστει;* iv. 19, *μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει.* Tit. ii. 2, *ὑγιαίνοντας τῇ πίστει, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ.* Acts xvi. 5, *ἐστερεούντο τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἐπερισσευον τῷ ἀρθμῷ.* And we find the dative preceding the word it qualifies, as in the passage under consideration, in Rom. xii. 10, 11, 12, *Τῇ φιλαδέλφᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι.* *Τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προτιγούμενοι.* *Τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες.* *Τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες.*

Now, we ask, is a grammatical rendering, which is liable to the serious logical objections urged above, to be preferred to the

equally grammatical rendering which we are endeavouring to support, and which renders the whole passage simple, logical, and coherent? It does not surprise us that Professor Jowett should prefer the illogical *by* hope to the logical *in* hope, as any logical defects, that can be discovered in St. Paul, assist in supporting his favourite theories, and he would naturally be biased in their favour. But we should certainly have expected better things from one who has shewn such logical ability as Dean Alford has, in disentangling that most difficult passage, Gal. iii. 20.

Nor is there any difficulty in the aorist *ἐσώθημεν*. We were thus saved IN hope, when we became Christians, i. e., at our baptism, which in this sense, according to 1 St. Peter (iii. 21), “doth also save us.” It is, however, more in accordance with our idiom to neglect the nice shade of meaning, indicating a single action, which the Greek tense affords, and to use the common compound perfect, “we have been saved.”

Let us now proceed to paraphrase and sum up the whole passage upon the principles indicated above.

“For I consider, that the sufferings of the present season are not worthy to be compared with the glory that is to be revealed for us. For the earnest longing of the RATIONAL CREATION is awaiting the revelation of the sons of God [as such, when the wheat will be separated from the tares, and the restitution of all things to their normal state will take place]. For the RATIONAL CREATION was subjected to VANITY [i. e., FINITENESS, TRANSITORIENESS, and DISAPPOINTMENT] not voluntarily on its own part, but on account of the Subjecter, and to work out his inscrutable purposes; [and it was thus subjected] in hope, that the RATIONAL CREATION itself also would be emancipated from the slavery of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the WHOLE RATIONAL CREATION has been groaning and travailing together collectively until now. And not only so, but WE OURSELVES also, though possessing the first fruits of the Spirit, groan, too, within ourselves, awaiting adoption, the redemption of our body. For we have been saved IN hope [and expectancy only]; but a hope, if seen, is not a hope; for why does a man hope for that which he sees? But if we are hoping for what we do not see, we await it with patience.”

This HOPE is in the New Testament sometimes called SALVATION, but is to salvation, in the full and complete sense, as regeneration in baptism is to the final regeneration at the last day. So, too, the helmet, which in Eph. vi. 17 is called the helmet of *salvation*, is in 1 Thess. v. 8 called the *hope* of salvation.

We may also note the propriety of the antithesis between *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις* and *ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ*, in verses 22 and 23, as thus explained. “We ourselves” are at once included in and opposed to the “creation.” Christians are on the one hand included in the *κτίσις* by virtue of their common humanity, while on the other they are also in a certain sense taken out of it and placed in an exceptional position, in which they are properly considered as opposed to it. Yet they are neither divested of human feelings, nor emancipated at present from human sorrow and suffering. To exclude Christians entirely from the *κτίσις*, as Augustine seems to do, is simply arbitrary and needless, and gives an *ἀφορμὴ* to those who wish to find an imaginary revelation in the passage, respecting matters with which we, as *Christians*, have no concern, and of which we are utterly ignorant.

But we may fairly challenge any one to find out a single logical defect in the Apostle’s argument and statements as above interpreted. Nor does theology here intrude into the domain of physical science, “vainly puffed up by a fleshly mind,” and endeavour to ascertain facts by mere abstract reasoning from principles previously and somewhat arbitrarily assumed. Let us deal with the inspired writings as we find them, and not torture them into compliance with our notions of what they *ought* to have contained. It is not by a synthetical, but by an analytical, or rather *inductive* method, that the laws of the material universe have to so great an extent been discovered; surely a similar inductive method is more reverential, and has more likelihood of success in the Scriptures also, which proceeded from one and the self-same God. A certain revelation is given us; let us rather take pains to ascertain what it is and what it means, than exert ourselves to bring religion itself into discredit in the eyes of those whose province of experiment and speculation theologians are but too much disposed rashly and ignorantly to invade.

It is a complete answer to objections brought against Christianity by geologists to reply, that possibly the early part of the Book of Genesis may not be concerned with cosmogony in their sense at all, but only with the comparatively brief process by which the earth was prepared for the reception of man. So that theology and geology may really have very little to do with each other, and may be at liberty to pursue their respective paths without the slightest *real* reason for coming into collision. Nor is the case very dissimilar with regard to the passage we have just been considering. It is of no moment to the argument of St. Paul, and of no importance to us either as rational beings or as Christians, to know what is the destiny of the lower portions of

the creation. They are an enigma to us as they exist now, just as much as those fossil remains, the discovery of which produced such a sensation amongst the at once learned and ignorant theologians, who still wished to learn their physical science from the Bible, undeterred by the miserable failures of those who opposed Columbus and persecuted Galileo. We have a just right to speculate on these things, but it is our duty to keep such speculations apart from the real and undoubtedly revelation of God in Jesus Christ.

It is also most important to us, as required "to give an answer of the hope that is in us," not to involve the sacred writers in logical contradictions or absurdities by our mode of interpreting them. If we cannot bring a meaning out of their words, which is intelligible to common sense, upon ordinary logical principles, it is surely better to admit that we do not understand the passage, than to insist upon our interpretations being accepted under pain of condemnation of the crime of want of faith. Pages after pages have been written to endeavour to exhibit the mode in which we are saved by hope, but no one has been able to prove the doctrine either by Scripture or reason, as was to be expected from the fact, that the translation on which it is founded involves the Apostle Paul in the grossest logical inconsequence. Yet Origen—a writer much more quoted than read—the earliest regular commentator we have, had long ago developed the sense and logic, at any rate, of this part of the passage, in the most masterly manner. We conclude our article by annexing a translation of the whole of Origen's *Commentary* upon this important passage.

TRANSLATION OF ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY  
ON ROMANS VIII. 18—25.<sup>a</sup>

"For I think that the sufferings of this time are not worthy of comparison with the future glory which will be revealed in us. For the expectation of the creation<sup>b</sup> is expecting the revelation of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not voluntarily, but on account of him who subjected it in hope, that the creation itself also will be emancipated from the slavery of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God. For we know that all the creation has been groaning and mourning together until now." If any one consider that, because a

<sup>a</sup> In Ep. ad Rom. Com., lib. vii. 4, 5, Ed. Lommatsch p. 93—113.

<sup>b</sup> *Creatura, κτίσις.*

person is made a son of the Most High God and an heir of his goodness and glory, and a coheir of Christ the Only-begotten Son of God, even if he remain in the observance of all the commandments and in the judgments of the Lord blameless, and persevere in them with watchful mind—if he were also to endure all the kinds of punishments which can be inflicted on human nature from without or from within,—or even if one were to endure those things which are recorded to have been written of Job, when Satan destroyed, not only the things which appeared external to himself in his property and in his children, but also touched his own bones and flesh, and smote him with a most evil wound from head to foot, so that he took a potsherd and scraped off the matter flowing from his sores;—if, I say, there can be things still worse than these for him to endure who in this brief life suffers tribulation in all things, and is tortured in both mind and body, and he were to compare these things with “the future glory which will be revealed” in the saints, and with the things “which eye hath not seen nor ear heard of, nor hath it ascended into the heart of man,” he may understand how Paul, considering those things more deeply, says: “For I think that the sufferings of this time are not worthy of comparison with the future glory which will be revealed in us.” For nothing can be found worthy to be even brought into comparison with the future glory. For wherein canst thou compare things mortal with things immortal? or things visible with things invisible? or things temporal with things eternal? or things fleeting with things everlasting? Yet if any things that are as it were a kind of seeds of future glory can be collected in the present life, those seeds, I say, are collected from tribulations and sufferings, as also the same Apostle says in another place: “For our momentary and light tribulation at the present effects for us beyond measure an immense weight of eternal glory, if we regard, not the things that are seen, but the things that are not seen.” For he shews hereby, that he who looks to the things that are not seen and are eternal, counts every tribulation that may happen to him, however cruel, however long it may appear, to be momentary and light: that even if he be subjected to tortures and stings and hoofs, if, at the time when his body is being afflicted with punishments, he looks to the future glory which is to be revealed, and considers how after these great tortures this body of his humiliation will be transformed to be conformable to the body of the glory of the Son of God; he counts the present tribulation momentary and light, but considers the weight of future glory heavy, that is, great and eternal; and the more he sees the punishments of tribulations multiplied upon him, the

more fully he understands that a weight and extent of glory is being accumulated for him. But that a certain measure and magnitude of glory is accumulated from the quantity of tribulations, I think is indicated also by David the prophet, when he says: "According to the multitude of my sorrows, thy consolations have enraptured my soul." Whence I think, that in the present life, the consolation which is granted to the righteous is granted in proportion to their torments and wounds, but the future glory, of which the Apostle says, that "it will be revealed in us," will not be, in proportion to the sufferings: "for the sufferings of this time are not worthy of comparison with the future glory which will be revealed in the saints;" but as we have brought forward, as said to the Corinthians, a kind of seed collected from the momentary and light toil of our tribulations will prepare us a weight of eternal glory enormous beyond measure. But the fact that even in the present life divine consolation is granted to the righteous in proportion to their sufferings, is confirmed by the same Apostle in 2 Cor., when he writes: "As the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so also does our consolation abound." And he has not said, "abound beyond measure," or "enormously," but "in proportion as the suffering, in that proportion are the consolations." But as to what he says, "in comparison with the future glory which will be revealed in us," I think we have sufficiently shewn above, as regards the difference of the different kinds of glory, what the glory is which has been already revealed, and what that is which is to be revealed; and now we see what we now see "in a glass and in a riddle," but then, "when the Son of man shall have come in the glory of his Father and the holy angels, we shall see face to face," as also John said, "because we shall see him as he is," but that glory also, which is to be revealed, may be seen when the doctrine of the several particular natures of the world or of the things above the world has begun to be learnt, and the treasures of its wisdom and knowledge to be revealed. After this he says: "For the expectation of the creature is expecting the revelation of the sons of God." The Apostle, wishing to shew the magnitude and nature of the glory which is to be revealed in himself or in those who have honestly struggled through the contests of Christ, says that the creation also, AS BEING RATIONAL, has a kind of expectation and entertains a hope of the time at which the glory of the sons of God is to be revealed, that is, when those things shall be revealed which are prepared for those who shall deserve to be the sons of God, or at any rate, when the veil with which they are shrouded, shall be taken from them, and it shall be manifested that they are the sons of God. But what is the

creation, which “is expecting the revelation of the sons of God?” This, he says, which is now “subjected to vanity,” and it is subjected, “not voluntarily” nor of its own spontaneous desire, but by his will who dispenses all things. On his account then it has been so subjected; and subjected, not upon such terms as always to remain subject to vanity, but with a certain hope. But what that hope is, he tells us when he says; “that<sup>c</sup> the creation itself also will be freed from the slavery of corruption into the freedom of the glory of the sons of God.” Now Paul says that he and those like him know that all the creation has been groaning and sorrowing together until now,<sup>“</sup> or, as we find it in other copies, “has been groaning together and travailing until now.” Now groaning and sorrowing together is groaning or sorrowing together with another who is sorrowing or groaning, when one has no cause of groaning or sorrowing oneself, but yet groans for him who has a cause for groaning or sorrowing. And this he says the creation does, because it is subjected to vanity and placed in the slavery of corruption. Let this be the explanation, so far as appertains to the sequence of the Apostolic discourse itself. Now let us go back and examine more attentively what that vanity is to which the creation is said to be subjected, and what that corruption is from the slavery of which it hopes to be freed. It appears to me, that those things are said of this material and corruptible substance of the body. For neither does corruption hold sway over aught but the body; for that inner man, which is created according to God and made after the image of God, is incorruptible and invisible, and in accordance with its proper nature may also be said to be incorporeal. But the outer man is called both corporeal and corruptible; wherefore Paul also said, “For even if our outer man is corrupted, yet the inner is renewed.” Now the renewal of the inner man, as being the renewal of one that is rational and a mind, consists in the attainment of the knowledge of God and the reception of the Holy Spirit. But, to commit to paper briefly and cursorily a few words on such deep matters, let us deduce from the very substance of the inner man, that is, of the soul and mind, an idea how “the creation has been subjected to vanity, not voluntarily, but on account of Him who subjected it in hope;” and let us, if you please, place Paul himself in the midst before us, whose soul or mind, which is his inner man, surely surpasses and transcends everything that is corporeal, that is visible, that lies within the range of sense and sight, and is made capable of the divine nature itself. But this great and excellent substance of his soul,

<sup>c</sup> Or “because,” but most probably “that,” as appears from the next sentence, where quoniam clearly=“that.”

which possesses knowledge<sup>a</sup> and understanding of things celestial and divine, is—let it be God's business why—subjected to the slavery of a corruptible body and chained down to its vanity. For consider the necessities of the body, the desire of food, the degrading process of digestion, the shame-exciting nature of the mode of obtaining posterity, how the offspring is begotten, produced and nurtured, and see what vanity and what corruption is involved in these things, to which a creation possessed of a noble and rational soul is, though involuntarily, subjected, yet subjected in hope, hoping, that is, for a time at which it will be freed, when the time of the liberty of the sons of God has arrived. This is then what the apostle had already said more plainly about himself in another place, that “we groan, while we are in this habitation.” This also wisdom said by the mouth of Solomon; “A corruptible body weighs down the mind, and an earthly habitation depresses the much-contemplating sense.” And Paul too: “For whilst we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord;” and he desires rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord. This he points out and explains much more plainly, in the place in which he says, “But I am straitened by two alternatives, having a desire to return and be with Christ, for it is much better; but to continue in the flesh is more necessary on your account.” Wherein he plainly shews that it was not voluntarily as far as his own self-consciousness was concerned, that he was in slavery to this corruption and vanity, but on account of Him who willed it to be so, and of us that we might be saved. He continues therefore in the flesh on our account; but when the sons of God shall have been revealed and collected together by the agency of the Church, which he has resolved “to present a pure virgin to her one husband, Christ,” then he will himself also be liberated from the slavery of corruption, as he too says himself: “But I am already being sacrificed, and the time of my release<sup>b</sup> is at hand. I have completed my course, I have kept the faith; for the rest a crown of righteousness is laid up for me.” This is to be emancipated from the slavery of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God. But ascend also from these instances to higher ones, and see how the services of the sun itself, and the moon and the stars of heaven, and the whole universe, are subjected to vanity and in slavery to corruption. For, for the use of men they nourish the corn, produce the fruits of the trees and the grass of the plains, and revolve in the same circles of the year returning into themselves. For they

<sup>a</sup> *Rationes*, perhaps “definitions,” *λόγους*?

<sup>b</sup> Resolutio, a literal translation of *ἀνάλυσις*.

renew the things which pass away, and permit those which have been renewed to pass away again. The very angels too, if you look to the opinion of Paul, which says, that they are all ministering spirits sent to minister on account of those who are to receive the inheritance of salvation, you will understand to bear something of the kind and to be subjected to this corruption; they too I believe, being thus subjected, not voluntarily, but on account of Him who subjected them in hope. "For who resisteth his will?" But I am induced by the oracles of the prophets to entertain some such opinion even about the archangels. For what will you find involving so much vanity and so much corruption, as waging wars in this world? as exciting contests of kings and nations against each other? See then, that the principal duty of the office of an archangel is considered to be in these matters, as Daniel the prophet bears witness, when he says that an archangel spoke to him, who told him that he had fought against the prince of the Persians, and "no one," said he, "aided me but Michael your prince." By these particular arguments then, it is proved that the RATIONAL "creation is subjected to vanity, not voluntarily, but on account of Him who subjected it in hope." For the hope is, that a cessation will at some time take place from these corporeal and corruptible things. For that rational creation has this expectation, that there will take place a revelation of the sons of God, on account of whom the angels are sent to minister, that they themselves also, along with those to whom they have ministered, may receive the inheritance of salvation; that of [beings] earthly and heavenly there may be one flock and one shepherd, and "God may be all in all." And to give a more evident proof, of the things which he had said, he added, "For we know that all the creation has been groaning and sorrowing together until now." Above he had said, "For I think that the sufferings of this time are not worthy of comparison with the future glory;" and whereas he then said, he *thought*, he here says, he *knows*, that the whole creation is groaning and sorrowing together, in which certainly no doubtfulness is found, taking it in this sense. For though the creation is not voluntarily subjected, yet since it yields to the will of Him who subjected it, it also exhibits a certain emotion and affection as regards those for whom it appears to have been subjected, and sorrows for their sorrows and groans for their groans. But if, as is found in other copies, we read thus, "is groaning together and travailing," we shall understand "is travailing" in the sense in which the apostle says he has begotten through the Gospel those whom he has brought to the light by the faith of Christ; or as he said of others in another place, "My little children with whom I am

again in travail until Christ is formed in you.” The creation therefore is travailing with those whom it regenerates for salvation. But if those who read this think enquiry should be made, why in the former part of the passage he named the creation thrice, without saying anywhere “all the creation,” but says at last, “that we know that all the creation is groaning and sorrowing together:” it may be understood thus, that it is not all the creation that groans and sorrows, that is, that is subject to the necessity of a corruptible body, but that it is all the creation that sorrows with the sorrowing and groans with the groaning. Now all the higher creation sees our struggles and combats, and sorrows when we are conquered, but rejoices when we conquer: and it is much more in their nature than in ours to rejoice with the rejoicing and to sorrow with the sorrowing.

“And not only so, but we too ourselves, who possess the first-fruits of the Spirit, ourselves also groan within ourselves, awaiting the adoption of sons, the redemption of our body. For we have been saved [in] hope<sup>f</sup> but a hope which is seen is not a hope. For what a person sees, why does he hope for? But if we are hoping for what we do not see, we await it with patience.” We have often shewn it to be the Apostle’s habitual way of expressing himself, that, when he says, “and not only so,” without adding anything to which it should be annexed, reference is to be made to his former words, as is also given to be understood in the present chapter. For what he seems to say is of this kind: not only does the whole creation groan and sorrow together, but we ourselves also who have the firstfruits of the Spirit, groan within ourselves. For we too are expecting the adoption of the sons of God and the redemption of our body. Although by this very fact, that we believe Christ, we know already that salvation is guaranteed to us, yet that salvation is still IN hope, not in the sight of visible things. For if it were already seen, it would not be hoped for. But if a person sees what he was hoping for, it is superfluous further to hope for what he sees. But we have not our hope in the things which are seen, lest our hope should be vain, but in the things which are not seen. And it is because we hope for what we do not see, and because those things are so great and so glorious, as to be attained by many toils and many tribulations and perils, that we await them with patience, as though they would scarcely come at last. These things we have said, giving a kind of direct and clearer order to the apostolic language itself. Now, if you

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<sup>f</sup> It should be observed that in quoting Scripture, Origen uses the ambiguous *τὴν ἐλπίδα*=spe, while in explaining he uses *ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι*=IN spe.

please, let us see what he means by this novel language, when he says, "But we ourselves too, possessing the first-fruits of the Spirit." For we know it is written in the law, "Thou shalt not fraudulently withhold the first-fruits of the threshingfloor, and the first-fruits of the winepress;" and "the first-fruits of all thy crops thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God." What then? as the first-fruits of the threshingfloor and the first-fruits of the winepress are of the same kind of crop, of which the remainder of the threshingfloor consists, or of the same kind of liquid, with which the winepress has to do; will it also similarly appear with regard to his expression, "the first-fruits of the Spirit," that out of many other holy and blessed spirits there is one special one? Or shall we rather understand this, that, in accordance with what we have discovered above, there are many ministering spirits, ministering in service on account of those who receive the inheritance of salvation, under whom each individual believer is instructed, as under tutors and governors, until the time previously limited by his father, that is, until he has arrived at the legal age of the perfection of the soul; when a person, having already got beyond the spirit of slavery, which he had received in fear, and by which he was kept in safety, as by an attendant,<sup>7</sup> is made worthy to receive the spirit of adoption, the first-fruits of the Spirit, through whom when adopted as a son he can also be associated with the church of the first-born,<sup>8</sup> which is in heaven. And as there is much difference between being a son and being a slave, so does the Holy Spirit, the first-fruits of which Paul says that he and those like him possess, differ much from the ministering spirit. Let this be one way in which we may investigate the meaning of this language. Let us now see another. We read in the writings of the Apostle Paul himself, that many spirits are called the gifts or graces of the Holy Spirit, as when he says, "But now, since ye are emulous of spirits, seek that ye may abound to the building up of the Church;" as also in another place, "the spirits of the prophets are in subjection to the prophets," calling the spirits of the prophets subject, not as inferior to their betters, but because a person possessing the spirit of prophecy is not compelled to speak against his will, like those who have unclean spirits, but speaks when he chooses and reason requires; but when it does not seem reasonable to speak, he is silent, well knowing that there is a time to be silent, and a time to speak. And therefore it is not said depreciatingly, that the spirits are subject to the prophets, but economically, as we understand

<sup>7</sup> Paedagogue.<sup>8</sup> Primitivorum.

that which is said of the Saviour, that "then the Son will himself also be subject to him who subdued all things under him." For here too he is not called subject, as being inferior; for how can he be called inferior who is the Son, and who is everything that the Father is? For, said he, "O Father, all thine is mine." But it is in those whom the Father assigns to him as believers in him, since he says that he is in each of them, and affirms that he hungers and thirsts and is naked in them, and professed to be fed and clothed in them; it is in those, that he is said to be subject himself. But these things have been said by a kind of digression. Let us now return to our subject. The different gifts then of the Spirit, are called by Paul many spirits. Now the apostles, doubtless, attained whichever of these many gifts is the chiefest and greatest, in order to be, as Paul himself says, fit ministers of the New Testament, and to be able fully to preach the Gospel from Jerusalem round about even to Illyricum. This more lofty and glorious gift of the Holy Spirit, therefore, which was conferred upon them above all other men, he properly termed the first-fruits of the Spirit. And therefore it is that he used the expression, "And we ourselves also," in which he appears specially to indicate the apostolic dignity. "We," then, he says, "ourselves," that is, the apostles, "possessing the first-fruits of the Spirit," who have been chosen for the purpose of receiving the first-fruits of the Spirit, even "we ourselves groan within ourselves." To such an extent, he says, is it that there is no kind of creature that is free from sorrows and groans, that even we ourselves, who have received chosen gifts of the highest order from the Holy Spirit, nevertheless, while awaiting the adoption of the sons, that is the perfection of those whom we have been sent to teach and educate, necessarily sorrow and groan until we see them make such progress as to deserve to be adopted among the sons. Whilst then we, I say, who are being educated by them, are negligent and delay and defer the time of our amendment, whilst we do not seek the things invisible, but delight ourselves with those that are visible, we excite sorrows in the apostles, and arouse, so to speak, the grief and groans of the whole creation. For the whole creation groans and sorrows together, sighing over the losses of our hardness and deceitfulness. This is another method of explanation of the first-fruits of the Spirit that has occurred to us; consider whether it be worthy of approbation. But we will yet add a third. That same Apostle says again of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he is the "first-born of every creation." Query then, perhaps, whether, as he is called "the first-born of every creation," in some such way the Holy Spirit may not be called the first-fruits

of many spirits? Let that be a third method of explanation. And let the reader approve that one of them which is more conformable to the apostolic meaning. But if what he said, "We too ourselves, possessing the first-fruits of the Spirit," be received as spoken of all who appear to have attained the grace of baptism, we must entertain the hope which the same apostle mentioned; "if the first-fruits are holy, so also is the mass; and if the root is holy, so also are the branches." But even if this be the case, still it will necessarily appear that the first-fruits of the mass itself, in which the multitude of believers seems to be signified, are situated in the apostles. For thus it is written, that "the Lord hath placed in the Church, firstly, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers." Those, therefore, who are placed in the first rank, will be properly believed to possess the first-fruits of the grace of the Holy Spirit. Now let us see in what sense he says that *he* is awaiting the adoption of sons, who said above, "The Spirit bears witness to our spirit, that we are the sons of God;" and again in what sense *he* hopes for the redemption of the body, who says in another place, "Christ hath redeemed us." But in my opinion he settles this himself in the language which is found in what follows. For he says, "We have been saved [in] hope." The fact then, that we are sons and have been redeemed and that we are saved, consists in hope. "For now we see in a glass and in a riddle, but then face to face." In a glass, therefore, and in a riddle we receive both adoption and redemption. "For the fulness of the times arrived, and God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." We *have* therefore received adoption, but *that* adoption which is in a glass and in a riddle. But when those things which are perfect shall have come, then we shall attain adoption "face to face." But in saying, "the redemption of our body," I think he means the body of the whole Church; as he says in another place, "But ye are the body of Christ, and members individually." The Apostle hopes, therefore, that the whole body of the Church is to be redeemed, and does not think it possible, that the things which are perfect should be given to individual members, unless the whole body has been assembled together. It may also be understood in this way, so that he means by the redemption of our body, that redemption which will take place at the resurrection, when not only souls, but also bodies will come "before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each may receive the things properly belonging to his body, according as he has borne it;" and according to the saying, "Fear rather him, who can destroy both body and soul in hell." And there-

fore each in this life must sorrow and groan, lest haply through evil actions and the negligence of the present life he should not deserve to obtain the redemption of his body, but that sentence should overtake him, which condemns body and soul to the flames of hell. After this he says, "For [in] hope we have been saved: but a hope which is seen is not a hope." As he had said above of the creation, that "it was subjected to vanity on account of him who subjected it in hope;" so here too he says of himself, and all whom he knows to be reckoned with him, "For [in] hope we have been saved;" just as he united his own groans to the groans of the creation. But how salvation is in hope, and hope does not consist in the things which are seen, but in the things which are not seen, we have already shewn above. Thus much only we will briefly add, that both from this passage and from that in which he says, "not looking to the things which are seen, but to those which are not seen," he instructs us, that among future blessings we ought not to hope for any of the things which now are or can be seen, even if you see yon visible heaven or earth. Hear with regard to these, that "the heaven and earth will pass away," for they are visible; and why do you hope for what you see? We should not, therefore, entertain any hope whatever in future with regard to the things which are seen; "For eye hath not seen what God hath prepared for those who love him." Now the eye sees the heaven and the earth; this therefore, which is seen, ought not to be believed to be prepared by God for those who love him, but a heaven, nay, rather, heavens much more elevated and lofty than is that firmament which can be seen with the eyes. But an earth also is to be hoped for, yet not the earth which is called dry [land], and lies within the range of the eyes, but the earth of the meek will be one which the eye does not see. For the opinion of the Apostle is clear, which teaches us, that it is not visible and corporeal, but spiritual and eternal things, that are to be hoped for in a future state. For this is also the reason why the renovation itself of our body takes place, whereby from corruptible it is made incorruptible, and from mortal immortal, and is restored from weakness into strength, and from an animal body is made a spiritual body, that when it has become a spiritual body, it may also be able to enjoy to the full invisible blessings, which we do not see in the present life, but hope for with hope, and await with patience.

A. H. W.

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THE BOOK OF JUDITH, AND ITS GEOGRAPHY.<sup>a</sup>

WHEN regarded as an integral part of the Bible, the Book of Judith follows that of Tobit, and is succeeded by the Book of Esther. Some have supposed that it was written before Tobit, but this is not borne out by internal evidence. The events of Tobit are assigned to a period prior to the Jewish captivity, whereas the whole texture of Judith belongs to a later date. The isolated details which point to an earlier age, are inconsistent with the general scope of the narrative. It has been thought that the Book of Judith was originally written in Hebrew, but there is nothing in the Greek text which could not have been written by a Jew in that language, and there are some things, as the mention of Antilibanus and Titans, which could hardly have been written in any other. The Greek text abounds in remarkable variations; there are at least four recensions of it; one in the earlier editions of the Septuagint, a second in the Vatican, a third in the Alexandrian, and a fourth in the recently-discovered Codex Sinaiticus. The two Latin versions and the Syriac differ from each other and from all the rest. The Latin of the Vulgate was translated by Jerome from a Chaldee copy, but he so altered and abridged it that it is of no critical value.<sup>b</sup> The Syriac appears in many respects to be the most consistent of all.<sup>c</sup> Judith was probably not written earlier than the second century before Christ. That it could not have preceded the captivity is shewn by its silence respecting Jewish kings, and the place it assigns to the high priest.<sup>d</sup> That it is not a true history is certain. The author, however, availed himself of historical names and facts, which he wove into a consecutive narration. But while he consciously wrote a fictitious story, he endeavoured to connect it with a true geo-

<sup>a</sup> Read before the Syro-Egyptian Society, Nov. 13th, 1860, and printed by request.

<sup>b</sup> See Jerome's preface to his version. With singular contempt of truth, the writer of the Article *Judith* in Didot's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* says, "The Book of Judith has been translated from the Chaldean with great exactitude by St. Jerome." The fact is just the opposite, and Jerome's own words are, "Huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiostissimam amputavi; sola ea quæ intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaeis invenire potui, Latinis expressi." Such is the version which some men venture to tell us was made *avec une grande exactitude*; and such is the version which has been canonized as infallible Scripture by the Council of Trent! We know nothing of Jerome's Chaldee copy, but we know he knew little of the Chaldee language. See his preface to Tobit.

<sup>c</sup> Nothing appears to be known of the origin of this translation, which may be found in Walton's Polyglott, vol. iv.

<sup>d</sup> Other circumstances pointing to this conclusion are named below

graphy; he has succeeded in neither, and the confusion in the history is not much greater than that in the geography. With regard to its authenticity, it must be observed, that it does not profess to be the record either of an eye-witness or of a contemporary: see chap. xiv. 10, and xvi. 23—25. Moreover, the book refers to no sources of information, and is unsupported by other documents. And yet it reports lengthened addresses, prayers, and thanksgivings; it gives minute details and statistics,<sup>\*</sup> and describes secret transactions. The book is inconsistent with probability and with known facts. For instance, when Bethulia was besieged, and so destitute of water, etc., that its inhabitants were in the greatest distress, Judith is said to have furnished herself with wine and other provisions, and to have washed all her body with water. Again, it is said that Judith was very beautiful when she went to Holofernes, she must therefore have been young, but she lived to be a hundred and five years old; and we are informed that from the defeat of Holofernes till *many years* after her death, Israel was unmolested. This must have been a period nearly equal to her entire life, but no such long continued peace was enjoyed at any time to which we can refer this narrative. Nor is any king of Nineveh named Nebuchadnezzar known to have existed. The same is the case with the other principal characters. Yet persons of all these names are to be read of in different records, and especially in the Old Testament. There was a Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, a Holofernes in the time of Demetrius Soter (B.C. 159); a Bagoas under Darius Ochus; a Judith in the time of Esau, Gen. xxvi. 34; an Arphaxad in Gen. x. 22, 24; an Arioch in Gen. xiv. 1, and Dan. ii. 14; a Joiakim in Neh. xii. 10; etc.

The genealogy of Judith, chap. viii. 1, is inexplicable and inadequate, giving but fourteen generations from Judith to Israel.

The events, like the names, are mostly copied or imitated from the Bible and other histories, as those of Abraham, Joel, Shalmanezer, Cambyses, Deioces, Tomyris, etc.

It is curious that Achior, the Moabite general, should be so well versed in Jewish history; equally curious is it to find him treated as a "son of Canaan," a "hireling of Ephraim," and "a hireling of Ammon:" chap. v. 3; vi. 2, 5.

It is not likely that a Jewish woman would speak of "sons of the Titans" and "high giants," and that Jews would introduce the *thyrsus* into their rejoicings.

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\* The statistics are not always the same in the versions.

Similar incidents and remarks might be readily multiplied, and some others will be pointed out as we proceed; but in the meantime we feel that the mere fact of the book's reception as historical by many Christians and a few Jews, ought not to prevail over the overwhelming evidence furnished by itself to the contrary.

The opinion that Judith is an allegory has been advanced, but it wants all the characteristics of that kind of composition. As to its canonical authority, it must be remembered that it is unknown to Josephus and Philo, and was never accepted by the Jews. It is not enumerated by Melito of Sardis; it is not recognized by Origen; it is absent from the (pseudo) Laodicean canon; it is not admitted by Cyril of Jerusalem, and the same is the case with Gregory of Nazianzum, with Epiphanius, Jerome, and many others. On the other hand it is quoted by many fathers, either as a history or as Scripture, from the time of Clement of Rome, whose allusion to it is perhaps the earliest extant. It found a place in the manuscripts of the Septuagint, and the Council of Hippo accepted it in A.D. 398. Hilary received it (A.D. 354), and so did Augustine. When Jerome, says the Council of Nicea, is said to have reckoned it with the canonical books, he probably only repeats an idle story originated by the wish to claim the sanction of that venerable assembly to a book which could have passed muster only in a most uncritical age.<sup>f</sup>

Serious objections have been taken to Judith on moral grounds, and certainly it does sanctify deceit and the exposure of life and honour.

In the remarks which follow, the Latin text cannot be made a basis; the English version has therefore been adopted as representing the Greek or longest text. The notes are only upon a few passages, and are principally designed to illustrate the difficulties of the geography and history. It is not thought needful to repeat information respecting well-known places, except incidentally. Perhaps it may be as well to state here in a few words the general character and subjects of the book.

Chap. I. Nebuchadnezzar makes war against Arphaxad, and is joined in his expedition by various tribes dwelling upon the Euphrates, Tigris, etc. Nebuchadnezzar issues his mandate that all on the west of the Euphrates, and from Cilicia to Ethiopia, shall assist him. Because they refuse, he vows to be revenged, and goes and conquers without them.

Chaps. II. and III. An army is equipped under Holofernes

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<sup>f</sup> We have not thought it necessary to quote all the authorities whom we have had to consult.

to go and punish the refractory nations. The campaign is at first successful.

Chaps. IV. to VI. The Jews resist and hold the enemy in check.

Chap. VII. Bethulia is besieged by Holofernes.

Chaps. VIII. to XIV. The enterprise of Judith for the deliverance of Bethulia and the death of Holofernes.

Chap. XV. The rout of the enemy.

Chap. XVI. The triumph and the epilogue.

We may now proceed with our notes upon the text.

Chap. I. 1. Of the Nebuchadnezzar here said to have reigned in Nineveh nothing is known in history, and the same is the case with Arphaxad, who is here said to have reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane. No successful attempt has been made to identify these two monarchs. Eusebius and an ancient Syrian chronicle say that Nebuchadnezzar is the same as Cambyses, who conquered the Medes b.c. 560. For Ecbatane the Syriac version has Panpatan, of which we can find no explanation. The fortification of this city, described in exaggerated terms in the three following verses, is by Herodotus ascribed in similar language to Deioces about 710 b.c.<sup>5</sup> Ecbatana is usually supposed to be the modern Hamadan, but recent authorities find it at Takht-i-Suleiman, N. lat. 36° 28'; E. long. 47° 9'. Some writers mention Arbaces as the founder of the Median kingdom and resident at Ecbatane; it is possible that he may be the Arphaxad of Judith.

Ver. 5. The plain in the borders of Ragau. For Ragau the Syriac has Dura, which was in or near Babylon. Ragau or Rages was in the N.E. of Media, and a little S. of the Caspian Sea. It was restored by Seleucus Nicator and called Europus. It was destroyed by the Parthians, but rebuilt by the Arsacidæ, and for a time called Arsacia. The site was probably near the modern Teheran. The mountains of Ragau (ver. 15) seem to have been the Caspian mountains. The district around appears to have been called Ragiana.

Ver. 6. The country here described extends from the north of Assyria to the Persian Gulf. The Hydaspes here named was the "Medus Hydaspes" of Virgil.<sup>6</sup> In the Old Testament it is called the Ulai, as the Syriac has it in this place. The Greeks called it Eulæus and Choaspes. The Vulgate Jadason is an evident blunder. The plain of Arioch is unknown, but must

<sup>5</sup> Book i., 98.

<sup>6</sup> Georg. iv., 211. To this Q. Curtius seems to refer in lib. v. 8, where Ortelius read Hydaspes, but modern editions have Choaspes, which has most likely been introduced as a correction.

be looked for in Elymais. No such nations as the “sons of Chelod” are known. The Vulgate, which has Elicians (?) for Elymeans, omits Chelod, and the Syriac has Chaldeans, which is at least intelligible.

Ver. 7. The mention of Persia here looks like an anachronism, as in chap. xvi. 10, where Medes and Persians are named together. The Vulgate and Syriac omit Persia, as also the newly-discovered Codex Sinaiticus; but this latter has Jamnia instead, and the Syriac Libnah. The reference to Antilibanus in the Greek favours a Greek origin, but it is not to be found in the Vulgate and Syriac. The sea coast is the Mediterranean coast.

Ver. 8. The higher or upper Galilee savours of a later date, and Jerome omits the word “upper.” The plain of Esdrelom is the plain of Jezreel. For Gilead, the Vulgate has Kedar.

Ver. 9. Betane is called Batnon in the Syriac. The Vulgate reads, “Jerusalem and all the land of Jesse till you come to the borders of Ethiopia.” We should look for Betane to the S. or S.E. of Jerusalem, certainly not at Batnæ in Syria. Perhaps the name points to Batanea, the ancient Bashan; or to Betonim, E. of the Dead Sea. Chellus, in Syriac Chalon, reminds us of Chalonitis, E. of the Tigris. But the text, compared with chap. ii. 23, requires us to seek it in Edom. The nearest approach to it is probably Elusa.<sup>i</sup> Kadesh, or (v. 14) Kadesh Barnea, is merely called Kadesh in the Syriac. The town of Kadesh was a border town in the south of Judæa. Taphnes (Syriac Thachphis),<sup>j</sup> and Ramesses (Syriac Raamses),<sup>k</sup> are well-known places in Lower Egypt, and Gesen is the Goshen of the Pentateuch.

Ver. 10. Tanis or Zoan, and Memphis (Syr. Maphis), and Ethiopia or Cush, are also well known. The summons of Nebuchadnezzar must have been sent over a country more than a

<sup>i</sup> Elusa has been identified by Dr. Robinson with el-Khulasah, about five hours S.S.W. of Hebron. In a note he adds a remark which is a strong confirmation of the opinion now advanced, that Chellus was Elusa. “From a remark of Jerome (*Comm. in Esa.*, xv., 4), it would appear that the Aramean name of this city was Χελούσα (*Chalutsa*), which was softened in Greek to ‘Ελουσα.” Perhaps we ought to notice the readings of the Codex Sinaiticus in ch. i. 6, 9. In the former it has Χεσλαιουδα, and in the latter Χεσλους. Cheslajuda is apparently two words, Chesla of Juda; but an alteration of the text has made it Chelajud (Χελαιουδ). Cheslus seems to be a nominative form. These forms, with *s* inserted, recall a number of words occurring in the Old Testament, as Chesil, Josh. xv. 30 (Sept. Cholaseola); Chesalon, Josh. xv. 10 (Sept. Chaslon); Chesulloth, Josh. xix. 18 (Sept. Chasaloth); Chisloth-Tabor, Josh. xix. 12 (Sept. Chaselothaith); Casluhim, Gen. x. 14 (Sept. Chasmonim). Proper names in the Septuagint are often extremely different from the Hebrew words they represent, as will be apparent from these examples.

<sup>j</sup> Probably the Coptic Hanes and the Heracleopolis-magna of the West.

<sup>k</sup> Most likely the Greek Heliopolis.

thousand miles in length, and several hundreds in breadth, which is very improbable.

Ver. 12. Syria, Syr. Beishan, *i. e.*, Bethshan or Scythopolis : except Bashan be meant, for the Syrians called the province or district by the same name. The expression, "the borders of the two seas," is one of peculiar difficulty, and no solution suggests itself. The Vulgate omits this and much more.

Ver. 14. Ecbatane, Syr. Capatan, like which we have nothing in ancient geography, except Capotana in Asia, east of Parthia. These variations are however worth noting.<sup>1</sup> By the conquest of Media, the realm of Arphaxad of course became an Assyrian dependency, which looks like an inversion of history.

Chap. II. 1. Nebuchadnezzar prepares war against the west. The expedition was entrusted to Holofernes, whose name is Persian, like those of Intaphernes, Megaphernes, Tissaphernes, etc. The army was to number 120,000 footmen, and 12,000 cavalry. This army was furnished with all kinds of supplies, including provisions to an incredible extent.

Ver. 21. The army marches three days' journey from Nineveh to the plain of Bectileth, and encamped from Bectileth near the mountain at the left hand of Upper Cilicia. This statement is obscure and incredible. No army could march in three days half the distance from Nineveh to Cilicia. We must therefore look for Bectileth about three days' journey west of Nineveh. The Syriac says, "He encamped opposite Beth-catalath beside the hill of Aganæ, which is on the left (*i. e.*, north) of Upper Cecilia." The Vulgate says, "He came to the great mountains of Ange, which are on the left of Cilicia." Adopting the Syriac as the more probable story, we are enabled to offer a plausible solution. Bectileth is, perhaps, the river Billica,<sup>2</sup> which flows from the north into the Euphrates at Nicephorium. The town of Aganæ seems to be the Greek Ichnæ which stood upon this river. To the west of Ichnæ and upon the Euphrates was a place called Cecilia, which is alluded to by Ptolemy. This was in the direct route from Nineveh at a few days' journey, in the way to Syria. In all its essential features we can therefore identify this description, although we cannot explain every detail.

Ver. 22. What follows is even more obscure. Holofernes

<sup>1</sup> Some of them are apparently equivalents, representing the same places as known in various nations. Others may arise from ignorant or careless copyists, and the author's own mistakes may have been the cause of a few.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy alludes to a town called *Bacatailli*, near Daphne in Syria, and apparently upon the Orontes. The name is singular, but we know nothing of the place.

marches into the hill country, whatever that may be, and destroys Phud and Lud, and spoils the children of Rasses and the children of Ismael, toward the wilderness south of the land of the Chellians.

Phud is the Greek representative of the Hebrew Pul, in Isa. lxvi. 19, in which place the Vulgate has Africa. It seems probable that the reference is to the Libyans on the west of Egypt. The Syriac in the text reads, "And they wasted the Phytians (or Photians) and the Lydians, and took captive all the sons of Thiras and Ramesses," etc. The Vulgate says, "He took by assault the renowned city of Melothus, and pillaged all the children of Tharsis and the children of Ismael," etc. Compare Gen. x. 6.\*

Lud is usually named in connexion with the preceding, but not always. See Gen. x. 22, where Lud is said to have been Shemitic, as Phut was Hamitic, and is distinguished from the Ludim, which were Hamitic. From this it seems that the Lud of Judith is the Ludim of Gen. vi. 13, by Ewald, etc., identified with the Libyans. The word is Lydians in the Syriac, and Lud is sometimes so rendered by Jerome, as in Isa. lxvi. 19, already referred to. That the Syriac translator really understood the Lydians to be meant here, is almost certain from his explanation of Phud by Photians; i. e., Phocæans, or inhabitants of Phocæ on the west coast of Asia Minor.

As already remarked, for Phud and Lud the Vulgate has Melothus, by which we understand Malotha a town in Arabia, referred to by Strabo, cap. 782, and no great distance from the eastern shore of the Red Sea.

Rasses is in Vulgate Tharsis, and in Syriac Thiras and Ramesses. The only conjecture we can offer in favour of Rasses is, that it may represent the Arabian Rissa in the wilderness of Paran (Numb. xxxiii. 21).<sup>o</sup> In his *Itinerary*, Peutinger places Rasa thirty-two miles from Ælana, and 203 south of Jerusalem. Reland also (p. 1036) mentions Ressa and Thrëssa, as names of the same place in Edom. As for Thiras it may be merely a different spelling of Thrëssa. Strabo speaks of two places called Threx and Taurus, somewhere not far from Jericho, but these were merely fortresses, and do not deserve to be set by the side of Ramesses or Heliopolis, which was a place

\* Phud. It is not surprising to find so many variations in the spelling of names in which the letters, P, L, D, T, etc., are constituents. Thus Phud is Pud, Put, Pul, Phul, etc. The interchange of T and L occurs several times in this very book, as in Ecrebel, Syriac Ecarbath; etc.

<sup>o</sup> Rasses looks very much like an error arising out of transcription. The true reading was probably Thiras and Ramesses. It must be noticed that in Hebrew and Syriac, the latter word is written with an v, thus, **רַמֵּסֶת**.

of real importance. Neither can Thiras be taken for Thrace, as in Gen. x. 2, and elsewhere. Tharsis resembles it, but is probably supposed to be the Tarshish of the Old Testament. All the texts of Judith here afford abundant scope for conjecture, but nothing like a consistent interpretation seems to be possible.

"The children of Ismael toward the wilderness at the south of the land of the Chellians." Syriac, "The children of Ishmael who dwell in the wilderness on the south, and all the land of the Chaldeans." The former part of this must refer to the Edomites; and the Chellians may be the Chaldeans, or rather the inhabitants of Chellus. Compare i. 6. For "land of the Chellians," the Vulgate has, "land of Cellon."<sup>2</sup>

Ver. 24. Holofernes next crosses the Euphrates, passes through Mesopotamia, and destroys all the cities on the river Arbonai till you come to the sea. As the passage of Mesopotamia was subsequent to his crossing the Euphrates, the army must have come from the south or west. The Arbonai, or as some read Abrona, was most likely the Chaboras, or modern Chabour. The *sea* may have been merely the Euphrates, which was reached by following the course of the Chaboras. The Syriac says, "They crossed the Euphrates, and passed through Mesopotamia which is to the south, and he overthrew all the strong cities beside the river Jabbok, even till they came to the sea." This means that they marched from the east through southern Mesopotamia, and across the country to the river Jabbok, which falls into the Jordan. For Jabbok, the Vulgate has Mambre, "from the torrent of Mambre till you come to the sea."

Ver. 25. Holofernes next takes the borders of Cilicia, and comes to the borders of Japheth, "which were towards the south, over against Arabia." This is another piece of impossible geography. How to connect Cilicia, Japheth and Arabia, we know not. The first is plain enough, but the second should be looked for, not in the south but in the north.<sup>3</sup> The Syriac says, "They took the border of Cilicia . . . and came to the border in the south over against all Arabia. Supposing the

<sup>2</sup> The reader may compare with what is here said, the reasoning of Bochart, *Geogr.*, lib. ii. 28. He believes that the modern Chaulan or Khaulan in Arabia, N. lat. 17° 18'; E. long. 40° 41', is the Biblical Havilah. It is equally possible that there may be some relation between the Lat. Cellon and the Arabic province.

<sup>3</sup> Japheth presents inexplicable difficulties. It is possible that Nebaioth is intended. By the Greeks the Nebaioth Arabs were known as Nabateans. Jerome says that the whole region from the Euphrates to the Red Sea was called Nabatena, and Ovid speaks of the *Nabatæa regna*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally *Tekuma*, which may be the Arabic Tehama, a region of Arabia Felix, bordering upon Yemen and reaching to the Red Sea. The Syriac says it

army in Cilicia, what follows is intelligible, but it is difficult to see how they got there from Jabbok, or Arbonai, or Mambre, as the case may be.

Ver. 26. Midian is invaded, or the country near the eastern arm of the Red Sea.

Ver. 27. Another singular diversion in this verse carries us north again to Damascene, or the district of Damascus. Supposing the places in this narrative arranged geographically, the course of the Assyrian army would have been generally intelligible, but they are now mixed up in hopeless confusion. Whoever the writer was, he probably knew or cared nothing about the relative position of the places he mentioned, and set them down at random.

Verse 28. The terror caused by Holofernes extends along the whole of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Here for once the towns appear to stand in their proper order. Sidon, Tyre, Sur, Ocina, Jemnaan, Azotus and Ascalon. Some difficulty is presented by Sur and Ocina. For *Sur*, the Syriac has *Syria*; and the Vulgate, "of *Syria Mesopotamia and Syria Sobal.*" By *Sur* we understand Dora or Sora, eight miles north of Cæsarea in the plain of *Sharon* or *Saron*. For *Ocina* the Syriac reads *Libna* by an easy clerical error, لِبْنَةٌ for لِبْنَى. It seems very likely that *Accho* is meant. The Vulgate adds *Libya* and *Cilicia*, which will never do. *Jemnaan* is *Jamnia* or *Jabneh*, the modern *Jaffa*. *Azotus* and *Ascalon* need no explanation. The Syriac adds *Gaza*, and omits *Jemnaan*, except *Libneh* or *Libna* be intended for *Jabneh*, which is not unlikely.

Chap. III. 1—7. Here we have a record of the submission of those just named, followed by an intimation that it was dearly purchased, because Holofernes cut down their groves, since he had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, and that Nebuchadnezzar only should be worshipped, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god. The reference to idolatry points to an early period, and the claim of worship for Nebuchadnezzar is an evident allusion to Dan. iii.

Ver 9. "He came over against Esdraelon near unto Judea, over against the great strait of Judea." Esdraelon is *Jezreel*. For *Judea*, the first time, some read *Dotæa*, i. e., as Syriac, *Dothan*. The site of *Dothan* is now identified with Tell *Dothan*, north of *Samaria*, twelve Roman miles, as stated in the *Onomasticon*. The great strait of *Judea* seems to be the hilly country

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was in the south over against all Arabia, and it may be intended for the same region as *Japheth* (or *Nebaoth*) in the Greek text. With this also agrees the invasion of *Midian* recorded in the next verse.

on the north of Judea in Samaria. The Vulgate says, "When he had passed through all Syria Sobal, and all Apamea, and all Mesopotamia, he came to the Idumeans into the land of Gabaa," which probably Jerome himself did not understand.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 10. "He pitched between Geba and Scythopolis." Geba seems to be the modern Jeba, a village somewhat to the south of Sanûr. For Scythopolis the Syriac has Beishan, the modern Beisan south of the sea of Galilee. The position of the Assyrians at this time presents no great difficulty, and the statement that they occupied it for a month to rest and recruit is probable enough.

Chap. IV. This chapter records the steps taken by the Jews to resist the approach of Holofernes. The mention of the temple and of their recent return from captivity, can only apply to a period later than the Babylonian exile. This view is demonstrated by the ascription of supreme power to the high priest, and the absence of all reference to a king. The high priest and elders were not the governors of the people at an earlier period. Compare verses 2, 3, 6, 8.

Ver. 4. Several places are here named, and some of them obscure. The reading *villages* (*κωμὰς*) for Conâs (*κωνᾶς*) is confirmed by the Syriac, which has "the towns of Beth Horon, and to Abel Meholah, and to Jericho and to the plain, and to Beth Horon, and to the Aulon of Gileam." Beth Horon is now Beit Ur. Belmen, also called Belmain or Belbaim, may be Abel Meholah, as in Syriac, or Abel Maim. Abel Meholah was near the valley of the Jordan, ten miles south of Beth Shean. Abel Maim, now Abil, is upon a stream which runs into the Huleh. We prefer the Syriac explanation.<sup>2</sup>

Choba is no doubt Hobah: compare xv. 4, Chobai, where the Syriac has Hoba, although it here omits the name. Hobah was a little north of Damascus, and is still to be traced, compare Gen. xiv. 15. Esora; Syriac, Beth Horon (there were two Bethorons upper and lower); we think Hazor is meant; it seems to have been west of the Huleh and not far from Abel Maim.<sup>3</sup> The valley of Salem, or the Aulon of Salem; Syriac, "the Aulon of Gileam," which means the Aulon or valley on the east of the Jordan, and to the west of Gilead (Gileam). There is a small place still called Salim, to the east of Neapolis, but it is scarcely likely that it is the town meant in the text. Nor

<sup>1</sup> The term *Sobel*, applied to Syria, we confess ourselves unable to explain. Apamea was in Syria.

<sup>2</sup> In Josh. xv. 24, the Septuagint has Balmainan for the Hebrew Bealoth, a town in the south of the tribe of Judah towards Edom.

<sup>3</sup> Several places named Hazar and Hazor are referred to in the Hebrew Scripture.

do we suppose it is the one referred to in John's Gospel, which we take to be the Salem of Judith, and on the east side of the Jordan in accordance with the Syriac text, which, however, omits the name.

The Jews took possession of the strong places, and laid up provisions in abundance. Joacim (Syriac Eliakim) the high priest, sent special orders to Bethulia and Betomestham, to keep the passages of the hill country, to prevent the entrance of the enemy into Judea. The Vulgate, which agrees with the Syriac as to the name of the high priest, omits many of the names in this chapter, including Bethulia and Betomestham. For these the Syriac has Beth Pallau and Beth Masthim, of which we shall now speak.

Bethulia, by its name, reminds us of the district of the Huleh, but we must look for it further south. The difficulty of identifying it has led some to think it wholly fictitious, and the whole book an allegory; in which Bethulia is Jerusalem, the 'virgin of the Lord,' or *תָּמִימָה*, while Judith is the Jewish nation, etc. All this, however, we think fanciful, and join with those who believe a real place is intended. We should expect to find it south of Jezreel and near Dothan. Ritter and others find it at Beit Ilfa, north of Mount Gilboa; others fix upon Safed; and Von Raumer, etc., have decided in favour of Sanûr. Curiously enough, the most ancient candidate for the honour, that named in the Syriac, has been overlooked or misunderstood. Beth Pallau is certainly *Pella*, a place of great importance in a strategetical point of view, and one which is equally prominent in later Jewish and early Christian history. It has all the circumstantial of the place named in Judith, as mount, fountain, valley, etc. What is of more consequence is, that it was a most appropriate place for a descent upon the Holy Land, and that in the account of the retreat there is no allusion to crossing the river Jordan, and all the details of that transaction (chap. xv.) are proper to the place. It was natural, too, that Holofernes should lay siege to Pella at the outset, because in the event of a reverse, it would have presented a fatal obstacle to a retreating army. What is said before of the encamping in the plain of Jezreel, does not disprove the idea of a subsequent encampment, but rather implies it, because it is expressly stated that it was for thirty days which were devoted to preparations for action. Neither does the description of the site of Betomestham militate against the Syriac Version, as the two places are not said to have been together, or even near each other. The question thus raised is certainly worthy of consideration.

Betomestham (Syr. Beth Masthim) is said to have been

"over against Esdraelon towards the open country, near to Dothaim." No such place can be found, and we are not inclined to hazard any conjecture respecting it. As the name is written in Syriac, it signifies, "House of those who hibernate, or spend the winter," (Anglice, "winter quarters," and it should be written in English, Betomasthaim, or Beth Masthim.)

The inhabitants of the places named were to keep the passes of the hill country leading into Judea; they were therefore not in Judea. As to the passes being wide enough for two men at most, that is a figure of speech, similar to that in ver. 10, where the cattle are enumerated among those who humbled their souls and put on sackcloth; and that in ver. 11, where the Jews clothe the altar with sackcloth. There is no trace in the Old Testament of any custom of placing sackcloth upon brutes except in the case of the Ninevite pagans, nor of placing sackcloth upon the altar, which would have been an inconvenient, if not impossible, custom. In ver. 13, we are informed that the people fasted *many days* in Judea and Jerusalem before the sanctuary of the Lord Almighty. The whole transaction seems to have occupied not many days, and the whole account of the fast is exaggerated. The Vulgate and Syriac Versions differ more or less from the Greek, and more especially the Latin, which is here amplified. As in other places, the Greek calls the high priest Joacim, but the Syriac and Vulgate Eliakim."

Chap. V. Holofernes, hearing of the preparations of Israel, was very angry, and summons the princes of Moab, the captains of Ammon, and the governors of the sea-coast, and asks who these daring opponents are. He is answered by Achior, the commander-in-chief of the Ammonites, who has put into his mouth a long speech, in which he gives the history of the Jews, and his ideas of their encouragements, ver. 5—21.

In ver. 3, the general addresses those whom he assembles as "sons of Chanaan," which is a curious term to apply to Am-

\* Although we have failed to discover any place with such a name, it seems by no means improbable that it refers to a real town or locality. We are naturally reminded of Masada, but its situation cannot be reconciled with the text. Another conjecture may be mentioned. The inhabitants of Bethulia and Betomestham were "to keep the passages of the hill country," and an extraordinary pass is described in the next verse. This recalls the famous *pass of Michmash* (1 Sam. xiii. 23), which is often mentioned in the Old Testament. If Beth Masthim is Michmash, Bethel may be Bethulia, Jeba (south of Mukhmas) will be Geba, Beit Haran (east of Jordan) will be Beth Horon, and indeed the whole scene will be changed. As new difficulties would be created for those which are removed, we can only persuade ourselves to throw out the theory in the form of a note. At the same time, we believe the matter worth looking into.

\* Whichever of these names be adopted, matters little. For Eliakim, see 2 Kings xviii. 18; xxiii. 34. The second of these was also called Jehoiakim, who was taken captive to Babylon, and had a son named Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxiv.

monites and Moabites, of whom the latter are placed east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, and the former to the east of Gilead. The Phœnician “governors of the sea-coast” might be called Canaanites. It is absurd to suppose that Holofernes did not know who the Jews were. In the history ascribed to Achior there is nothing very peculiar. But the name of Achior is peculiar, and strengthens our conviction that the book was written in Egypt: it seems to be Coptic, *achi* a reed or rush, and *iaro* a river. In Hebrew these words are אַרְוֹן. Achior will then signify the *river rush*. We are aware the word can be derived from the Hebrew, but not more certainly as “Brother of light.” It is also noticeable that an Ammonite has so minute and ready acquaintance with Jewish history, and that his account of it has been preserved. Verses 18, 19, speak of a recent return from captivity—*to Jerusalem*. The speech of Achior was listened to with impatience, and generally dissented from.

Chap. VI. Holofernes answers boastfully, and sends Achior away to the enemy at Bethulia, where he is gladly received, and entertained by one of the governors.

Ver. 1. The general addresses “Achior and all the Moabites” as “Achior and the hirelings of Ephraim,” and “Achior, a hireling of Ammon.” How poor Achior could be a Canaanite, an Ephraimite, and a Moabite, as well as an Ammonite, it is very difficult to see. The Assyrian general not merely boasts of his power and the divinity of his master, but ventures to act the prophet, as when he says Achior shall be handed over to the enemy, and “shall not perish till he is destroyed with them.” The Syriac and Vulgate here differ in various details as compared with each other and the Greek.

Ver. 10. Achior is taken out of the camp into the plain, and on to Bethulia, where he is left bound at the foot of the hill. Those who performed this feat were observed and attacked, but they succeeded nevertheless. The Jews left their city and took up Achior, and presented him to the governors, who were Ozias a Simeonite, Chabris, and Charmis. It is not clear why a Simeonite should have been one of the three governors, except on the theory of a recent date. Ozias is of course Uzzia (1 Chron. ii. 44; Isa. i. 1). Chabris is also called Abris, and Charmis is Charmi (Joshua vii. 1). The other names, Micha, Gothoniel (=Othniel), and Melchiel (=Malchiel), all occur in different places of the Old Testament. The examination of Achior and the subsequent thanksgiving are natural enough. Still it seems strange, that a besieged city like this should have full liberty to open its gates, and to obtain supplies of water from a fountain (ver. 11) which remained unprotected. Such a

siege was probably never carried on before. The feast given by Ozias is a very unlikely occurrence, as much so as the delivery of a suspected general into the enemy's hands.

Chap. VII. It appears that now, at length, Holofernes begins to take more decided steps, to invest Bethulia more closely, and to get possession of the passes, etc. The army of 182,000, besides others not enumerated, encamped in the valley near Bethulia by the fountain, and extended over Dothaim to Bel-maim in breadth, and from Bethulia to Cyamon over against Esdraelom in length. The Syriac has 170,000 footmen, as the Greek; but 22,000 horsemen, and the camp-followers. Ver. 3 reads in Syriac, "And they pitched in the valley (Aulon) near the city, by the fountain of waters, and the breadth of the camp was from Rauthim (Dothan) to Abel Meholah, and its length to Kadmon, opposite Jezreel." The statement here made seems to discredit the interpretation of Beth Pallau by Pella, but it must be remembered that the relative positions of places are, in Judith, generally treated with indifference. Except Cyamon (Syr. Kadmon), all the names in this verse have been considered above. Reland thinks Cyamon was Cammona in the great plain six miles north of Legio, and mentioned by Eusebius. The name most like it in our days is Kumiye, five miles east of Jezreel. Vulg., Chelmon, which is obscure. Syr., Kadmon points to the Kadmonites east of Jordan. Whatever view we take of the sites of the places named, the army must have been spread over an enormous surface. The writer indulges in a little pardonable rhetoric when he says the Israelites declared the army of Holofernes would "lick up the face of the earth, for neither the high mountains nor the vallies nor the hills are able to bear them." After a demonstration before Bethulia, "the chief of the children of Esau and all the governors of the people of Moab, and the captains of the sea-coast," recommended that the fountain of Bethulia at the foot of the mountain should be taken possession of, because the inhabitants of the town all had their water from it, and then they would be killed by thirst. This advice was followed, and after four and thirty days water failed in Bethulia, and there was not left them enough for one day.

In the meantime (ver. 18), the children of Esau and of Ammon encamped in the hill country near Dothaim, and sent out parties in different directions to the south and east, "over against Ekreb, which is near unto Chusi, that is upon the brook Mochmur." For Ekreb, the Syriac has Ecarbath, by which we suppose Acraba is meant: it has the same name in Chaldee, and is clearly allied to Akrabbim and Acrabatene or

Arabatine (1 Macc. v. 3). It must be observed, however, that Josephus mentions another place of the same name farther north towards Shechem (*B. J.*, iii., 3, 4) in the south of Samaria. The old Latin has Betharaba, which was in the wilderness on the confines of Judah and Benjamin. For Chusi, the Syriac has Cush, and the old Latin Keziz: perhaps Chosa in the borders of Asher (*Joshua* xix. 29). Mochmur, Syr. Peor, is also very doubtful. There was a Baal Peor on the Arnon, but this should be not far from Acrabata.\*

Chap. VIII. We are now introduced to Judith, of whose genealogy a particular account is given. This genealogy is insufficient, as it only allows fourteen generations from Israel. The names in the descent are also most doubtful, although some of them are elsewhere to be met with. The Syriac gives Uz for Ox, Uzziel for Oziel, Elkanah for Elcia, Hanan for Ananias, Gibeon for Gedeon, Daphnin for Raphaim, Ahitub for Acitho, Nain for Eliu, Malchiah for Eliab, Nathaniah for Nathanael, Samuel for Samael, and Simeon for Salasadai. We are informed that her husband Manasses was of Judith's tribe and kindred, *i. e.* (comp. ix. 2) of the tribe of Simeon. Judith had been more than three years a widow at the period of her appearance before us, which was therefore probably in September. Manasses died in Be-thulia, and was buried between Dothaim and Balamo. Balamo is evidently the same as Belmaim in chap. vii. 3, although the Syriac there has Abel Meholah, and here Baal Meon, which was on the east of the Jordan near the foot of Mount Gilead.†

Judith was pious, beautiful, and rich. Having heard of the wish expressed by the people for the surrender of the place, she sent a request to Ozias, Chabris, and Charmis to wait upon her.

\* Akrabbim signifies *scorpions*, and the southern Acrabatena towards Edom is still infested by them. The northern Acrabi of Eusebius, etc., is now called *Akrabeh*, and appears to have been the capital of the toparchy to which it gave its name. This place is described by Robinson, in *Researches*, vol. iii., pp. 296, 297. Akrabeh lies a few miles east of El-Kauzah, which stands on an eminence above the brook or wady El-Mokhna (compare Judith vii. 18, Ekrebé near Chusi, above the torrent Mochmur). Such at least is its position as laid down in Van de Velde's large map. These coincidences are, to say the least, remarkable, and merit attention. Mochmur looks like a real name from the root מָרַת, and would denote a stream which is turbid, or swollen, or which is impregnated with bitumen. Robinson mentions such a stream near Damascus, which he calls "Nahr-el Mukubrit (sulphurous river)." Mochmur, however, is more likely the same as the Hebrew מַחְמָר machmor, which signifies a *net*. See Psalm cxli. 10; Isa. xix. 8, etc. In his great geographical dictionary, Martinière says Mochmur was a torrent in Palestine, spoken of in Judith vii. 12, according to the Hebrew text! We should be glad to know if there ever was a Hebrew text. That Mochmur was the modern Mokhna seems the most plausible supposition. Wady Ahmar may also be compared with it, and is in the same district.

† Abel Meholah was fifteen miles south of Scythopolis in the valley of the Jordan; while Abel Maim was much farther north, as observed by Stanley.

She rebukes them for promising to surrender in five days if help is not obtained, and exhorts them to constancy. Ozias assents to what she says, and asks her to pray for them because she is "a goodly woman," or more correctly "godly." She promises to do a memorable deed, and declares her intention of leaving the city, and her belief that God will deliver them. Ozias and the princes bade her go in peace, and returned from the tent (compare ver. 5). There is one verse in this narrative which savours of a later origin (ver. 5) : "She fasted all the days of her widowhood, save the eves of the sabbaths and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel." While, however, some of the seasons here named were not observed till more recent times, it must be noticed that the Syriac Version does not mention the *eves* of the sabbaths and new moons, but only sabbaths, new moons, solemnities, festivals, and commemorations. The Vulgate only refers to sabbaths, new moons, and feasts.

Chap. IX. This chapter consists of a prayer by Judith prior to her departure. In the tenth verse, she says, "Smite by the *deceit* of my lips, the servant with the prince," etc.; and again (ver. 13), "Make my speech and *deceit* to be their wound and stripe." For *deceit* some have supposed *love* (*ἀγάπης* for *ἀπάτης*) ought to be read, but while the Vulgate paraphrases these passages, the Syriac retains the words, and in the latter case has "my guile and my deceit."

Chap. X. Judith goes over to the enemy, attended by her maid, and is conducted by the soldiers on guard to the tent of the general. Several points in this chapter deserve notice. The propriety of her excessive adorning "to allure the eyes of all men that should see her," may be fairly questioned. In ver. 3, we read that she "washed her body all over with water." Yet we are told before this, "all their vessels of water failed all the inhabitants of Bethulia, and the cisterns were emptied, and they had not water to drink their fill for one day, for they gave them drink by measure." Either Judith had water, or she had not; if she had, it was a shame for her to waste it thus, when her neighbours were dying of thirst; if she had not, the story is a fiction. The fact is that this lady had taken care of herself amid the straits to which the city was exposed: "She gave her maid *a bottle of wine* and *a cruse of oil*, and filled a bag with parched corn, and lumps of figs, and with fine bread," so well was she provided for in the dearth which prevailed (chap. xi. 12). All these things were carried by the maid, at least we are told so. The Syriac says Judith washed "her mouth" with water, and

gave to the maid “a bottle of wine, and a vessel of oil,” and a bag full of “fine flour, and figs, and bread, and cheese.” At the city gate they met with Ozias, and the elders, Chabris and Charmis, who were very much struck with Judith’s beauty, and implored God’s blessing upon her. At her request the gates were opened, and she and her maid went out, “and the men of the city looked after her until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley” (*διῆλθε τὸν αὐλῶνα*). But it is to be remembered that her preparations did not commence till the time of evening incense (chap. ix. 1), it was now therefore night, and the looking after her of very little use. Again, we are told that the fountains of Bethulia “issued forth of the foot of the mountain,” and that the Assyrians had taken possession of them (chap. vii. 12, 17); how then is it that Judith could descend the mountain and traverse the valley before meeting the Assyrian guards? What follows about the wonder at her beauty, experienced by the soldiers, and her deceitful declarations to them by which she gains access to Holofernes, “to declare words of truth,” and to “shew him a way whereby he shall go, and win all the hill country without losing the body or life of any one of his men,” is in harmony with other inflated passages. When Judith is brought to the tent, we are told again how they “wondered at her beauty.” The general rested upon his bed, under a canopy, which was woven with purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones. On hearing of Judith, he came out preceded by silver lamps, and of course he and his servants “all marvelled at the beauty of her countenance.”

Chap. XI. Holofernes now asks Judith why she is come, and why she has fled from her own people. She answers that she will “declare no lie to my lord this night,” and forthwith proceeds to tell him a series, or at any rate to deceive him by what she says. She leads him to expect complete success. She says the Jews cannot be overcome except they sin against their God; but she implies that they have already sinned, “their sin hath overtaken them,” and that they are about to sin yet more: “They have determined to lay hands upon their cattle, and purposed to consume all those things that God hath forbidden them to eat by his laws.” That they had cattle in Bethulia is by no mean probable, and it was hardly sin to kill them. “But,” says she, “they have decided to consume the first-fruits of the corn, and the tenths of wine and oil, which they had sanctified and reserved for the priests that serve in Jerusalem . . . which it is not lawful for any of the people so much as to touch with their hands.” The cattle surely had no water, and it was long after the time for first-fruits, and apparently of tithes also. A greater

difficulty follows in ver. 14, where Judith says, "They have sent some to Jerusalem (because they also who dwell there have done the like) to bring them a license from the senate," etc. It is absurd to suppose that Judith knew what was done then at Jerusalem, and more so to imagine that during the siege the Bethulians could keep up a correspondence with Jerusalem.<sup>\*</sup> The Vulgate alters and abridges the whole of this passage. Judith repeats to Holofernes her promise of success, and that she will take him to Jerusalem and set up his throne there. Holofernes praises her over and over for her wisdom and her beauty, and promises that if she does what she says, her God shall be his God.

Chap. XII. Judith refuses to eat of the Assyrians' food, and is taken into the tent where "she slept till midnight, and arose toward the morning watch." She then sends to Holofernes and asks permission to go out to prayer, which is permitted. "Thus she abode in the camp three days, and went out in the night into the valley of Bethulia, and washed herself in a fountain of water by the camp." All this is improbable enough. On the fourth day Holofernes made a great feast, and invited Judith, who readily complied and ate and drank before him. The general was overjoyed, and drank to intoxication.

Chap. XIII. Judith being alone with Holofernes, who is fast asleep, prays for success, and takes the sword of the general and cuts off his head. This she gave to her maid, and the two went out as before to prayer. The "fair damsel" (xi. 13) and her attendant passed the camp, "went round by the valley, and ascended the mountain of Bethulia and came to the gates." How they did all this unperceived is not explained. So it was however, and Judith "said afar off to the watchmen at the gate, Open, open now the gate," etc. Her voice was recognized, the gate was opened, and a fire was made for a light. All the people ran together, and the head of the Assyrian was produced from the bag in which it had been deposited, to the astonishment and joy of Ozias and of them all.

Chap. XIV. Judith urges them to immediate action, but first asks for Achior that he may see the head of Holofernes. Achior is so much affected by the sight, that he faints, and as soon as he recovers is circumcised, and "joined unto the house of Israel unto this day." In the morning Holofernes' head was hung upon the wall, and the Bethulians made an assault upon the enemies, who went to rouse Holofernes, and finding him dead were filled with dismay.

\* The whole of this seems to suggest that there was no great distance between Bethulia and Jerusalem.

Chap. XV. A panic seizes the Assyrians, who fly in utter confusion. The news rapidly spreads, and the whole country is soon in arms to pursue and spoil the foe. Ozias sent to various places to make known what was done, and to ask aid in destroying the enemy, who was pursued till he was past Damascus. As for the camp, it took thirty days to spoil it. Ozias sent to Betomasthem, Bebai, Chobai Cola, etc. Betomasthem we have already noticed, Bebai is unknown and is omitted in some Greek copies, and in the versions (compare Ezra ii. 11; Neh. vii. 16). Chobai is most likely Hobah. Chola (compare Huleh) is also unknown. There was a place called Holon in Moab, Jer. xlvi. 21 (Sept., Chelon).<sup>y</sup> The reference to Hobah in ver. 5 in connexion with Damascus is remarkable, and strongly supports the opinion that the book is not historical. In Gen. xiv., we read that Abraham pursued his enemies to Hobah north of Damascus, and here we are told that the Israelites slew the Assyrians to Hobah . . . until they were past Damascus. The whole narrative of the spoiling of the camp is highly coloured and of a piece with the rest of the book. Joacim and the elders of Israel came from Jerusalem to see what was done. Judith is applauded, and favoured with the spoils from Holofernes' tent, and "all the women of Israel" ran together to see, and bless, and dance before her. She took branches (Greek, *θύρσος*) in her hand and gave to the women who were with her, and she and they were crowned with olives, etc.

Chap. XVI. 1—17. The thanksgiving of Judith is a composition reminding us of those of Deborah, etc., in the Old Testament; some parts of it are in the words of well known passages, but others are original. The allusion to Titans (ver. 7), and the mention of the Medes and Persians (ver. 10), have been already noticed.

Ver. 18, etc. Judith goes to Jerusalem with the victors, and there dedicates as a votive offering (*ἀνέθηκεν*) her share of the spoils, and after feasting three months before the sanctuary, she and the rest returned home. She remained a widow, and died at the age of 105 years, and was buried with her husband. She made her handmaid free, and left her possessions to her relatives. During her lifetime Israel had peace, and for a long time after her death. The conclusion of the book reminds us of that of Tobit, as also do other portions of it. These books appear to belong to the same period, and are very possibly by one author. In each case the plot is laid in an age to which many of the details cannot possibly apply. In each case there is the per-

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<sup>y</sup> In Jos. xv. 59, the Septuagint has Culon for the Hebrew Eltekon.

petual occurrence of improbable or impossible events. Each of them is designed to teach its own moral, substantially the same in both,—the glory of fidelity to Jewish interests. In Tobit this is by religious zeal and domestic virtues; and in Judith by religious zeal and valiant enterprise. The history of each is in the main absolutely without confirmation, and the geography obscure, and to say the least inaccurate. Neither of them has ever been received by the Jews into the canon, and both have found a place in the Septuagint, in ancient versions and in the canon of Trent. Yet neither of them has a consistent text, or can bear the scrutiny of scientific criticism. Finally, it has never been decided in what language they were originally written, nor at what date they were compiled.

Notwithstanding all these things the Book of Judith is continually treated as a true history, not merely by such writers as Bellarmine, (—who considers it to have been written by the high priest Eliakim, A.M. 3270,—) but by Protestant writers. Nebuchadnezzar has found his place among the kings of Assyria, and Arphaxad among those of Media. Judith herself finds a place in biographical dictionaries, and the general events of the book are worked up in Jewish histories. Of course the Popish writers are bound to receive it by the Council of Trent, but Protestants can have recognized its authenticity only because they have not sufficiently examined it. It may be that it merits perusal, and is not without a use, but it is not for enlightened criticism to accept as a true history what is assuredly at best a religious fiction.

B. H. C.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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\* \* \* The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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## THE CODEX SINAITICUS, AND THE ADULTERESS IN THE TEMPLE.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR.—The discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, and the proposed twofold publication of this document, is an event of such importance to the Biblical student in all countries, that there are few who will not feel considerable satisfaction at the announcement. At the same time there are circumstances connected with it which are perhaps deserving of some consideration. I allude particularly to the omissions in the MS., which, as it is probably as early as the fourth century, will necessarily have some weight with all enquiring persons. That the MS. should omit the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, is not surprising, considering the evidence adduced in opposition to it by Professor Porson in his *Letters to Archdeacon Travis* in 1790, and by the late Dr. Stroud in his Expository Remarks in this Journal, who clearly shews that the “disputed clause is at variance with the explanation of his argument furnished by the apostle himself, namely, that it is the testimony of God concerning his Son.”<sup>a</sup> Internal evidence also seems clearly to shew that the conclusion of St. Mark’s Gospel (xvi. 9—20), is supplementary, and that it is as Dean Alford observes, “an authentic fragment placed as a completion of the Gospel in very early times; by whom written, must of course remain wholly uncertain, but coming to us with very weighty sanction, and having strong claims on our reverence and regard.”

But the Sinaitic MS. also agrees with many others of high antiquity, in omitting the narrative of the adulteress in the temple. Against the genuineness of this passage appears the concurring evidence, not perhaps of the majority of the manuscripts, but probably those of very high antiquity, including this lately discovered. Still there are so large a proportion on the other side, that the evidence may be almost said to be equally balanced, and we can only come to something like a satisfactory conclusion by considering the *internal* evidence, the evidence in that respect against and for the genuineness of the narrative.

It is affirmed that the style differs somewhat from that in general use by St. John in other portions of his writings. May it not be said, that when an event has to be described which has not taken place before, a writer will sometimes use other words and expressions than he is usually wont? Dean Alford remarks in his notes on this passage, that

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<sup>a</sup> *J. S. L.*, No. xv., October, 1858.

St. John never mentions *οἱ γραμματεῖς* elsewhere, but usually calls the opponents of Jesus *οἱ ιονδαῖοι* or *οἱ ἀρχοντες*. But surely the *γραμματεῖς*, who were supposed to be learned in the law, would be the very persons delegated to ask an ensnaring question which had a special reference to that law. Again, *τοῦτο δὲ ἐλεγον πειράζοντες* savours (as is affirmed) “much more of the Synoptic gospels than of John.” But how, if it could not be so well expressed in any other way, does it follow that St. John would avoid using it because it had been used by the other evangelists? He wishes clearly to express that the scribes brought forward the legal authority on purpose to tempt our Lord, and he has expressed it in the most appropriate terms. “*Κατακρίνω* (it is objected) is not found elsewhere in John, who uses *κρίνω* in its strict sense for it.” But the former word has an intensity which the latter has not. It signifies to pass a sentence of condemnation judicially as well as merely to condemn. Campbell therefore translates “Hath no one passed sentence on thee?” *οὐδέποτε κατέκρινεν*, “neither do I pass sentence on thee!” *οὐδὲ ἔγω σε κατακρίνω*. Could St. John have expressed this more accurately and forcibly, though he might undoubtedly have simply made use of the word *κρίνω* in other parts of the Gospel.

Another objection is, the difficulty of understanding in what way this question could lead to our Lord’s accusation.

That such a question would not have involved the Redeemer in any controversy with the Roman government is sufficiently plain, and if we could suppose such to have been the case, undoubtedly a difficulty would arise. But there is not the remotest ground for any such supposition. Gladly would his adversaries have availed themselves of it to further their own purposes of hostility. But in this case there was a direct reference to the law, and the law only. In the previous chapter of this gospel (v.) they had openly accused him of violating the law by healing a man on the Sabbath day. On this occasion the same purpose might be answered by propounding, with a show of deference, a question in which they hoped he might set aside the law, as they supposed he had done in respect to the observance of the Sabbath. “Moses in the law commanded us, that such be stoned: but what sayest thou?” A more ensnaring question, under the semblance of deference to his character and person, could hardly have been proposed. It at once converged the attention of the people *on our Lord*, as placing him on a level with their great lawgiver, and of course exciting in all minds a secret repulsion and an open dislike to one addressed in such language. The insinuation of the Scribes and Pharisees was,—You have on various occasions addressed the multitude with the same tone of authority as Moses himself adopted, what do you therefore think of the carrying out his enactment against this particular crime? In what way was our Lord to reply to this? Was he to sanction the legal punishment of the individual thus brought before him? This would have been to annul his former declaration, in which he totally disclaimed the office of an arbitrator or judge with respect to a worldly inheritance (St. Luke, xii. 13, 14). He could not therefore consistently take upon himself the sanctioning of any legal penalties, even though in consequence of crime.

His "kingdom was not of this world," nor would it have been fitting that He who is to judge both the quick and the dead at the last great day of account, should have assumed to himself the task of carrying out a law enacted by any earthly tribunal. Considering also the depraved state of the Jews at this period, his adversaries were perfectly aware that had he done so, his strictness would have inflamed still more the minds and irritated the passions of an abandoned populace; thereby still more impeding the carrying out of his ministry. That this was what his adversaries intended, had he sanctioned the existing law, there can be little doubt. But what if he acquitted the woman? Here was an equal or a greater difficulty. How could this be done by the Great Teacher, all of whose precepts tended to purify the heart and raise the affections? And how admirably was the difficulty solved? "Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground."<sup>b</sup> Dr. Bloomfield observes, "the best mode of accounting for the action is (with many eminent expositors) to suppose that our Lord traced no words, properly speaking, or at least not with any reference to what was passing at the time; but that he thus merely intimated his desire to have nothing to do with the matter in question, employing for this purpose an action which was frequently resorted to by those who did not choose to answer an improper question, or be engaged in a business they disapproved of." As Dean Alford says, "This minute circumstance speaks strongly for the authenticity of the narration. May we not, using popular language, say that it was intended also by our Lord as a 'strong hint' to the accusers that they, being conscious of their own delinquencies, should retire from the scene altogether. Unaware of the utter confusion which awaited them, 'they continued asking him,' ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν, the Greek verb itself signifying a constant and steady perseverance in any action without reference to time. So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone, or rather (the stone τὸν λιθὸν) at her.<sup>c</sup> And again, 'He stooped down, and wrote on the ground. And they which heard it (or rather him), being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one.' Nothing can be more graphic than this account. We can easily portray the accusers looking at each other in silent dismay and astonishment, each unwilling to be the first to quit the presence of Him who had left them no alternative, but either to proceed to the execution of a sentence which they dared not venture upon, or to retire shamefully with their malicious intent totally defeated. If there is any narrative in the gospels invested with the stamp of truth, it is surely this."

But again it is affirmed, as I have before hinted, that the narrative

<sup>b</sup> The additional words in the A. V., "as though he heard them not," can only be regarded as an ancient gloss, totally irrelative to the whole purport of our Lord's action. Luther's version rightly omits them.

<sup>c</sup> This doubtless refers to the regulation which required that the principal witness was to cast the first stone at the culprit, and on whom the whole responsibility rested. The throwing of the stone was the signal for the persons present to commence the execution of the sentence.

is wanting in seven uncial MSS. of very early date, neither is it found in above fifty cursives and thirty lectionaries. On the other hand, it *is* found in 284 MSS. and six Evangelisteria; in forty others also, but marked with an obolus, and in eight others placed at the end of the Gospel. Here is evidence sufficiently conflicting to embarrass the advocates on either side. But those who are adverse to the genuineness of the narrative, lay great stress upon its omission in the earliest MSS., and this new found Codex Sinaiticus, which is confessed to be of the fourth century. Dr. Tischendorf says, "The divine who knows the importance attached to the MSS. of that age, in the endeavour to fix the apostolic text, will accept this as a principal authority." Is it presumption to ask, why this conclusion must necessarily be arrived at? The Codex in question contains considerable portions of the Old Testament, namely, most of the greater and lesser Prophets, the Psalms, Job, *Jesus-Sirach*, *Wisdom*, and several other *Apocryphal Books*. In the New Testament, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the beginning of *Hermas*, without marking *any* distinction between those and the canonical books. Is the critical feeling which could incorporate these works, however valuable, with the inspired Word, to be held as paramount and decisive, when it omits such a narrative as the present? We reject the former, because they have not the same testimony as the canonical Scriptures. If we reject the addition, we are not imperatively bound to recognize the omission. The Epistle to the Hebrews was not recognized by the Latin Church in the fourth century. We do not consider that as a valid argument against its canonicity. Even in the same way, a small portion of the revealed Word may have been doubted of, or even, perhaps, "received with suspicion," which latter we learn from St. Augustine,<sup>2</sup> arose from a perfect misconception of our Lord's words, and yet have gradually won for itself the confidence of the Christian world. From the fourth to the seventh century, this section was more rarely admitted; from the eighth to the eleventh century it became more doubtful whether it ought not to be admitted, and from the twelfth to the fifteenth century it was freely and generally admitted. The lapse of time does not seem to have impaired its value. But it may have been contained in other copies of the fourth century which have not yet been discovered. MSS. were so common in the third and fourth centuries, that they sometimes underwent the fate of our printed Bibles, and served for waste paper, a profanation which the 68th Canon of the Council of Trullo forbade under pain of one year's excommunication.<sup>3</sup> We have yet to learn that the Codex Sinaiticus is

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<sup>2</sup> "Factum est ut nonnulli modice fidei vel potius inimici veræ fidei metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis illud quod de adulterio indulgentia dominus fecit, auferrent codicibus suis, quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit jam deinceps noli peccare. August de Conj. Adult." How plainly does this misapprehension of our Lord's meaning, account for the omission of this portion in several of the MSS. "Auferrent codicibus suis" expresses the fact clearly enough.

<sup>3</sup> Cave ne Scripturae S. seu S. S. Patrium codices corrumpantur vel condescendantur, vel unguentariis aliquis mercatoribus tradantur nisi tineis corrosi vel aqua deleti inutilis redditu fuerint. Qui sanctos libros illos corruperit, disperserit, et ad merceo involvendos vendiderit, et qui emerit, per annum a communione segregatur.

the *only* MS. of that era. One authority is good, till another equally good is discovered.

But let MS. be marshalled against MS., reading against reading, there is one thing which must strike the impartial and earnest inquirer —he *knows* the narrative to be true and genuine because he *feels* it to be so. If there is any portion of the revealed Word in which the dignity and power of the Son of God, as the searcher of hearts, appears in all its perfection, it is in this narrative. Here, in the language of the royal Psalmist, his progenitor according to the flesh, “Mercy and truth meet together;” divine *mercy* shewn to the sinner, the irresistible force of *truth* acting on her accusers. He alone who “knew what was in man,” because he was more than man, could bring this to pass.

H. P.

*Nov. 13th, 1860.*

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#### AGE OF THE CODEX VATICANUS, AND OF THE CODEX SINAITICUS OF TISCHENDORF.

*To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”*

SIR,—Anything that helps us to determine the age of the MSS. of the Holy Scriptures is of importance. I would therefore wish to present to your readers what appears to me an additional argument to those already advanced in favour of the great antiquity of Codex B, and the lately discovered Codex Sinaiticus of Tischendorf.

In your Number for October, p. 186, we were favoured by Mr. Roberts with a very interesting account of this last MS., and in his observations he gave very convincing reasons for assigning it a high antiquity. I am of opinion that its omission of the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (Eph. i. 1) with which the Vatican MS. agrees, justifies us in giving to both MSS. fully as high a date as Mr. Roberts is inclined to assign to them. My reasons are these,—

I think it is established beyond reasonable question, that the Epistle entitled to the Ephesians was really written to the Church of Laodicea, and one or two neighbouring churches personally unacquainted with St. Paul, and of course that the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* were not written by that Apostle. Now if we have means of judging, with at least considerable probability, when these words were generally inserted in MSS., and when they were not, we could infer with the same amount of probability the age of MSS. in which we do not find these words.

Now we have here an unusual amount of trustworthy evidence from the Fathers. Tertullian about the beginning of the third century allows that the words were not then in the MSS. in use in the Church. Somewhat later in this century Origen allows the same. Writing somewhat later than the middle of the fourth century, Basil the Great says, “Paul, writing to the Ephesians, styled them by way of distinction ‘those who are,’ saying, *τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὐσιαὶ καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ;*” for thus have our fathers transmitted to us the text, and

*thus have we seen it in the ancient manuscripts.*<sup>f</sup> We find from these words that the MSS. written about Basil's time had the words *εν Εφέσῳ*, while the MSS. which he considers ancient omitted them. If he wrote about A.D. 360, I suppose he would consider no MS. ancient which had not been written some fifty years at least before. Consequently, if we now find MSS. which omit these words, and are inclined to acquiesce in the testimony of Basil, which on a question of the kind possesses the highest authority, we cannot well assign them any later date than A.D. 310. They may have been earlier, but cannot well be later. As Codex B and the Codex Sinaiticus of Tischendorf omit these words, we are therefore justified in concluding, with great probability, that they were not written later than A.D. 310. And as the Alexandrian MS. has these words, we are also warranted in concluding that it was written at a later period than either of the above MSS.

H. C.

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### THE PRINCE OF PERSIA; THE LAW OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS; AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE JEWISH WRITER DEMETRIUS.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—I have read the letter on "Scripture Chronology" in the October Number (p. 174) of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, in which the writer frankly avows that, since he first propounded "a scheme of Biblical chronology founded on the chronology of Demetrius . . . he has discovered much in it which needs emendation." It is not surprising if the superstructure prove to be tottering and untrustworthy, where the foundation is sandy and unstable.

In one respect, however, your correspondent's change of opinion (if, indeed, his opinion be really changed), does not appear to me to be for the better. I had written nearly as follows in the July number of your Journal:—"Believing that the great Cyrus of Herodotus was undoubtedly the deliverer of the Jews, and the Coresh of the Old Testament, we consider that the fact that Cyrus died B.C. 530, is a satisfactory proof that the Coresh who delivered the Jews was *not* still living in B.C. 511." Your correspondent asks,—"Whence arises the *certainty* on this vital point of the inquiry, viz., that Cyrus died in

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<sup>f</sup> Basil, *Contr. Eunom*, ii. 19.

<sup>g</sup> The meaning of one of your correspondent's statements is not very clear, viz., "That the expression 'Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years of age' (Dan. v. 31), has reference to some change in the local government towards the end of the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes in B.C. 493." From this it would follow that Daniel, when more than a hundred years old, was raised to an arduous and important official position by Darius. Your correspondent is much more intelligible in his proposed rectification, or rather *rejection*, of the worthless chronology of Demetrius, by raising it fourteen years, i. e., by assigning the date of B.C. 574 to the burning of the temple of Jerusalem, to which Demetrius assigned that of B.C. 560.—*J. S. L.*, October, 1860, p. 175.

B.C. 530. . . Will he have the goodness first to prove this fundamental point?"

Your correspondent was not always so uncertain and undecided as to this particular date, but fully agreed with me in this, as well as in some other historical matters connected with the illustrious Persian conqueror of Babylon. For in an earlier letter printed in this Journal, he thus writes, when making some remarks upon a communication which you had previously inserted from me. (I have taken the liberty of transcribing in italics the commencement of the extract.) "*I perfectly<sup>a</sup> agree with him in the proof that Cyrus (the father of Cambyses) died about the year 530 B.C., and before the accession of Cambyses to the throne and empire of Persia; that the Coresh of Ezra is the Cyrus (the son of Cambyses and grandson of Astyages), of Herodotus and Xenophon; that Xenophon's account of the death of Cyrus is manifestly a fiction; that Coresh, when he published his decree in favour of the Jews, appears to have been sovereign of Persia, Media, Babylon, Elam with Shushan, Syria with Damascus, Samaria, Judea, Lydia, and the (Asiatic) Greek States.*" Will your correspondent favour us with the reasons which induced him to exchange *perfect agreement with*, for apparent disapproval of, the opinion that the Coresh (or Cyrus) of Ezra, Herodotus and Xenophon, *died cir. 530—29 B.C.?*

In the following extract from the letter in the last October number, p. 179, your correspondent thus explains his strange identification of Daniel's "prince of Persia" with Darius Hystaspes the Persian:—

"There is an obscure chapter in the Book of Daniel, viz., chap. x., in which we read of a vision 'in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, king (melek) of Persia;' and we learn that there was then living, and in power, a certain *prince* (sar) of the kingdom of Persia, distinct from Cyrus the *king*. This prince is again spoken of as 'the prince of Persia,' against whom some contest was carried on; and 'a prince of Grecia' is also spoken of, and soon after we meet the abrupt words,—'also I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I stood to strengthen and confirm him' (chap. xi. 1). Now the usual mode of disposing of these princes of Persia and Grecia is, by supposing that they were tutelary<sup>i</sup> angels presiding over Persia and Greece. Because it is set down for *certain*, that during the reign of Cyrus there could be no other prince of Persia. But this is not the testimony of Daniel, whose contemporaneous evidence must not be set aside concerning the condition of the Persian empire in the third year of the reign of Cyrus. I do not pretend to clear up all obscurities, but it is quite clear that Daniel speaks in this place of another ruler in Persia besides Cyrus, and it appears to me that the prince of Persia, or of the kingdom or province of Persia, here spoken of, was no other than Darius the Mede, there specially referred to, reigning as I suppose at Shushan. Thus if Darius the Mede, this prince (sar), was the son of Hystaspes, as I suppose (and his successor Xerxes, as 'far richer than they all,' being

<sup>a</sup> *J. S. L.*, January, 1857, p. 454.

<sup>i</sup> They are generally considered to be malignant spirits rather than "tutelary angels."

spoken of immediately after him, confirms the idea), the testimony of Daniel would be in harmony with that of Ferdousi and Lucian, so that this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius (*the Mede*), and Cyrus *the Persian*." I have ventured to add in a parenthesis the words *the Mede*, and to write "Persian" in italics, in the conclusion of this quotation, which I have cited at length (though the author may, perhaps, not have been equally serious in every part of it), lest any reader should think me guilty of misrepresenting your correspondent's suppositions, which may have been advanced rather for ventilation than acceptance.

Now your correspondent, in a letter<sup>1</sup> to Mr. Savile, admits that Astyages was overthrown by Cyrus about the year b.c. 560; and in a communication to this Journal in January, 1857 (as we have seen above), he frankly avowed a perfect agreement with me, in regarding b.c. 530 as about the correct date of the death of Cyrus. Hence, in his letter of last October, he may seem not really to object to the probable correctness of this date, but merely to disapprove the (supposed) assertion that it is (absolutely) *certain* that Cyrus died in 530 b.c. I confess that it appears to me much nearer to absolute certainty that Cyrus died b.c. 530—29, than that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign was cir. 578 b.c.; that his father Nabopolassar was identical with<sup>4</sup> Sardanapalus, or Darius the Mede with Darius Hystaspes the Persian. It may be also added that your correspondent appears to admit that Babylon was taken by Cyrus cir. b.c. 538.

What, then, is the date of the *third* year of Cyrus's reign over Babylon, of which your correspondent speaks? According to Herodotus, it was cir. b.c. 560—59, that Cyrus was advanced to the dignity of king, i. e., began to reign; and as his reign lasted twenty-nine years, we reasonably infer that he died cir. 530—29 b.c. According to the canon he was king of Babylon about eight years, which include the very short reign of Darius the Mede, whose name is not found there. Also, in the *Cyropædia*, the (supposed) independent Median sovereign Cyaxares II. appears to have reigned over Babylon about two years; when, at his decease, he was succeeded by Cyrus, who died in the seventh year of his sovereignty over Media and Babylon. Hence, the *third* year of Cyrus as king of Babylon would be about the *fourth* or *fifth* before his death in 530—29, i. e., cir. b.c. 535—34.

But according to your correspondent, Darius the Mede was also Darius Hystaspes, and was about sixty-two years old in b.c. 493. Hence, if this be correct, he was born cir. 555, and consequently could not be more than *twenty-one years of age* when, as your correspondent assumes (without the slightest ground for such an assumption), he was that "prince of Persia" whose very great influence it was necessary to strive to counteract, and who seems to have been so deeply opposed to the Jews, that it was twenty-one days (Dan. x. 13) before Daniel's celestial visitant could so far overcome his persevering resistance as to "remain with the kings of Persia."

How little does this prince of Persia, the apparently malignant

<sup>1</sup> J. S. L., April, 1858, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> J. S. L., October, 1860, p. 175.

enemy of Daniel's people, resemble Ezra's Darius (Hystaspes), who, about ten years after the death of Cyrus, shewed such marks of favour and good will to the Jews, speaking reverently of their God as "the God of heaven," and greatly encouraging and assisting them in the completion of their second temple. It does not, of course, necessarily follow that Darius, who was the royal and gracious friend of the Jews in b.c. 520, could not have been deeply prejudiced against them, and very hostile to them, in b.c. 535, when he was a much younger person. And though we might scarcely have expected this to be the case, yet we could not refuse to believe, upon proper evidence, that the Darius who was the steady friend and benefactor of the Jews in 520, had previously been their determined enemy in 535. But we do find it very difficult to believe, without any evidence at all, and against all reasonable and Scriptural probability, that Daniel's "prince of Persia," apparently the exalted human personage, or superhuman spiritual intelligence (as the case may be), who, in the third year of Cyrus, possessed such power and influence at the Persian Court, that it required a struggle of twenty-one days on the part of Daniel's celestial visitant to counteract it in any successful degree, was no other than Darius the son of Hystaspes (whose father was yet living), who, at the very time of that protracted contest, had barely attained the age of twenty-one years.

And we shall find the difficulty materially increased rather than diminished, if we have recourse to Herodotus, who will be justly regarded by many as far the best and safest authority on the subject of the age of Darius Hystaspes in b.c. 535, concerning which we have no information in Holy Writ. He tells us that about the time of the death of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes was twenty years of age, his father being then living, a subject of Cyrus, and governor of a distant and important province. If, therefore, Darius was only twenty years of age in b.c. 530, he would be only fifty-seven, and not sixty-two years old, in 493. The year of his birth would thus be, and most probably was, cir. b.c. 550. Accordingly, he would not have been more than *sixteen* or seventeen years of age in the third year of Cyrus, when some would have it believed that he was the powerful prince of Persia described in Daniel x. 13.

With your correspondent, I do not profess to clear up all obscurities on so mysterious a subject. Do what we can, there will still remain much that is beyond our power to understand and explain in the tenth chapter of Daniel. Yet, perhaps, it may become less obscure by comparing what is said in this prophet with certain other parts of Holy Writ. Take an example. In chap. viii. 16 we find mention made of a good angel, or holy spiritual intelligence, named Gabriel. What is there in the sacred volume which for one moment forbids our identifying him with that holy angel bearing the same name, who (Luke i. 19) announces to Mary the tidings of the miraculous conception? Again, another holy spiritual intelligence is mentioned (Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1) under the name of Michael, as a being of great dignity and power, and as the prince (sar) who stands up in behalf of Daniel's people. Is there any valid scriptural objection to our identifying this high person-

age with the Michael of Jude 9, and of Rev. xii. 7? In both Testaments Gabriel is a messenger from God concerning the Messiah, and in both Michael appears before us as eminent among the angels, and as the invisible champion of Israel against the powers of darkness (Jude 9). There is an agreement of office as well as of name. We seem, then, warranted, from Scriptural comparison and analogy, to infer that Michael, the prince (*sar*) in behalf of Daniel and his people, Gabriel, and the celestial visitant who appeared to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, were not mortal men, but personal and holy spiritual intelligences. And it is this scriptural and legitimate inference which I am inclined to regard as the true key to the right interpretation of what the prophet says, in his tenth chapter, of the prince of Persia and the prince of Grecia (Javan), especially of the former, from which it appears to be a very probable scriptural deduction that these two princes were malignant spiritual intelligences.

It is true that the scriptural demonstration of the existence of holy angelic beings, who watched over the welfare and security of the descendants of Abraham at the heathen court of Cyrus, would not of itself prove also that there were, at the same time, invisible and *evil* spiritual intelligences in the palace and city of the Persian monarch, indefatigably busied in attempts to injure the Jews, and prevent the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and so to falsify divine prediction and promise; although it might, on patient examination, lead us to conjecture that such a state of things was neither impossible nor improbable.

The human mind, even when persuaded by the testimony of Holy Writ, of the existence and benign ministrations of holy angels, advances with more or less reluctance to the full admission of the repulsive truth of the existence, power, and evil ministrations of malignant personal spiritual intelligences, who have a mysterious, but real and influential access to our minds, thoughts, and affections, and who, in intense and defying hatred of God and the human race, are ever, night and day, seeking to accomplish the spiritual injury and ruin of men. To those, however, who receive the Bible as a divinely inspired volume, there can be little serious doubt on this important point; and such doubt, where it may happen to exist, arises for the most part, not so much from defect of clearness and distinctness in the scriptural testimony, as from secret unwillingness to receive submissively a truth which is at once awfully mysterious, and painfully and offensively repulsive, though it is neither obscurely, nor in a solitary instance, but plainly, authoritatively, again and again, there brought before us. To the candid inquirer, the historical testimony of the four Evangelists is decisive. We are not called upon to believe what would indeed be an appalling article of faith, that these evil spirits were, at the very first moment of their creation, wicked and malignant. Nay, on the contrary, that they were like men created innocent, and that, like him, they fell through their own transgression, seems to be not indistinctly taught in the brief Epistle of Jude, who speaks of "the angels who kept not their first estate (*τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν*), but left their own habitation (*τὸ ίδιον οἰκητήριον*)."<sup>1</sup> One of

these evil spirits, who appears to be their chief and leader, is called in the narrative of our Lord's temptation by the three different names of Πειράζων, Διάβολος and Σατανᾶς (the latter, an Aramaic term in a Greek form), the definite article being prefixed to the two first. The same pre-eminent fallen spirit is found, in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, leading on his evil angels in the conflict with Michael and the celestial host. He is there designated under the four different titles—*ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας; ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλοὺμενος διάβολος; καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς.* And as we may scripturally conclude, that it was no other than the prince and chief of the fallen host to whom the most arduous and hopeless of all tasks, that of tempting our Lord, and the desperate enterprise of leading the rebel angels against Michael and the heavenly host, were assigned—we may at once, and without hesitation, identify the Σατανᾶς (or διάβολος) of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel history, with the Σατανᾶς (or διάβολος) of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse. This chief of the fallen spirits appears to be elsewhere described as “the prince of this world” (John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11), as “the prince of the power of the air” (Ephes. ii. 2), and as “the spirit which now worketh in the children of disobedience,”—not excluding his spiritual associates in this evil work. And he and his associates would seem to be designated by the Apostle Paul, as “the rulers of the darkness of this world” (Ephes. vi. 12). And this latter form of expression is by no means inconsistent either with the idea that Daniel's prince of Persia, and prince of Grecia, were, after the return of the Jews from captivity, among these evil and malignant rulers of the darkness of the Gentile world, or with the epithet applied to the Σατανᾶς of Rev. xii. 9, *viz.*, “who deceiveth the whole world” (*ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὀληροῦ*). And, as one malignant spirit, however subtle, powerful, and indefatigable, would be unequal to rule so wide a sphere of spiritual darkness, we scripturally and not unreasonably infer, that he has numerous spiritual intelligences associated with him, though subordinately, in his malignant administration.

The New Testament phrase, *ὁ διάβολος καὶ οἱ ἀγγελοι αὐτοῦ*, may possibly bear to be translated by “the devil and his *fellow-angels*,” thus indicating not only sameness of spiritual nature, but also equality of rank, between him and them. But it would surely be more in accordance with the spirit, as well as with the letter, of the New Testament, to translate the phrase by—“the devil and his (subordinate) messengers or ministers,”—the very term *ἀγγελος* or *messenger*, conveying the idea of subordination and obedient service to a superior. These evil and angelic intelligences act, not merely as couriers, but as ministers who wait upon the will, and act as the subordinate ministering agents of a spiritual superior, whose commands, whatever be their import, they stand prepared to obey to the utmost of their power, unimpeded by any of the wants or infirmities which naturally belong to the bodies of men. This phrase (taken in connexion with many other passages in the New Testament, bearing upon the mysterious subject) would thus at least partially lift up the veil that hides the unseen world from our view, revealing to us not only the reality and existence of

numerous invisible malignant intelligences, but also the existence and reality of a vast malignant and invisible *spiritual empire* over the fallen human race—(not merely over the *οἰκουμένη* of the Roman dominion)—of which spiritual empire he who is called in the New Testament ὁ διάβολος and ὁ Σατανᾶς, is the head and the ruler.

Having then discovered from the not obscure or uncertain testimony of Holy Writ, the existence, and power, and empire, of these malignant angels, and also their intense hostility to God and man, we should, apparently, neither unscripturally nor unreasonably conclude, that their hostility would be most fiercely and indefatigably directed against any people or individuals who, in the wide-spread SPIRITUAL DARKNESS of this fallen world, should acknowledge and witness for, the true God, as the possessors of his REVEALED WILL, which is LIGHT and spiritually illuminating TRUTH. Against the Jews, therefore, in those ancient times, would the hostility of these malignant spirits be especially directed.

Hence, assuming as true—on apparently satisfactory scriptural grounds—that which it would be absurd and presumptuous to assume to be so, if we had no divine revelation to enlighten and guide us, and if the Lord of heaven and earth had not partially, yet sufficiently, drawn aside the curtain with regard to so obscure and mysterious a subject, but of which, in spite of its obscurity and mystery, the truth and reality seem to be capable of demonstration from the Holy Scriptures—there does not appear to be any thing unscriptural in the idea that there are (as among men) different degrees of subtlety, ability, and energy, in these evil spirits, and that, accordingly, their chief and leader should, from time to time, select, for the accomplishment of his various schemes to uphold and strengthen his empire, one or more of his angels (or ministers) whom he might deem best fitted for the successful execution of his purpose. And it is in agreement with this view to think that Persia, of whose sovereign the Jews were subjects in the third year of Cyrus, may have been especially placed under the vigilant charge of a malignant spirit of the highest order of energy and subtlety (most probably with subordinate spirits under him), whose position and office are best explained to us (as they were to Daniel) by borrowing the language of human arrangements, and designating him as “the prince of Persia.”

The watchful hatred of these malignant intelligences being specially directed, as has been remarked above, in those ancient times against the Jews, as the only people possessing the light of a divine revelation, and witnessing for the Most High in surrounding darkness, such means as Satanic malice and subtlety might suggest would be indefatigably employed to operate upon the wills, prejudices and passions of those sovereigns (with their ministers and counsellors) in whose power the Jews might happen to be at the time.

After their forcible removal from their own land, the Jews had been, for many years, under the sceptre of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors; but at the overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty, as we learn from Daniel, a Mede of the blood royal, named Darius, took the vacant

Chaldean kingdom. Accordingly, the lives and fortunes of the Jews in Babylon and Chaldea were at the absolute disposal of the will of this Mede. We learn also from the Hebrew prophet that, in the first year of this Darius, he had, on the earnest and prayerful examination of the sacred books, discovered the very near approach of the termination of the seventy years<sup>1</sup> residence at Babylon, predicted by Jeremiah. He thus too discovered at the same time, that the promised restoration of the Jews to their own land could no longer be far distant.

Now, on the view of the scriptural revelation of the invisible world here advocated, the spiritual "rulers of the darkness of this world" would be as well acquainted as Daniel was with the predictions of Jeremiah, and as well aware as the captive prophet himself, of the near approach of the termination of the predicted seventy years' sojourn in Chaldea. We should expect, then, from the analogy of Scripture, even if there had not been found the slightest allusion to such a circumstance, that evil spiritual influences similar to those which were afterwards to be employed at the court of the Persian Cyrus, would be brought to bear on the Median Darius and his ministers in the very first year of his reign, in order to injure the Jews, and destroy the holy influence of Daniel, and that, in the accomplishment of this plan, a malignant personal and spiritual intelligence would be employed by Satan as his prince (sar) of Babylon and Chaldea, rendering necessary the presence and counteracting energy and influence of a holy angel at the Medo-Chaldean court at Babylon. And something like this would really seem to have been the case. For the heavenly visitant who appeared to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, said to the prophet, "*In the first year of Darius the Mede I stood to strengthen him,*" i. e., to defend the royal Mede against a malignant spiritual influence, like that which he had been recently employed in counteracting at the court of the Persian kings, and which would have prevented the Median sovereign from confiding in Daniel, and exalting him to the highest official dignity. The analogy of Scripture would lead us to a similar conclusion concerning the presence of a malignant spiritual prince (sar) of Babylon at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, when the three Jewish brethren were persecuted by the king's Chaldean counsellors. The evil emissary of Satan so far prevailed, that the faithful brethren were cast into the fiery furnace. There the triumph ended. They were seen to be free and unfettered in their fiery prison, and a fourth personage was with them, whose form was of superhuman glory, and who —(if not ONE far higher than the highest created angel)—may have been "Michael, the chief prince," baffling then the evil spiritual prince (sar) of Babylon, as he afterwards foiled the malignant prince of Persia. And if the head and chief of the fallen spirits desired to send one of his angels, or a company of them, under a leader, to the Persian court, with the malevolent and impious purpose, not only of checking the rebuilding of the temple, in which he was permitted to succeed for

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxix. 10: "Thus saith the Lord, That after *seventy years be accomplished at Babylon* I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place."

a time, but also of crushing and destroying the Jewish people, *and falsifying divine prediction and promise*, in which he failed before Michael and the other good angel, how could the celestial visitant better explain to Daniel, and through him to his pious fellow-captives, such a state of things in the invisible world, than by calling the leader of the evil angels at the court of Cyrus by the earthly style and title of the prince (*sar*) of Persia?

Now we are to bear in mind that the heavenly being who was speaking to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, describes Michael, from whom he had received aid at the Persian court against the malevolent prince of Persia, as “one (*marg.*, the first) of the chief princes,” the first prince (Dan. x. 13), and as the prince of Daniel and his people. Nor is it unimportant to observe that the same celestial speaker, in the same discourse, when speaking of the same prince Michael, says that at a certain future time—doubtless many long generations after the death of Daniel,—“shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people” (Dan. xii. 1). Michael, therefore, and Daniel’s celestial visitant, were not human and mortal beings, but holy, angelic, spiritual intelligences.

And thus, when we study more carefully what the prophet has written on the subject, we seem to have obtained the true scriptural key to the solution of the question, “Was ‘the prince of Persia’ a mortal man bearing ill-will to the Jews? or was he a malignant spiritual intelligence, seeking by his influence over the Persian rulers to prevent the completion of the second temple, to render useless the decree of Cyrus in favour of the Jews and their temple, and utterly confute the promises and prophecies recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures?” The presumption seems to me to be very strongly in favour of the latter supposition, viz., that Daniel’s “prince of Persia” was an evil spirit (not a tutelary angel), busied in carrying on at the Persian court the designs of his spiritual chief against Judah and Jerusalem. This malevolent prince is distinct from Cyrus and his son Cambyses, whom the former may have already associated with him on the throne, if we interpret literally the *plural* form, “kings of Persia.” But for such an obstacle as this plural expression, they who can bring themselves to regard Daniel’s prince of Persia as a mere human personage, would, it might be supposed, much rather identify him with Cambyses than with Darius Hystaspes. And they who interpret the plural term “kings of Persia,” of Cyrus and his elder son, will think that the impatient and imperious Cambyses, if, as is very probable, already twenty years old in the third year of Cyrus over Babylon, would not have allowed, without determined opposition, one younger than himself to be such a powerful prince of Persia as your correspondent supposes Darius Hystaspes to have been at that time.

Your correspondent writes, “This prince is spoken of as ‘prince of Persia’ (distinct from Cyrus the king), against whom some contest was carried on, and a prince of Grecia is also spoken of, and soon after we meet with the abrupt words, ‘Also I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I stood to confirm and strengthen him’ (chap. xi. 1).”

There does not appear to be much difficulty as regards the *abruptness* of the introduction of these words, if we set aside, as we are at liberty to do, the division into chapters, and read them as if included in a parenthesis.

His celestial instructor says to Daniel, “ But *I will shew thee* that which is noted in the scripture of truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince. (Also I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I stood to confirm and strengthen him). And *now will I shew thee the truth.*”

Is it not, then, sufficiently plain that the following three passages were uttered by one and the same heavenly messenger, on one and the same occasion, the *abrupt words* coming between the second and third of these passages:—

“ Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days” (Dan. x. 14).	“ Knowest thou wherefore I am come to thee? . . . But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth” (x. 20, 21).	“ And now will <i>I shew thee the</i> truth” (xi. 2).
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The apparently abrupt words were, therefore, spoken in the third year of Cyrus. And it appears to be neither strange nor improbable that the heavenly speaker should digress for a moment before he commenced his exposition of the future, to speak of that past year which had been so memorable and deeply interesting to Daniel and his people,—*the first of Darius the Mede*,—the year which commenced almost immediately after the overthrow of Belshazzar and the Chaldean dynasty, in which Daniel had come forth triumphantly from the den of lions, and in which he obtained from the study of the Book of Jeremiah a clear view of the near and imminent restoration of Judah to his own land. The angel tells Daniel that in that very year, also, he had been engaged in a conflict of a similar nature to that which had recently occupied him at the court of the Persian kings, when he had to stand up, either to strengthen and confirm the Mede, or assist Michael in doing so.

No one would think of changing here the preterite “ stood ” into a present or future. And the only reasonable inference from the somewhat abruptly (though not unseasonably or irrelevantly) introduced words previous to the angel’s announcement of future events, is (and it is strange that any person should have doubted it), that the first year of Darius the Mede as sovereign of Babylon, when Daniel applied himself so diligently to the study of the Book of the prophet Jeremiah, and when Darius thought to make him next to the throne by setting him over his whole kingdom, preceded the third, and therefore the first year of the sovereignty of Cyrus over the same city. It was about the time of this third year, as we learn from Ezra, “ the people of the land (the descendants of the heathen colonists in Samaria), began to weaken the hands of the children of Judah, and hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus the king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia; ” (iv. 4, 5). But the successful efforts of these evil counsellors (their success, perhaps, due to the malignant influence of “ the prince of Persia,” which began to prevail about the third year of the reign of Cyrus over

Babylon, and continued to do so during the remainder of his reign, and during the reigns of his two successors), were finally baffled in the second year of Darius (Hystaspes), as we learn from the sacred historian Ezra (iv. 24), when the work of rebuilding the temple was resumed, and was successfully completed in the sixth year of the same Persian king.

We now turn from the subject of the prince of Persia to your correspondent's question, "Whence arises the *certainty* on this vital point of the inquiry, viz., that Cyrus died in the year B.C. 530? Herodotus gives one of the many accounts of the death of Cyrus, concerning which there was *no certainty* in that early day." Let us grant that Herodotus plainly allows that, in his days, there was no certainty as to the *place* and *manner* in which Cyrus died; yet he gives no ground for supposing that he was aware of any uncertainty as to the *date* of that event. Your correspondent, therefore, too hastily identifies, or rather perhaps confounds, the uncertainty of the *date* of an event with the uncertainty of its *manner* and *locality*, when he again asks, "Has that (viz., the date of the decease of Cyrus) which was uncertain in the days of Herodotus, become certain by repetition" in the present day? Herodotus does not appear to have had any chronological doubts on the subject, or any previously formed chronological theory to bias his judgment. He tells us that Cyrus began to reign when he had overthrown Astyages, that he reigned twenty-nine years, that his son and successor Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, and that a year did not elapse between the death of the latter and the accession of Darius Hystaspes, and that the latter reigned thirty-six years. Herodotus may or may not have erred greatly as to the date of the overthrow of Astyages, and as to the length of the reign of Cyrus. But only grant (and there surely is little difficulty in such a concession), that it was an easy matter for Herodotus, the native of an Asiatic Greek city, to ascertain correctly the year in which Darius Hystaspes died and his son Xerxes ascended the throne; and so far as he could feel assured that seven years and five months, and thirty-six years, represent severally the duration of the reigns of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspes, he would also feel assured that the great Cyrus died cir. B.C. 530. Whatever may have been the uncertainty in the days of Herodotus concerning the exact place and manner of the death of Cyrus, the historian himself does not appear to have felt any corresponding uncertainty about the *date* of the event. Instead of assigning precisely the year B.C. 530 as the date of Cyrus' decease, I will express it somewhat more vaguely under the form B.C. 531—29, and will then add that, in my opinion, from B.C. 600 to 500, there is scarcely any date less liable to objection than that just mentioned; and that the evidence is strong and satisfactory that the great Cyrus who besieged and took Babylon, and restored the Jews to their own land, died cir. B.C. 531—29; i. e., on some day between the end of B.C. 532 and the commencement of B.C. 528. I am disposed to regard this as tolerably certain; and that it is almost certain that the decease in question really occurred B.C. 530—29.

G.

(To be continued.)

## THE EUCHARISTIC BLESSING.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

My dear Sir,—Will you allow me to call your attention, and that of your readers, to a very important Scriptural subject?

The change effected on the bread and wine in the Holy Communion by the words of consecration, is a subject of much controversy. One view (that of the Episcopal Church of Scotland) is, that the Holy Ghost descending on the bread and wine in answer to the minister's solemn invocation, makes them the body and blood of Christ. What was thus "the fruit of the ground" (Cain's offering) becomes a holy thing, Abel's acceptable sacrifice. The blessing pronounced on the bread and wine is in this way partly declaratory, partly efficacious. We all know the view of the great Luther, which we have called consubstantiation. The bread and wine became Christ's body, though still remaining bread and wine. We also know the view of the Romish Church, which we call transubstantiation. The bread becomes Christ's body, and ceases any longer to be bread. According both to the Lutheran and Romish view, a most wonderful efficacy is ascribed to the blessing of Christ in the beginning, and to the blessing of his minister now.

But what comes of this controversy if it shall turn out that our Lord and Master *never blessed the bread and wine at all?* There was no act then for which to claim efficacy; and if the minister is not above his Lord, there is no act now: the whole question is laid to rest for ever.

What is written in Holy Scripture, how read we? Let us hear St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, omitting only the italics which our translators have inserted.

"As they were eating, Jesus took bread *and blessed*, and brake, and gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, This is my blood" (Matt. xxvi. 26—28). "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, *and blessed*, and brake, and gave to them, and said, This is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them, and said, This is my blood" (Mark xiv. 22, 23). "And he took bread, *and gave thanks*, and brake, and gave to them, saying, This is my body. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood" (Luke xxii. 19, 20).

These texts speak for themselves. The insertion of the pronoun "it" after "and blessed," has done the whole mischief. St. Matthew's and St. Mark's "blessed" is evidently synonymous with St. Luke's "gave thanks." It was *God* he blessed, *not the bread*.

The mere English reader may take a grammatical exception to this. "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave." Here, he may say, are four verbs,—*took, blessed, brake, gave*. And the commonest rules of grammar require one noun—*bread*, as the objective case to them all. But the objection vanishes into air before the Greek, which gives us not tenses, but participles, both for *took* and *blessed*. I give

St. Matthew literally: "And while they were eating, Jesus having taken the bread, and having given thanks, brake and gave." So St. Mark: "And as they were eating, Jesus having taken bread, having blessed, brake and gave. And having taken the cup, having given thanks, gave." It must be evident to every mind not blinded by traditional theory, that the object of blessing at that solemn hour was not the inanimate bread, but the living Father of blessing. Just as it was when our Lord fed the five thousand. I give the narrative literally from St. Matthew: "And having commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass, having taken the five loaves and the two fishes, having looked up to heaven, he blessed, and having broken, he gave." The word here rendered "blessed" ( $\epsilonὐλογήσε$ ) can apply to none but God. What else is our own act at our daily meals? We do not bless *the food*, but *the gracious Provider* of the food. So Jesus thanked God when about to break to man the bread that perisheth. He was man's friend, and an opportunity of shewing kindness to man was to him an occasion of thanksgiving. For the same reason he thanked him more abundantly on the memorable evening of which we are speaking now: he was about to break for man the bread of everlasting life.

This idea is beautifully and simply expressed in one of the paraphrases used in worship by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland:—

" 'Twas on that night when doomed to know  
The eager rage of every foe ;  
That night on which he was betrayed,  
The Saviour of the world took bread.  
  
And *after thanks and glory given*  
*To Him who rules on earth and heaven,*  
That symbol of his flesh he broke."

Again:—

" Then in his hands the cup he raised,  
And God *anew* he thanked and praised."

Let us observe the word "*anew*." The act in both cases was the same: what was done with the cup, being only a repetition of what had been done with the bread. And it is worthy of notice, that the only word used by any evangelist, in reference to the cup, is "*give thanks*."

But suppose this interpretation established, what advantage shall we reap from it? "Much, every way." The meaning attached to the words, "Jesus took bread and blessed *it*," is the occasion of superstition; and superstition is death to the soul. But the interpretation given above, delivers from superstition. It cuts by the roots all theories of a change on the bread and wine, and leaves only what our Church teaches, and what no Christian questions—the reverent handling of the symbols of a Saviour's love. And besides teaching error, the words, "*blessed it*," obscure and hide from us truth of the most precious kind. Truth is life, for it is the revelation of Christ, and Christ is the life of men. And if he ever revealed himself, it was on the night before the passion. Let us approach the scene with solemn awe, we tread on holy ground. "Scarcely for a righteous man will

one die; *peradventure* for a good man, some would *even dare* to die." These words mark the unwillingness, the effort, when laying down life is in question. What then shall we say to the affection which gives thanks for the permission of laying down its life for another? Such love was never seen on earth save on that memorable evening. "Having taken the bread, and *having given thanks*, he brake it." For what was the giving thanks? For the things that should come upon him,—the betrayal, the condemnation, the buffetting and setting at nought, the agonies of a lingering death, the darkness and coldness of the grave. Was he indifferent to suffering then, or did he love it for its own sake? Let Gethsemane tell. The same lips which had been giving thanks, poured forth *immediately thereafter* that utterance of agony, "Oh my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." He who said, "Reproach hath broke my heart," was not indifferent to shame. And yet we are told (Heb. xii. 2) that "he despised the shame," i. e., esteemed it as nothing, in comparison with the joy of saving. And so with the sufferings and death which then opened in full prospect before him; they were as nothing in comparison with "the glory that should follow,"—"the joy set before him," the blessed hope of saving our souls from death. For an object so precious he gave thanks to be allowed to die.

It is in approaching the Lord's table especially that we realize the *unspeakable* difference between these two conceptions of the solemn scene in the upper room. To take the bread from the hand of the minister, believing that the few words which he has spoken over it have made it something which it was not before, and communicated to it a certain talismanic power,—what food for the soul, what peace, what spiritual strength can we thus find? To draw near consciously to the table of One who not only died on our behalf, but loved us so well *as to give thanks for such death as a privilege*, stirs on the other hand the deepest and holiest feelings of which the heart is capable. Such love transforms us moreover into its own all-perfect likeness; "we are changed into the same image," as we behold this "glory of the Lord." For his sake who has loved us so well, for man's sake after his example, we learn to esteem it a privilege to live, yea, even a privilege to be allowed to die.

Believe me, ever faithfully yours,  
WILLIAM TAIT.

*Parsonage, Rugby, October, 1860.*

### ZECHARIAH XI. 13 ; MATTHEW XXVII. 9.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—May I be allowed to occupy a small place in your Journal with the suggestion of a means whereby the identity of the passage cited in Matt. xxvii. 9, with Zech. xi. 13, may be more manifestly apparent? The words of St. Matthew, *τὴν τιμῆν τοῦ τετιμημένου*, evidently correspond with the Hebrew, *תְּמִימָה*, which is usually taken as an ironical

exclamation : “ Magnificence of the price,” i. e., “ What a magnificent price !” Now for τιμή, I would suppose that there may have been a reading τιμή, and that this had the signification, which the root has in the cognate languages, of *price* or *value* : τιμή is thus the same as Syr. **لِيْلَة**; and τιμή we must suppose to be the shortened form (which is common enough) of the passive participle ; so that together they will be τιμήτης τιμή, την τιμήν τοῦ τετιμημένου. I may mention that the Syriac rendering of St. Matthew’s τοῦ τετιμημένου is this very word **لِيْلَة**. If it be objected to this hypothesis that τιμή has no such signification as *price* elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures, I may make the same objection to the received interpretation of τιμή, that it is not warranted by other examples.

I have not the means of ascertaining whether what I have here advanced be entirely original or not. If not, it may yet be new to others besides myself.

W. R. B.

#### REMARKS ON PHILIPPIANS IV. 2, 3.

*To the Editor of “The Journal of Sacred Literature.”*

SIR.—The literal translation of verses 2 and 3 of Phil. iv., as they stand in Alford’s *Greek Testament*, is as follows:—“I exhort Euodias and I exhort Syntyche to be of the same mind in the Lord. Yea, I also beseech thee, true yoke-fellow, assist those women who laboured with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life.” The repetition of the word παρακαλῶ indicates that the exhortation to be of the same mind was equally applicable to Euodias and to Syntyche, and is at the same time anticipatory of the application to one of them of the stronger expression, ἐρωτῶ, I beseech. The καὶ attached enclitically to ἐρωτῶ in the sense of “also,” shews that the person besought is one of the two that were just before exhorted; and as the context proves that the “true yoke-fellow” is not Syntyche, it necessarily follows that Euodias is intended. It would appear that there was an indisposition on the part of Euodias to co-operate with Syntyche and other women, who had for some time laboured in the Gospel. The apostle persuades him to assist them in their labours by an argument of peculiar force and delicacy. He appeals to him personally, as his own yoke-fellow, and urges that the same women had assisted himself, and had been associated in the work with Clement, and with other fellow-labourers, men of eminence, whose names are in the book of life. It is remarkable that the passage contains no fewer than four words signifying *co-operation*, namely, σύζυγε, συλλαμβάνου, συνήθλησαν, and συνεργῶν, which shew plainly that the writer is urging the parties referred to to act in unison. The word συλλαμβάνου especially implies mutual assistance in the same work. See Luke v. 7.

The above appears to be a reasonable, I might even say an obvious, interpretation of this passage. The use of the particle *kai*, on which the explanation mainly depends, does not seem to admit of any question. A second instance (*μετὰ καὶ Κλῆμεντος*) occurs in this very passage, and Phil. iii. 12 and 20, contain two others. I am, therefore, surprised and perplexed by finding that neither ancient nor modern commentators are agreed as to the individual to whom *σὺ εὑρέ* refers. Dr. Alford asserts that it is quite impossible to say who is intended, and also takes *Εὐωδίαν* to be the name of a woman. It is not, however, denied that it may be the name of a man; and if this be not the name of the member of the Philippian Church especially addressed, how was it possible that the Church generally, on the receipt of the epistle, could know who was intended? It can hardly be admitted that reference in such terms would be made to a single member of the body without mentioning his name.

In the Authorized Version a proper distinction is not made between *παρακαλῶ* and *ἐρωτῶ*; the former being translated "I beseech," and the latter "I entreat." Also the text used by the translators seems not to have contained the particle *kai*, which is a guide to the sense.

J. CHALLIS.

*Cambridge, Sept. 23, 1860.*

### JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH AND BY WORKS.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—St. Paul writes (Rom. iv. 1—3) that Abraham was not justified by works, but by faith. St. James (Epis. ii. 21, 24) says that he was justified by works and not by faith only. How are these two passages to be reconciled?

The fact is, that St. Paul is shewing how Abraham *became* justified; St. James, how he continued so.

St. Paul's argument is in effect this:—Abraham believed God's promises, and performed many works of obedience in consequence of that faith for a long while before it pleased God to justify him. When he was justified he was believing only (Gen. xv. 5, 6). And thus he *became* justified by faith alone.

St. James passes on to a later period of Abraham's history. After he had been some time justified, God commanded him to slay his son, and this Abraham set himself to do, believing that God would raise Isaac again. Had he refused to obey, he would have ceased to be justified; but by obeying, retained the blessing of justification: so that he *continued* justified by works, as well as by faith.<sup>m</sup>

Abraham is "the father of the faithful," and we are to be justified as he was.

<sup>m</sup> St. James indeed shews that Rahab *became* justified by works; but since Abraham's is the pattern case after which the saved are dealt with, this does not militate against what is advanced above.

First, we become justified in baptism, which (in the case of adults) is made effectual by the faith of the recipient, so that he becomes justified by faith only. After baptism, however, we have to obey as well as believe, and so long as we do so continue justified; that is, we continue justified by works as well as faith. And so our Twelfth Article speaks of our performing good works "*after justification*," which has been "by faith only" (Art. XI.)

Observe, however, that St. James must of course mean that a man is justified by works, *only when there is a fit opportunity for performing them*. At other times, faith alone is sufficient. Those other times are, when after confession of sins we meditate on God's promise of pardon, or hear it pronounced by the lips of the minister, or when his other promises occur to the mind and are met with faith: then we are being justified by faith only.

What then is the difference between Christian and Jewish teaching on this point? The Jews asserted faith of a certain kind to be necessary as well as works, and indeed supposed faith alone to ensure salvation after a certain amount of purgatorial sufferings had been undergone (Bishop Bull on Justification). In what did they disagree with the Gospel? In their supposing that there was merit in men's works, which St. Paul disproved by shewing that Abraham, who had believed and worked for a long time previously, *became justified because of his faith alone*. And this of course also implied that there is no merit in *faith*; for if *faith with works* does not merit, much less does it without them. The idea of the meritoriousness of works was the sole obstacle in the way of the Jews believing in Christ, and St. Paul in disproving it, wished them not to give up their habit of faith and obedience, but to make them be "*according to knowledge*."

H. A.

#### NIMROD.—GENESIS X. 8.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—I will not take up your space by retorting the personal allusions of W. T. in his reply to me in your last number, but proceed to the consideration of his arguments. I had contended that in the verse, Gen. x. 8, the words יְמִינֵי נָחָת הַמֶּלֶךְ should be rendered, "He was the first, who was powerful in war upon the earth." For this Hebrew idiom I had quoted the authority of Gesenius, the greatest master of Hebrew learning that the world has produced since the time when Hebrew ceased to be a living language. Of course this great critic was not infallible; but it is new to be told, that the authority of Gesenius, under *any* circumstances, "*is of comparatively little value*." To confute the great lexicographer, W. T. quotes a number of Hebrew texts (such as any Hebrew Concordance would furnish), to shew that מִינֵי may be used in the sense of "*he began*." Does he really imagine that I, or any other person, ever questioned this plain and evident fact?

Does not Gesenius himself furnish this interpretation? And, if so, where was the need of examples to prove an admitted fact? What Gesenius clearly perceived is this, that there are certain passages in the Hebrew Scriptures where the word *בָּרַךְ* cannot be interpreted in its ordinary signification, but assumes, by the idiom of the language, a special meaning, which *alone* will give significance to the sentence. In all languages, the verb “*to begin*” is usually found either associated with the mention of some *specified time*, or is used in a sense which excludes the idea of *completion*. We say, for instance, “Tatius commenced the study of the Hebrew language *in April last*”—or, “Tatius commenced the study of Hebrew, but proceeded *no further* than the elements of that language;” or, simply, “Tatius commenced the study of Hebrew,”—placing an ironical emphasis upon the word “*commenced*,” and leaving it to be inferred from this, that his studies were very speedily and abruptly terminated. But to say, without further explanation, that “Gesenius” (whom we know to have become a perfect master of the Hebrew language) “began the study of Hebrew,” would at once strike us as an abuse of language: the word “*began*” would here be mere surplusage, and would vitiate the sense, by pointing delusively to some concealed and unintelligible meaning. No one need be told that a master of Hebrew must sometime have *commenced* the study of that language. A child is aware that everything, except the Deity, must have had a beginning.

For this reason Gesenius justly assumed that when *בָּרַךְ* occurs in Scripture (as it sometimes does) without reference either to specific time, or a defect in completion, it must be treated as a special idiom of the language. He saw that the word “*began*” must here be used in the sense of “*precedence*,” and that in passages such as that in Gen. ix. 20, we must translate it idiomatically, and understand that the person who is the subject of the verb *was the first* to do, or suffer, *that* to which the succeeding part of the sentence refers. Otherwise *בָּרַךְ*, in sentences such as that we have referred to, would be mere surplusage of the most mischievous description.

W. T. himself is compelled to admit in *fact*, though he denies in *terms*, that *בָּרַךְ* in the precise passage in dispute (Gen. x. 8) is idiomatic in its construction. He observes, “In the passage before us, the ordinary rendering *began to be*, has an evident appropriateness. It intimates that Nimrod’s rise to power *was a gradual one*.” Is not this a strange confusion of ideas? To what does all this periphrasis amount, but that *בָּרַךְ* in Gen. x. 8, signifies, not “*he began*,” but, “*he gradually attained*? ” Might I not travesty this mode of treating an idiom periphrastically, by asserting that, “In the passage before us, the ordinary rendering, *began to be*, has an evident appropriateness: it intimates that Nimrod *was the first to be* powerful in war, upon the earth?” In both cases, a meaning different from the ordinary one, and different from that in which the word “*began*” is used in other languages, is attributed to it here. In both cases therefore an idiom is assumed. The force of the idiom, whatever it may be, resides in the verb “*began*;” and W. T. only says *that*, by a needless periphrasis,

which might much more properly be expressed in direct terms. But between the two constructions, who can hesitate to choose? That of Gesenius is analogous to the ordinary meaning of the word "*began*:" that of W. T. has no connexion whatever with that meaning. That Nimrod's rise to power was gradual is clear from the historic description: the word "*began*" (understood in its ordinary sense) would in no degree aid our perception of this, but would still remain a miserable instance of clumsy surplusage. However gradual might be Nimrod's rise, we know of course that it must have had a beginning; and that it had a beginning would in no respect assist us to the discovery that, like most mundane events, it was gradual in its progress. Knowing this from other sources, we should smile at the man who should attempt to enforce the fact, by urging the evident truism, that, gradual as it might be, it was not destitute of a beginning.

The *reasoning* therefore preponderates in favour of Gesenius; and we have then, in support of the translation I have proposed, the authority of the greatest of Hebrew scholars, backed by arguments forcible, and indeed irrefragable. On the other side, we have an attempt at confutation which does not amount to an argument, so totally has the *gist* of the question been mistaken by the writer. Surely then I may assume that my own translation is fairly established; and, this once admitted, the whole theory of W. T. falls to the ground. As I observed in my letter of the 2nd April, Nimrod, *the first of conquerors*, could not have flourished in the sixteenth century B.C.; because, in that case, he would have been preceded (as W. T. himself would readily admit) by one of the greatest conquerors of the East,—a fact of which we have sufficient evidence in the Egyptian inscriptions.

Still, if W. T. relies on his circumstantial evidence, and is determined to set up the sage Kuthami against the authority of Moses, I renew my offer to examine in detail the mystic web of his extraordinary argument. He has only to make the request, and I will immediately address myself to a task, which may perhaps afford a useful lesson to those who are inclined to erect theories on inadequate materials. I only require, as a necessary preliminary, that he shall himself methodize the *Kuthami evidence*; since it is important to convince the English world, on his own shewing, that the best evidence in support of this forgery has not the weight of a gossamer.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

16th November, 1860.

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\*\*\* We beg to remind our correspondents that personal irritation should have no place in controversies so grave as those which find a place in our pages.—ED. J.S.L.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*The Minor Prophets; with a Commentary explanatory and practical, and Introductions to the several Books.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Part I., Hosea—Joel, Introduction. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 1860. 4to, pp. 100.

THIS is the first instalment of a design which has been some time in contemplation, and which is described in a second title to the present portion:—"The Holy Bible, with a Commentary explanatory and practical, and Introductions to the several Books, by Clergymen of the Church of England." It is afterwards intimated that parts of the Old Testament will be executed by Dr. Pusey. Such a work as is here indicated is now much wanted, for Lowth and Patrick, and D'Oyley and Mant, are surely far behind the present state of Biblical knowledge and scholarship. How far this proposed Commentary will come up to what we think it *ought* to be, we are, of course, unable to say, as we are ignorant who the parties are who are to execute it. We must therefore confine ourselves to the part before us, and attempt to give some account of the way in which Dr. Pusey has discharged the duty devolving on him.

There is an "Introductory statement on the principles and object of the Commentary," placed before that to *The Minor Prophets*, and we presume we may apply what is here advanced to the whole work. The object is said to be "to evolve some portion of the meaning of the Word of God;" and the meaning given is that which the writer believes to be either the true one, or, in some cases, the most probable. In arriving at, and presenting this meaning, all show of learning, and all embarrassing discussion is purposely avoided, as belonging to the dictionary and grammar rather than to a commentary on Holy Scripture. But, in some cases, where a point is not established, the grounds of a rendering are given briefly in the lower margin, so as to make the matter intelligible to scholars, without interrupting the development of the meaning of the text. Nor has it been thought necessary to discuss the different renderings of ancient versions. "As soon as one is satisfied that any given rendering of an ancient version does not correctly represent the Hebrew original, the question how the translators came so to render it, by what misreading, or mishearing, or guess, or paraphrase, belongs to a history of that version, not to the explanation of the sacred original." There is some truth in this, and yet, unless the present state of the Hebrew text can be considered perfect, the question will arise, whether Divine Truth may not reside in the version after all.

Modern commentators are not quoted for this reason:—"Still more distracting is a discussion of the various expositions of modern com-

mentators, or an enumeration of names, often of no weight, who adhere to one or the other rendering, or perhaps originated some crotchet of their own. These things, which so often fill modern commentaries, have a show of learning, but embarrass rather than aid a reader of Holy Scripture." Dr. Pusey states that he has *carefully examined every commentator*, likely or unlikely to contribute anything to the understanding of the sacred text; "and," he says, "if I have been able to gain little from modern German commentaries (except the school of Hengstenberg, Keil, and Hävernick), it is not that I have not sifted them to the best of the ability which God gave me." Luther is quoted as saying of his adherents, that they were like Solomon's fleet; some of them bringing back gold and silver, but the younger only peacocks and apes. "On the other hand," continues Dr. Pusey, "it has been pleasurable to give the expositions of Pococke, extracted from the folio in which they, for the most part, lie entombed amid the heaps of other explanations which his learning brought together. Else it has been my desire to use what learning of this sort I have acquired, to save a student from useless balancing of renderings which I believe that no one not under a prejudice would adopt." The English Version is adhered to, in the main, from a conviction that the translators were right. They had most of the helps which the moderns have for understanding Hebrew, and the same traditional knowledge of the ancient versions and Jewish commentators. But we must demur to the statement that they were nearly on a par with ourselves as to lexicography or grammar. Surely this cannot be maintained, although it may be true that comparative philology has not always used its knowledge rightly in Scripture interpretation. But we will quote some remarks on the subject with which we can mainly agree:—

"Hebrew criticism has now escaped, for the most part, from the arbitrariness which detected a various reading in any variation of a single old Version, as in the error of some small fraction of MSS., which disfigured the commentaries of Lowth, Newcome, and Blayney. But the comparison of the cognate dialects opened for the time an unlimited license of innovation. Every principle of interpretation, every rule of language, was violated. The Bible was misinterpreted with a wild recklessness, to which no other book was ever subjected. A subordinate meaning of some half-understood Arabic word was always at hand to remove whatever any one disliked. Now, the manifoldness of this reign of misrule has subsided. But interpretations as arbitrary as any which have perished still hold their sway, or from time to time emerge, and any revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, until the precarious use of the dialects should be far more settled, would give us chaff for wheat, introducing an indefinite amount of error into the Word of God."

Many more observations, equally valuable, are found in this first Introduction, and the general design is thus pointed out:—

"To this employment, which I have had for many years at heart, but from which the various distresses of our times, and the duties which they have involved, have continually withheld me, I hope to consecrate the residue of the years and of the strength which God may give me, 'vitæ summa brevis spem yetat inchoare longam.' The wonderful volume of the twelve prophets, 'brief in words, mighty in meaning,' and, if God continues my life, the Evangelical Prophet, are what I have specially reserved for myself. The New Testament,

except the Apocalypse, and most of the rest of the Old Testament, have been undertaken by friends whose names will be published when the arrangements are completed. The Commentary on *The Minor Prophets* is in the course of being printed; that on [St. Matthew] is nearly ready for the press. Other portions are begun. But the object of all who have been engaged in this work is one and the same, to develop, as God shall enable us, the meaning of Holy Scripture out of Holy Scripture itself; to search in that deep mine and—not bring meanings into it, but—(Christ being our helper, for ‘the well is deep,’) to bring such portions, as they may, of its meaning out of it; to exhibit to people truth side by side with the fountain out of which it is drawn; to enable them to see something more of its riches than a passer-by or a careless reader sees upon its surface.”

We now come to Hosea, the Introduction to which treats of the prophet’s chronological and social position, and especially of his relation to the political and religious condition of his country. The characteristics of his style are also noticed. Then the typical bearing of the prophecies is referred to, and sundry other matters of a literary and religious character. On the style of Hosea it is observed, *inter alia* :—

“ It belongs to the mournful solemnity of Hosea’s prophecy that he scarcely speaks to the people in his own person. The ten chapters which form the centre of the prophecy are almost wholly one long dirge of woe, in which the prophet rehearses the guilt and the punishment of his people. If the people are addressed, it is, with very few exceptions, God Himself, not the prophet, who speaks to them, and God speaks to them as their Judge. Once only does the prophet use the form, so common in the other Prophets, ‘ saith the Lord.’ . . . It is this same solemn pathos which has chiefly occasioned the obscurity complained of in Hosea. The expression of St. Jerome has often been repeated:—‘Hosea is concise, and speaketh as it were in detached sayings.’ The words of upbraiding, of judgment, of woe, burst forth, as it were, one by one, slowly, heavily, condensed, abrupt, from the prophet’s heavy and shrinking soul, as God commanded and constrained him.”

In the Commentary itself great pains are taken to exhibit the moral bearing of the sentiments uttered; their truth as regards Israel, and their applicability to our own times and cases. If we were called upon to say in what respect this exposition chiefly differed from others, we should point to its eminently *practical* character; its bringing the reader constantly to the bar of conscience and of God. We cannot now enter into the style and method pursued, but we shall have other opportunities of doing so. We cannot agree with Dr. Pusey in thinking that Hosea actually married the “wife of whoredoms.” On this principle of literal interpretation how many things would be actually attributed to prophets of an extraordinary, and sometimes of a disgusting and unnatural kind, as in Ezekiel ix. 12. But we cannot now establish our position, but merely state it. The work before us we look upon as most valuable, and we shall regard its completion as a real blessing to the Church of Christ. It should be known that the composition of the printing types used in this ‘Commentary’ was all done by women, at the press of the Devonport Society. The typography is excellent.

*An Introduction to the Criticism of the Old Testament, and to Biblical Interpretation, with an Analysis of the Books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha.* Originally written by the Rev. J. HARTWELL HORNE, B.D. Now revised and edited by the Rev. JOHN AYRE, M.A., of Gouville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Longmans. 1860. 8vo, pp. 954.

THE literary history of this volume must just be glanced at, though we cannot now dwell upon the particulars. Dr. Samuel Davidson, as our readers are aware, compiled the second volume of the new edition of *Horne's Introduction*, published in 1856, and it will long remain as a monument of extensive research and varied learning. But some errors, partly his own and partly those of others, brought upon him the charge of heterodoxy, followed by personal inconveniences which might justify him in regarding himself as persecuted. Such was the outcry against his portion of the *Introduction*, that the publishers have thought it prudent to replace Mr. Horne's original work on the Old Testament, revised and enlarged by Mr. Ayre. By a compromise similar to that respecting the use of the Latin Bible in the days of Augustine and Jerome, readers can now read which they please, the advanced opinions of Dr. Davidson, or the more conservative ones of Mr. Horne! Dr. Davidson's volume is not cancelled—far from it—it is still sold as a part of the *Introduction*, but if a purchaser is of the old and more timid and more orthodox school, he can have that volume displaced, and that of Mr. Ayre put in its room. This arrangement certainly savours more of the pliancy of mercantile life, than of the stiff manners of polemical theologians, but as good comes out of it we will make no complaint. We have now two volumes of *Introduction to the Old Testament* instead of one, and we thank all concerned for this accession to Biblical literature.

It is inevitable, however, that these facts should cause Mr. Ayre's labours to be judged of in comparison with those of Dr. Davidson, and not on their own merits alone; and doubtless there will not long be wanting a searching collation of particulars on which their relative values may be made to rest. But this is a task for which we have neither taste nor time. We always thought Dr. Davidson misrepresented and ill-used, and we now are of opinion that his volume is more complete—more *totus teres et rotundus* than that of Mr. Ayre. This must be the case, for the latter gentleman only professes to supplement the matter already furnished by Mr. Horne. But having said so much, we leave the *history* of the volume, and come to its contents. It consists of three parts,—The Criticism of the Old Testament, the principles of Biblical Interpretations, and Introduction to the several books of the Apocrypha, and it is compiled from the original second volume of Mr. Horne's work, omitting the criticism of the New Testament, and from the former half of the fourth volume. The editor says:—

"I have been careful to remember that I was employed to edit an old work, not to compile a new one. It was my task to rearrange and condense Mr. Horne's matter, and to make such additions as might correct any erroneous statement, and supply information which later researches of the learned have

given to the world. I have endeavoured to bring the whole of the volume into consistency, but I have not made alterations in all cases in which, had I been composing afresh, I might have used somewhat different language. It would not have been just to Mr. Horne to suppress every opinion of his which was not exactly coincident with my own. Thus, his view of the formula *Ινα πληρωθή* is retained, though it is scarcely so strong as my own. But I am bound to say that I believe we do not vary in any material degree, and that the alterations, modifications, and corrections have been made with Mr. Horne's full knowledge and kind acquiescence; the sheets as they passed through the press having been examined by him."

Mr. Ayre states that he has placed in brackets all additions of his own "of any kind of consequence;" but in this he scarcely does justice to his own part of the labour, for we notice, running all through the work, references to authorities which were not in existence when Mr. Horne published his last edition, to which no brackets are attached. In a work of this kind, one excellence of which is to point to other and fuller sources of information, this is an important feature, and Mr. Ayre must therefore have more credit given him than he claims for himself. We may illustrate what we mean by the many references to important papers in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, which have appeared quite recently. The extent to which the additions of the editor extend varies considerably, as would be expected from the nature of the topics. Thus, under the head of Ancient Oriental Versions, the parts in brackets are but brief, while a whole section of eleven pages is introduced on the extent of inspiration. As this was one principal subject on which Dr. Davidson was condemned, Mr. Ayre's statements will be looked to curiously; but he has adopted the plan of giving various opinions with but little of his own; and while he is less free than Dr. Davidson, he is far more so than some of those by whom that gentleman was condemned. So that the reader of this volume will not be prevented seeing what the forbidden fruit is, though they may not be pressed to taste it. This eclecticism is defended by Mr. Ayre in the preface:—

"On many of the subjects discussed good and learned men have differed. I have had no wish to conceal this, but rather while stating what I believe to be the truth, have thought it desirable to let the reader have also before him the opinions of others. I hope I have always expressed my own judgment with modesty, and have been ready to allow due credit to those from whom I disagree. On the vital points of Christian doctrine a firm stand must ever be made, but surely differences may exist on less important matters without harsh accusations on one side or the other of prejudice and obstinacy."

On German critics and theologians Mr. Ayre remarks:—

"I have made considerable use of recent German writers. From the principles of some of these I must plainly say I decidedly dissent. Such men as De Wette, Gesenius, Ewald, are profound scholars, but I consider their views in many respects most erroneous. I have cited their works for the information they contain, but I think I should grievously fail in my duty if I did not make the student aware that they are to be used with caution; the works of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Kurtz and Keil are far more in accordance with my principles. I have followed them, but I trust with no blind acquiescence, and I have freely stated that sometimes their arguments have failed to convince me."

On the whole we are much pleased with this volume, for although

it is intended to supersede that of Dr. Davidson, when any one has an unfavourable opinion of that writer's opinions, Mr. Ayre will not be found a caterer to prejudice and bigotry. There is a freeness about his views and criticisms which it is pleasant to meet with, and the  *littleness* of some expositors is frequently condemned and abjured. As for example, under the head of "Historical and External Circumstances," as affecting Scripture interpretation, we find the following:—

" Considerations of this kind must not be pushed too far, lest, by their abuse, men fall into the impieties of Eichhorn and Bauer, who affirm that Moses took advantage of a violent thunderstorm to represent the giving of the law as sanctioned by the visible terrors of the Deity. The narrative of Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and the history of St. Paul's conversion, cannot be explained away as mere oriental hyperbole, without impairing the credit of the whole sacred record. Men of better principles than those just referred to appear sometimes to have laid too great stress on circumstances. It certainly throws light on Psalm lxxxix. 12, to recollect that the two mountains specially named are on the two sides of the Jordan, west and east; but it can hardly be thought that the injunction given, 1 Thess. v. 27, had a peculiar significance from its occurring in the first epistle written by St. Paul, or that the words of our Lord, John iii. 20, 21, had any special emphasis from the fact that they were spoken to Nicodemus, who visited him at night."

We thank Mr. Ayre for the very great use he has made of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. He has proved that the papers in our former volumes are of great value in the illustration of the Bible.

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*An Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms.* By JOSEPH FRANCIS THRUPP, M.A., Vicar of Barrington, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London and Cambridge: Macmillans. 1860. Two Vols. 8vo, pp. 410, 364.

THE many writers which have lately appeared on the Psalms proves the great interest taken in that part of Holy Scripture—that inexhaustible treasury of "things new and old." Mr. Thrupp's plan is somewhat novel, for it does not embrace a commentary in the ordinary sense of the term, but rather aids to exposition, and all the *circumstances* of those compositions which precede what is properly called a comment. His endeavour has been "to point out the direction in which the path of interpretation lies, and to clear away the difficulties which screen it from view or impede progress along it, rather than to pursue the track throughout." It is true that the continuous commentaries on the Psalms are numerous enough, but from the perusal of these the reader too often rises with the feeling "that however much he may have been entertained, edified, and instructed by the way, he has yet gained no clearer or more comprehensive knowledge than he before possessed of the region which he has traversed." Mr. Thrupp, therefore, proposes to supply him with such necessary clues to the interpretation of the Psalms as shall assist him to study them the more deeply for himself, and to discover in them, not without labour of his own, the fulness of their meaning.

In a Preliminary Essay are discussed the use of the Psalms in the

Christian Church ; their various divisions into books, psalms, strophes, verses, and lines ; Hebrew metres ; parallelism, inversion, etc. ; ancient and English Versions of the Psalter. The books are said to be five, extending respectively to Psalm xli., lxxii., lxxxix., cvi., cl. On the metres Mr. Thrupp observes :—

“ The metre of ancient Hebrew poetry, when regular, is determined by the number of accented words in the several lines, which may accordingly be distinguished as monotonic, ditonic, tritonic, and so for the rest. The unaccented words are in the Hebrew Bible joined on to the accented by the mark *Makkaph*, corresponding to our hyphen. But here the Jewish accentuators have been entirely at fault ; continually accenting words which are metrically unaccented, and attaching the hyphen to those which metrically require an accent. Examples of monotonic lines are the second lines of the first strophe and antistrophe of Psalm xxxii. ; they are never used except in conjunction with others. The last two verses of Psalm xxx. are wholly composed of ditonic lines, but even these are too sprightly for ordinary use. The commonest of all lines are the tritonic ; Psalm xxxiii. consists almost entirely of them :

Rejoice in—the—Lord, O—ye—righteous;  
Praise is—comely for—the—upright, etc.

Of tetratonic lines we have examples in the opening of Psalm xii. The lines in Psalm xix. 7—9, and many of those in Psalm v., are pentatonic ; but they admit of being subdivided into tritones and ditones. The metre of most of the Hebrew Psalms is mixed. Where we have a strophe and an antistrophe, the corresponding lines should properly contain the same number of accents. Occasionally, as in Psalm vi., this is strictly the case ; but in general the rule is but laxly observed. The psalmists composed by ear rather than by measure ; and the irregularities arising from the violation of the rule are in practice seldom displeasing.”

A great deal of useful information as to ancient versions of the Psalter is given in the Introduction, and a vast variety of topics, critical and expository, will be found to be treated of under the different Psalms. There are two Appendices—on the Names of God in the Psalms, and on the Musical Instruments of the Jewish Psalmody. There is also a good Index. Altogether the labours of Mr. Thrupp are well bestowed, and his work will be found valuable, not only to the professed theologian, but also the private Christian ; for while there is much real learning, there is but little of its outward display. We will quote the whole of the observations on Psalm i., to enable the reader to form his own opinion of the nature of the work :—

“ The first Psalm sets before us in language sufficiently simple and concise, the opposite characters of the righteous and the wicked. It is purely didactic. The description of the righteous man is perfectly general ; the characteristics by which he is known are the general characteristics of all God’s people ; nor is there a word in the Psalms which would justify us in maintaining a special or exclusive reference in it to any particular person. ‘ I have found in conversation or in reading,’ says Hilary, and his words would in our own day be almost equally true, ‘ that many have viewed this Psalm as though it should be regarded as pointing to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as though it were his blessedness which the several verses delineated. But in upholding this view they have not kept within the bounds of moderation or reason. The principle which has influenced them is good, that all the prophetic doctrine of the Psalms should be referred to Christ ; but when and where the language of the prophecy points directly to him, we must discriminate by the result of reasonable and scientific inquiry.’ In this Hilary displayed a sounder judgment than Augustine, who starts with interpreting the Psalm of our Saviour, not without perverting in

some degree the force of its words. It has been already observed that the absence of any superscription to this Psalm marks its introductory character. It is itself as it were a heading to the rest. It warns us that in those which follow (beginning with Psalm iii.) we shall have to trace throughout the broadly marked contrast between godliness and ungodliness. It announces that the Psalms are intended to bear throughout a moral sense, and to portray the struggles after holiness of all God's people. It points attention to the moral teaching which is through the whole of the Psalter implicitly conveyed. It bids us behold in the Psalmist not only the leader of the people's devotions, but also their instructor in the ways of godliness; a well-furnished scribe, bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old; drawing lessons of wisdom from the stores of his purified experience, or unfolding with wider significance the teachings of former ages. His very commendation of God's revealed law in verse 2 of the present Psalm is in substance a repetition of the Lord's commandment to Joshua: 'This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is therein: for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.'

"We observe moreover in comparing this Psalm with the rest, that all the various characteristics of God's people which are here noted down, *viz.*, the abhorrence of sinful associates, the willing study of God's law, and the prosperity which arises from being continually watered by the refreshing stream of divine grace, are the same which are delineated in those that follow. By declaring, therefore, in its opening words the blessedness of him in whom these marks are to be found, this Psalm virtually testifies, 'Blessed is the man who can apply to himself the language of the psalms that come after, and can in any wise adopt as his own the protestations they contain.' The witness which this introductory Psalm thus bears to the moral significance of the rest, does not compel us to disregard their importance in other points of view. But it renders it clear that neither on the historical nor on the prophetic element involved in them must exclusive stress be laid. And therefore those interpreters of the Psalms who, through prejudice or onesidedness of vision, seek to confine their import either to David or to Christ, not only attempt to defraud every member of God's church of a part of his lawful inheritance, but also overlook the key which the author of the first Book of the Psalter has in his own preface furnished to the interpretation of his volume. We have assumed that the first Psalm was composed by David. The principal evidence of this is to be found in the position which in the Psalter it occupies. It has been shewn that the first Book of the Psalter bears proof of having been arranged by David himself: is it probable that any subsequent editor, such as Ezra, would have ventured to prefix an introduction of his own to a book already complete, more especially an introduction so entirely opposite in character to that which David himself had prefixed to it in Psalm ii.? This utter dissimilarity between Psalms i. and ii. is, taking into account the position in which they stand, the strongest proof that if the one was David's composition, so also was the other. Those who allow the introductory character of Psalms i. and ii., and who recognize the Davidic authorship in the case of Psalm ii., but deny it in that of Psalm i., will be reduced to the necessity of confessing that the author of Psalm i. took an entirely different view of the meaning of the Davidic Psalms from that which had been taken by David. Nor will it avail to argue that, while Psalm ii. forms the introduction to the first portion of the Psalter, Psalm i. was designed as an introduction to the whole; since the final editor of the Psalter would thus have assigned a different meaning to it from that which David had assigned to the first Book, which is nevertheless an integral part, if not the very kernel, of the whole. Besides which, dissimilar as are Psalms i. and ii. in character, the original connexion between them is marked by the two corresponding benedictions in the first clause of the one and the last clause of the other. As the one begins, so the other ends, with words of holy blessing.

"But little remark needs to be made on the plan of assimilating the introduction to the Psalter to the component parts of the Psalter itself, and of thus sub-

stituting one or more prefatory psalms for a formal preface in prose. A similar plan has been pursued by the poets of every age and country; it is sufficiently recommended by its neatness and elegance; and is quite in accordance with the general enigmatical terseness of Hebrew poetry. The advantages of the plan are moreover sufficiently obvious in a book intended for a perpetual inheritance to God's people; the preface to such a book was not more important to David's own generation than to every generation to come after; and was therefore most suitably incorporated into the book itself."

Does not Mr. Thupp build on insufficient evidence when he thus accounts for the absence of titles in the first and second Psalms? We think he does, but we cannot now pursue the subject.

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*Codex Alexandrinus. Novum Testamentum Græce, ex antiquissimo Codice Alexandrino a C. G. WOIDE olim descriptum: ad fidem ipsius codicis denuo accuratius edidit B. H. COWPER. Londini: Venumdant Williams and Norgate. 1860. pp. xl, 506.*

WE scarcely know which to admire most, the great and painful labour of Mr. Cowper in editing this work, or the enterprize of the publishers in giving it to the world in its elegant and expensive form. But it is a gratifying fact that while scholars are not wanting who, from a love of sacred learning, give to it all their energies without much hope of pecuniary reward, men of business are found willing to incur some risk in co-operating with them. From its nature it is quite clear that such a volume as this can never *pay* in the commercial sense, though we may hope no loss will be incurred by it. We would press upon our readers who have the means the duty of adding it to their libraries, although they may not be likely to make any extensive use of its valuable contents.

In the Prolegomena, extending to nearly forty pages, Mr. Cowper gives a full account of the precious manuscript of which this volume is a copy. These introductory remarks are in English,—a fact not to be expected from the title, nor from the foot-notes given with the text. The editor properly says that so much has been written respecting Codex A, that he can scarcely be expected to advance anything new; and yet as each generation comes on the scene new minds have to be addressed, and a reiteration of old matter becomes important and necessary. The aim of the Introduction is to supply the reader with some miscellaneous information respecting the document; to give him an accurate description of it as it is; and to add some enquiry with regard to its probable source and antiquity, with an explanation of what has been accomplished in the present edition of the New Testament part of it. From these materials we will select some prominent facts for the information of our readers.

The Old Testament portion of the Codex Alexandrinus,—the most valuable MS. in the British Museum,—has several times been either wholly or partially edited. Dr. Baber published a fac-simile in 1819, and last year the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge put forth an edition of the Septuagint founded on it, under the accurate superintendence of the Rev. F. Field, of Trinity College, Cambridge. The

New Testament has been printed only once, in 1786, when it appeared in fac-simile under the editorship of C. G. Woide, in folio, with admirable prolegomena and notes. This has long been scarce and expensive, and modern students are acquainted with the readings of this Codex more by the collations of scholars than by actual inspection either of the MS. or its fac-simile. The chief of these collators are Patrick Young, Walton, Fell, Mill, Grabe, Wetstein and Woide. Mr. Cowper says that "the great mass of critics have borrowed from these, and some of them, among whom Dr. Tischendorf must be included, have occasionally given as various readings errors of Woide's edition." A good case is thus made out for the publication of the volume before us, and, provided it is done with the requisite care, so as to be an authority, it will prove a valuable addition to the critical apparatus of a student of the New Testament. Our knowledge of Mr. Cowper's scholarship and industry, and our entire faith in his love of sacred learning, give us the fullest assurance that the result of his labours is trustworthy. The account given of the external features of the Codex itself is as follows :—

"The portion containing the New Testament is a volume measuring somewhat more than ten inches wide and fourteen inches high. The material is thin, fine, and very beautiful vellum, often discoloured at the edges, which have been injured by time, but more by the ignorance or carelessness of the modern binder, who has not always spared the text, especially at the upper inner margin. The manuscript is written in a light and elegant hand, in uncial letters. These letters at the end of a line are often very small, and much of the writing is very pale and faint. Each page contains two columns of text. In the margin to the left hand the Eusebian canons are noted throughout the four Gospels, as well as the larger sections into which these books were anciently divided. Some of the numeral letters, and the commencements of the several books throughout, have been written in red ink, as also are some of the ornamental portions, which are due to the fancy of the scribe. These latter are sometimes diversified with other colours. . . . At the lower corners of the leaves are the remains of an Arabic enumeration, but it is of course far more modern than the text, and is chiefly important as a proof that the volume has passed through Oriental hands. The text of the manuscript has been repeatedly retouched in ancient and modern times, and probably oftener than we have been able to determine. These corrections are partly by the original scribe, frequently by apparently two ancient correctors, and in some instances by at least two modern ones. We suspect that a very few alterations have been made since the manuscript came into Europe. . . . Since its arrival in this country the volume has been rebound, the leaves have been numbered, and the modern chapters have been indicated ;—these figures are all the work of Patrick Junius. The nature of the ink, and the great age of the manuscript, have in many places caused the partial or almost total disappearance of the characters, and they cannot be read without the aid of a lens and in a strong light. Moreover, the ferruginous matter contained in the ink has produced an infinite number of minute holes in the parchment, giving it the appearance of lace-work, and which occasionally, but not so often as could be expected, add seriously to the difficulty of the reading. These holes are not in all the leaves, but only in a portion of them, and the vellum is frequently more legible on one side than on the other. The inscriptions and subscriptions to the respective books, as far as they remain, are all ancient, but some must be referred to the second hand."

The questions of several texts being used by the writer of the Codex, of its orthography, its contractions, the order of the books, its

uncanonical additions, are pertinently discussed. The reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16 is dwelt upon. Mr. Cowper says that “Ος ἐφαρεψθη may have been the reading of the MS., but if so the evidence for it has been effectually destroyed, and we must admit that now at least Θεὸς must be read.” The truth of the matter, he says, cannot be ascertained by any inspection of the Codex. The editor thinks the manuscript may have been written by female hands, and in Egypt. As to its age, after a careful examination of the evidence, he concludes that it was not written before the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and fixes upon the middle of the fifth century as the proximate date. Very much more useful information is given, but we will conclude by stating the fact that in doubtful cases the Codex itself was consulted by Mr. Cowper. Most cordially do we thank him for all his labour in so good a cause, wearisome as it must often have been.

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*Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1859.* By C. J. ELЛИCOTT, B.D., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1860. 8vo, pp. 440.

For enlightened piety, sound Biblical learning and the power of suggesting useful trains of thought, we seldom meet with a more valuable volume than that now before us. As appealing to Biblical students the form of sermons is some disadvantage, especially as the preacher adapts his style somewhat to the cases of young men, and often employs mere pulpit ejaculations and other conventional forms of address. But the nature of his task as Hulsean lecturer rendered this in part unavoidable, and we must not complain of what could not be helped. Six of the lectures were delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1859; but the two last were not preached, owing to some recent changes in regard to the Hulsean lecturer; they are added, however, as giving a necessary completeness to the subject. The work is in two parts, the text and the notes. No attempt is made to furnish a complete life of our Lord, but only lectures upon it. “These,” says the writer, “I have made as complete as I could in everything relating to the connexion of the events, or that in any way illustrates their probable order and succession.” In the notes an effort has been made to combine a popular mode of treating the question, and accuracy both in outline and detail. “Much time and very great care and thought have been expended on these notes, and thus they are not always to be judged of by their brevity, or the familiar lists of authorities to which they refer.” Extracts from the great Greek commentators form a considerable portion of the notes; and German expositors are often quoted, “but care has been taken to give prominence only to the better class of them.” His own opinion as to certain sceptical tendencies of the day is thus expressed by the lecturer:—

“Of my own views it is perhaps not necessary for me to speak. This only will I say, that though I neither feel nor affect to feel the slightest sympathy

with the so-called popular theology of the present day, I still trust that in the many places in which it has been almost necessarily called forth in the present pages, I have used no expression towards sceptical writings stronger than may have been positively required by allegiance to Catholic truth. Towards the honest and serious thinker who may feel doubts or difficulties in some of the questions connected with our Lord's life, all tenderness may justly be shewn; but to those who enter upon this holy ground with the sinister intentions of the destructive critic, or of the so-called unprejudiced historian, it is not necessary or desirable to suppress all indication of our repulsion."

These are the titles of the lectures, indicating clearly the topics treated of:—Characteristics of the Four Gospels—Birth and Infancy of our Lord—Early Judean ministry—Ministry in Eastern Galilee—Ministry in Northern Galilee—Journeyings towards Jerusalem—the Last Passover—the Forty days. It will be seen how all the important questions and matters connected with the Gospel history can materially be grouped around these various points. For instance, in the fourth lecture we find the variations of order in the synoptical gospels are considered; in the sixth are noticed harmonistic and chronological difficulties, the probable place in the history of the incident of the woman taken in adultery. A reference to the good index shews how very numerous these important topics are, and we can assure our readers that they are discussed in a very satisfactory manner. We do not mean that we agree with Professor Ellicott's conclusions always, but that he brings to his subjects that degree of thought and investigation which makes his reasonings and results worthy of attention and respect.

We must now refer to what we think a defect in these Lectures; and we do so the more readily because we feel that it marks a good deal of the better exegesis of the New Testament, both at home and abroad. We allude to a tendency to derive too much from premises—to exaggerate little things, and exalt subjective impressions into facts. This is a fault in Stier's *Words of our Lord*, and other German expositions. Thus, Professor Ellicott speaks of the characteristics of the Gospels as arising in a degree from the peculiarities of the several writers, and this will be admitted to be the case on all hands. But can it be conceded that because St. Matthew was a publican, his Gospel therefore shews "careful grouping and well-ordered combination?" Even if these attributes of the Gospel are admitted as distinguishing it from others, we can see no connexion between them and the fact of the writer being a collector of taxes! Too much is, we think, stated on both these points. But in relation to St. Mark the observations seem to us still more strained and far-fetched.

"No less strongly marked is the individuality of St. Mark's Gospel. No less clearly in this inspired record can we trace the impressible and fervid character which we almost instinctively ascribe to John Mark the son of Mary (for I hold the identity of the Evangelist with the nephew of Barnabas),—to him that seems to have been so forward in action, and yet on one occasion at least too ready to fall away. I say on one occasion *at least*, for there are many whose judgment demands our respect who also find in the young man with the hastily-caught up linen garment who followed but to flee, him who alone has handed down to us that isolated notice."

We must say that this appears to us to be almost *trifling*. Who ever formed the above character of Mark from such slender records? Who ever can establish in the Gospel the marks of an impressible and fervid writer? Besides, we surely must remember that such an important thing as the selection of materials to be handed down to the Church demanded the very highest aid and influence of the Divine Spirit, and could be but little affected by the writer's idiosyncrasies. We can see a marked difference in the style and temper of the prophets, and of the writers of the Epistles; but the characteristics of the Gospels do not so much affect the choice of materials, as the method of narrating the facts and speeches brought forward. We cannot therefore attach much importance to St. Matthew having to do with account-books, or to St. Mark being "fervid," even if that could be made out. Such a connexion between St. Peter and the Gospel is more capable of being established; but Professor Ellicott seems to have forgotten the tradition, that St. Mark was not the original author of the Gospel in any such sense as to stamp the selection of facts with his own mental peculiarities.

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*An Earnestly Respectful Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, on the Difficulty of bringing Theological Questions to an Issue, etc.*

By ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. 1860.

*A Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., in answer to his "Earnestly Respectful Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's;" with an Appendix containing an Extract from the Bishop's charge of 1857.*  
By CONNOP THIRLWALL, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London: Rivingtons. 1860.

*A Critical Appendix upon the Lord Bishop of St. David's Reply.* By the Author of an "Earnestly Respectful Letter to his Lordship." Cambridge.

HERE are three pamphlets on a controversy which is mixed up with a good share of what is local and personal, but which at the same time involves some of the gravest questions. Like all such discussions, it is accompanied by a display of more feeling than is becoming, and is not always conducted with that openness and straightforwardness which is so desirable. No doubt Dr. Williams sat down to write "an earnestly respectful letter," but his resolution broke down, and his letter is anything but earnestly respectful, and we feel a certain measure of surprise that he should have allowed it to go forth with such a title. He was earnestly respectful in intention, but not in fact. As to the subject, "The difficulty of bringing theological questions to an issue," it is a very good one, and one upon which wise and profitable things might have been said. But alas! we have been wofully disappointed, and have found every page bristling with all the forms of speech calculated to provoke and to prolong discussion. No man was ever more fortunate in the choice of a title, no man more unfortunate in harmon-

izing it with his book. It looks so much like a satire, that we should have condemned it as such, but the letter itself, and Dr. Williams's known character, forbid such an idea, and all we can do is to lament that he has put to press what can neither add to his reputation nor justify his opinions. It is full of shifts and subterfuges, and ingenious positions and artifices. In all the course of it we are struck with this determination to illustrate and exemplify "the difficulty of bringing theological questions to an issue." Such strategy may be clever and certainly is, but it is not fitted to promote the cause either of truth or of peace. On what doctrine or lesson of Scripture have we here any light? Which of Dr. Williams's suspected opinions is here manfully stated, expounded, justified, or repudiated? Nothing of the kind, and we must protest against theological controversy which is little better than one long drawn quibble. The questions answered by the writer of the letter, and the witnesses he cites, afford us no relief, and we feel more than ever that there is something seriously wrong, when a man whose utterances pass for oracles finds it necessary to have recourse to ambiguities, and will not come out bravely and tell the world what he thinks and what he believes. There is not a little here, it is true, which satisfies us that Dr. Williams has lost his faith in the old teaching on the subject of miracles, prophecy, inspiration, etc., and that he has embraced opinions upon them which are novel (and we think erroneous).

Bishop Thirlwall answers the "earnestly respectful letter" with skill and good temper, and intimates that it is his last word. Of this we are glad, as it is undesirable that such a discussion should be carried on with so much of the element of personality. Henceforth, it ought to be on broader grounds, and the question is, whether the teachings of the neological school are right, and true, and good? Is the Bible the last judge of controversy? is it divinely inspired? is it of supreme authority? is its religious doctrine infallibly true? The grand controversy now is to be for *The Book*, what it is, and what it is for. The truth of its histories, the accuracy of its philosophy, the reality of its inspiration, the reality of its miracles, the reality of its prophecies, the genuineness of its revelations, etc., etc., are now assailed, not by infidels and deists, but by Christian men, ministers of the Gospel. Manifestly, there is work for the wise and good to do, and it is for them to shew that all intellect, learning, and truth are not on the side of these new-fangled doctors.

Dr. Williams's critical appendix is very much in the spirit of his letter, and is an endeavour to shew that the bishop often admits, evades, misunderstands, or wrongly opposes his statements. There is really nothing in it which calls for special remark. It is in the strain of affected superiority which characterizes the newest school, who look with a certain pity on all who have preferred to tread the old paths. There is the same cool assumption as fact of what has yet to be proved. For example, have French sceptics and German rationalists proved the Book of Daniel to be a later forgery? Dr. Williams assumes that it

is so, and doubtless glories in the brave and untrammelled spirit by which he is enabled to accept the teachings of a godless criticism, and to scorn the principles of men who have more faith in facts than in theories. We earnestly hope that the friends of truth will not lose sight of the destructive school.

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*Additions to the Fourth Volume of the Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, by the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. Comprising new facts relating to textual criticism, with an especial notice of Professor Tischendorf's Codex Sinaiticus.* By S. P. TREGEELLES, LL.D. London : Longmans.

DR. TREGEELLES needs no introduction from us as a diligent enquirer into all matters pertaining to the New Testament text especially. The sheets before us are an appendix to the volume of 1856, and are paged in continuation of it. It will be quite sufficient to indicate the subjects here introduced, and to remark that the account of what has been done since 1856, is tolerably full and judicious, and cannot fail to interest all who pay attention to such matters. Commencing with Tischendorf's Greek Testaments, the author proceeds to speak of his own, and that of Dr. Alford, of the collations of Mr. Scrivener, and of the Codex Sinaiticus. He then tells us something of Codex B and its editions, of the Codex Bergiensis T; the Codex Nitriensis R; the small Nitrian fragments, and the Claromontane. He then speaks at some length of his examination of the Bible Society's Codex Zacynthus, and more briefly of several others; after which he endorses his already expressed opinion on the Curetonian Syriac of St. Matthew, that "it is at least certain that this version was that which the Syriac scholars themselves identified with one formed from St. Matthew's own Hebrew. The student may find much to support this opinion from the examination of the version itself." We do not, and we cannot endorse this. The Curetonian fragments include all the four Gospels, and are homogeneous, and it is gratuitous to assume that the Matthew is not from the same source as Mark, Luke and John; as much so, as it is to assume that the peculiarities and provincialisms prove the version older than the Peschito. The ancient readings are probably due to the simple fact that the version was made from an ancient manuscript. Dr. Tregelles concludes with noticing the recovery of the ten stolen leaves of the Gothic Codex Argenteus, and with a detailed account of the Codex Sinaiticus from the recently published *Notitia* of Dr. Tischendorf.

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*Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanon.* Von C. A. CREDNER. Herausgegeben von Dr. Volkmar. ("Credner's History of the New Testament Canon. Edited by Dr. Volkmar.") Berlin. 1860. 8vo.

THE value of Credner's work is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that it is accepted as an authority by the best scholars of Europe and America. It is divided into four books, 1. The formation of the New

Testament Canon in the primitive Church: 2. The most ancient notices: 3. The stricter definition of the Canon in the eastern Church: 4. The same in the western. The editor has added an appendix on the number and order of books in the New Testament as exhibited in certain manuscripts and lists, with other matters of interest. This work abounds in details of the most useful description, and is one which the student can scarcely afford to dispense with. Besides the new matter, the edition before us contains an index which shews at a glance the place where information may be found on any particular subject. Such a work, by its numerous references and citations, will save any one studying the history and constitution of the New Testament Canon a vast amount of labour, and we therefore have pleasure in recommending it to those who are not yet acquainted with it.

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*Notitia editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici. Accedit catalogus codicum nuper ex oriente Petropolin permeatorum: item Origenis scholia in Proverbia Solomoni partim nunc primum, partim secundum atque emendatius edita, cum duabus tabulis lapidi incisis.* Edidit C. TISCHENDORF. Leipsiz. 1860. 4to.

THIS notice of the Sinaitic Codex is the fullest hitherto published, and will be found both useful and interesting. In addition to a more complete account of the circumstances of its discovery, and of its general features and contents, there are specimens of the text, and a summary of important readings. The literary world will thank the learned and fortunate discoverer for the information here published respecting the most remarkable and ancient manuscript of the Greek Scriptures extant. The catalogue of other codices brought to light on the same journey includes some of real worth, and will be found very satisfactory. They are classified and arranged according to their character and the languages in which they are written. Less valuable, perhaps, but highly curious and very precious, are the Scholia of Origen upon the Proverbs, now published in a more accurate and complete form than in the edition of Cardinal Mai. We have no doubt that the *Notitia* has been, and will be, eagerly perused by many who will look forward to the appearance of the entire text in 1862 with all the more anxiety. As our readers have already been put into possession of the leading facts connected with the Codex Sinaiticus and its publication, we shall here only refer them to the elaborate account of Dr. Tischendorf, which will gratify them by the variety of interesting details which he has thus brought together. The fac-simile of part of the conclusion of St. Luke's Gospel is admirably executed, and is no doubt a faithful copy of the handwriting of this most venerable Codex.

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*Barabbas the Scapegoat; and other Sermons and Dissertations.* By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Bury St. Edmund's, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1859. 18mo, pp. 208.

THE title of this little volume may appear fanciful, but such is by no means the character of the mind of the author. What he writes is the result of sound induction, as far as the subjects admit of the process, and of careful and well-digested thought. In the first sermon on the list, "Then cried they all again, saying, Not this man but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber," an attempt is made to shew that the scapegoat was typical of that peculiar event in the condemnation of Jesus Christ. And many things much less well-founded pass current in the exegesis of the Church. We need not attempt to follow Mr. Wratislaw in his reasonings, but we will give a short extract illustrative of his theory. After giving the account of the liberation of Barabbas, he says:—

"Now who can doubt, that the typical ceremony and sacrifice of the two goats found its fulfilment here? There were two men, two prisoners, one of whom was to die for the people, the other to be set free into the wilderness of this wicked world. But, unlike the two goats, the destiny of the two men was not decided by lot, but by the deliberate choice of the Jewish people. Neither were the sins of the people confessed over the head of him, who was set free, but the blood of Him, who was crucified, was deliberately taken by the Jews upon themselves and upon their children. Thus we see, that there was enough in the grand features of the type to lead to the recognition of the anti-type—the shadow corresponding in outline, though not in filling up, with the reality—while in those matters, which were attached to the ceremony for the purpose of the temporary edification of the spectators, there was rather difference than similarity; in fact there was a fearful inversion, which was calculated to cause deeper and more anxious strivings and questionings of heart than any similarity. The victim died indeed for the sin of all people, but that people took their sin upon themselves and upon their children instead of confessing it by the mouth of the priest and laying it upon the head of the scapegoat."

The Dissertations are four in number, on God's Death in Christ; the Last Supper not a Passover; the Eucharist, how far sacrificial; on several controverted passages. The first of these, like the first sermon, has a somewhat startling title, but it is really a most thoughtful essay. We will give a part of it:—

"I may now venture to paraphrase at length Heb. ix. 15–17, the passage under consideration.

"And therefore it is, that Christ is the Mediator, both as mediating priest, constituted as such by the oath of God, and mediating victim of a new covenant between God and man, in order that, his death having taken place as sin offering on the part of man for the redemption and release of the transgressions committed under the old covenant, thus clearing away any obstacle in the way of the transition from the old to the new, those called to live under the new covenant may receive the promise now of the eternal inheritance hereafter. And this death of Christ is not merely a sin-offering on the part of man, but also a federal sacrifice in addition to the oath of God, as a pledge and security, that God by symbolically dying in him, his representative victim, as well as that of man, has guaranteed that he will not alter the terms of salvation freely offered under the new or gospel covenant. For, as we see in both Jewish and

Gentile treaties and covenants made with sacrifice, where there is a treaty or covenant, which is to be rendered certain and unchangeable, a death on the part of the maker of the covenant must be brought to bear symbolically in that of his representative victim. For a covenant made over the dead corpses of sacrificed victims, representing the contracting parties, is certain and secure ; since, unless such a symbolical death has been suffered, it is never stable, strong, and unchangeable, as long as the maker of the covenant, who has otherwise not given full security against a change of mind, is living.'

"Assuming the correctness of the above interpretation of the two passages, Heb. vi. 17, 18, and ix. 15-17. I cannot but remark on the wonderful manner in which they exhibit the Almighty as condescending to meet the current views and adapting his plans to the customs and understanding of his creatures. Under the priestly theory of sacrifice, which was common to both Jews and Gentiles, men bound themselves to their treaties and covenants by oaths and sacrifices. God, acting in all respects as a man would do, binds himself (1) to Abraham by a sacrifice (Gen. xv. 17, 18) and an oath, (2) to the inheritors of the promise by an oath and a sacrifice as explained above. I have endeavoured to shew in my sermon on Matt. iii. 13-15, that it was upon the same principle of condescension to human usages, that our Lord in fulfilment of all righteousness submitted to the baptism of John. And it also appears to me extremely probable, that this symbolical death of the Father in his representative victim Jesus, is the truth which was exaggerated and perverted into the Patropian heresy."

We have not often met with so much that is suggestive in so small a book, and we commend it to Biblical students as being sure to repay their careful perusal.

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*The Hebrew Language; its History and Characteristics.* By HENRY CRAIK. London: Bagster and Sons, Paternoster Row. .1860. 12mo.

WE have in this small work a most valuable edition to Biblical literature. After some introductory remarks Mr. Craik gives us the history of the Hebrew language to the commencement of the Middle Ages; then, the state of Hebrew learning down to the early portion of the eighteenth century; then, the progress of that learning down to the present time; then, the leading characteristics of the language, and the advantages connected with its study. He concludes the whole review by giving specimens of amended translations. This brief summing up will tell our readers what they will find in this work. It is needless to say that ground so extensive cannot be travelled over, by one so rife in scholarship as Mr. Craik, without an immense amount of valuable information being afforded. Some of his amended translations are of the most deeply interesting kind. Many passages which at present, are for all practical purposes useless, give forth, under his masterly touch, a clear light. Let us take one as a sample of many. Our Authorized Version reads, in Proverbs xiv. 9, "Fools make a mock at sin, but among the righteous there is favour." How different Mr. Craik's rendering ! How accurately it describes the folly of unbelief on the one hand, and the righteousness of faith on the other ! "Fools scoff at the offering for sin, but among the righteous it is an object of delight."

The volume concludes with an excursion "on the revision of our English Bible." This is not the least valuable part of the work. The present age is one of extreme views on this and every subject. We have one party lauding our Authorized Version as if it were inspired, and condemning every attempt at revision. We have another party advocating reckless and fundamental change. Mr. Craik, like a Christian, a scholar, and a philosopher, holds the *via media* between them. He shews clearly that fundamental change is uncalled for, that we have every essential truth in our Bible as it is. He reminds us at the same time how great has been the progress of Biblical learning since king James' translators accomplished their task, and shews in a way that seems to us unanswerable, that the Christian Church collectively, and Christians individually, ought to have the benefit of that progress. He suggests a revision based on such moderate views—"in a spirit of devout reverence and watchful caution, not in a spirit of wanton innovation, but under a sense of responsibility to God and with an upright purpose to glorify his name." Such a revision, in his judgment, and we must add in ours also, "could not fail to benefit the Church."

We cordially recommend this work at once to the learned and the unlearned. The learned will find very much in its disquisitions to interest them deeply; the unlearned will have their stock of information enlarged, and much that is obscure, made plain.

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*The Bible Text Cyclopædia; a Complete Classification of Scripture Texts, in the form of an Alphabetical Index of Subjects.* By the Rev. JAMES INGLIS, Author of *The Sabbath School*. Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis. 1860. 8vo, pp. 528.

We have before noticed this work as it appeared in numbers, and are glad to be able to announce its completion. In a handsome volume, clearly printed, and of a moderate size an immense amount of valuable matter collected, and arranged in a way to make it easy of reference. We agree with the compiler that the work will be found to differ materially from any Cyclopædia, Dictionary, or Index to the Holy Scriptures hitherto published: In it is found *every subject* which has a place in the sacred volume, whether doctrinal, devotional, practical, ecclesiastical, historical, biographical, or secular. The name of every person or place, except such as occur in topographical and genealogical tables, is given. Then, the editor has endeavoured to give every text of Scripture belonging to each topic. The subjects are arranged alphabetically, to facilitate reference. In some instances the Hebrew and Greek words are given, when necessary to the understanding of the text, and a short explanation, with the same view, is occasionally furnished of Hebrew and Greek words. There is a completeness about this Cyclopædia which makes it a most desirable book for Christian ministers and students of the Holy Scriptures, and we have no doubt it will receive a large amount of patronage and support.

*Synonyms of the New Testament.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Fifth Edition, revised. Cambridge: Macmillans. 18mo. pp. 244.

WHEN we remember how much of actual information, and how much more of what is suggestive, is given in this small volume, we feel grateful for the benefits which *five editions* of it must confer on the Church at large. Both the exegesis of the sacred text, and the due appreciation of the nice elegancies of the writers, are served by Dean Trench in the numerous passages he illustrates. This is a kind of Biblical literature which cannot be too highly esteemed by us, or too diligently used.

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*The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia.* Being a Condensed Translation of Herzog's *Real Encyclopædia*, with additions from other sources. By the Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D.D., assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Part XII. INSPIRATION to JOSIAH. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Large 8vo. pp. 144.

WE are glad to be able to speak well of this laborious compilation as its publication proceeds. Nowhere else, in a cheap and easy form can so much recondite matter be found, relating to Biblical literature, Church history, and kindred subjects.

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*The Bible Handbook: an Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture.* By JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: the Religious Tract Society. 1860. 8vo, pp. 610.

*A Guide to the Study of Holy Scripture.* By the Rev. E. A. LITTON, M.A., Rector of St. Clement's Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and late Fellow of Oriel College. With six Maps. London: Seeley. 1860. 12mo, pp. 414.

BOTH these works are distinguished by careful research, and they will receive a more full notice in a future number. But their importance demands that we should notice their appearance.

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**INTELLIGENCE AND CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS,  
BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.**

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THE CODEX SINAITICUS.

*Notitia editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. . . Editit Aenoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, etc., etc., etc.* (4to, pp. 124. Leipsic, 1860.)—This descriptive account of the Codex Sinaiticus is of sufficient importance to demand a special notice. Professor Tischendorf gives the history of the discovery of the document, its transmission to St. Petersburg, his own preparations for the publication of its text, together with specimens of its readings, the entire text of certain pages, and a beautifully executed fac-simile. Other codices are also described in the same volume.

The portion of this same MS., containing part of the Old Testament, which Tischendorf procured on his first visit to the monastery of St. Catherine, in May, 1844, was part of that which was found (he states) in a basket with other fragments, destined for the fire by the monks. At the time when he published this part (Codex Friderico-Augustanus) in 1846, and for some years after, he declined to mention where it had been found; and once, when conversing on the subject, he said that more still remained, which might at a future time be obtained, if the subject was not too much discussed. However, in 1844, Tischendorf saw a great deal more of the same MS. than the part which he obtained; and though he was unable then to procure the rest, he rendered the good service of preserving from destruction the remainder of this precious MS.

When, in 1853, he again visited Mount Sinai, he could, however, neither see the rest of the MS., nor could he find what had become of it. His conjecture was that it had been taken to some part of Europe. And it was not unreasonable that this should have been supposed; for, in 1846, the Russian Archimandrite Porphyrius appears to have seen the same MS., and to have observed especially the New Testament portion of it, and to have noted the character of the text, though the published account of this did not appear till 1856. And a little later, perhaps, Major Macdonald described a very ancient MS. which he had seen at Mount Sinai, containing the New Testament in early uncial characters, which he stated distinctly to be attributed to the 4th century. Major Macdonald also mentioned the manner in which the monks destroyed by fire ancient MSS.

In the early part of 1859, Tischendorf was at Mount Sinai for the third time, having been commissioned by the Russian Emperor, Alexander II., to search out and obtain ancient Greek and Oriental MSS. At this time, he evidently had no idea that the ancient MS., of which he obtained a portion in 1844, comprised any part of the New Testament.

He thus describes his discovery:—

“On the last day of the month of January [1859], I arrived at the monastery of St. Catharine for the third time, and was most kindly received by the Sinaitic brethren. On the 4th of February, when I had already sent one of the servants to fetch camels with which on the 7th, I might return to Egypt, while taking a walk with the steward of the monastery, I was conversing on the subject of the Septuagint version, some copies of which, as edited by me, together with copies of my New Testament, I had brought for the brethren. On our return from the walk, we entered the steward’s dormitory. He said that he, too, had there a copy of the Septuagint, and he placed before my eyes the cloth in which it was wrapped. I opened the cloth, and saw what far surpassed all my hopes; for there were there contained very ample remains of the Codex which I had a good while before declared to be the most ancient of all Greek Codices on vellum that are extant; and amongst these relics, I saw existing not only those that I had taken from the basket in 1844, and other books of the Old Testament, but also (and

this is of the highest importance) the whole New Testament, without even the smallest defect, and to this were added the whole of the Epistle of Barnabas, and the former part of the Shepherd [Hermas]. It was impossible for me to conceal the admiration which this caused."—p. 6.

He might well speak as he does of the thanksgiving to God which he felt was called for by this discovery, when he examined the MS. in his own chamber, and was thus *fully* aware of its importance and its contents. All the leaves were loose,—many of them were torn into separate parts,—but, when arranged, there was the New Testament complete, and much of the Old. The monks consented that Tischendorf should be allowed to transcribe the MS. at Cairo, if their superior, resident in that city, should consent. On the 7th February, he left Mount Sinai, reaching Cairo on the 13th; no time was lost in obtaining the permission of the superior; a messenger was sent to Mount Sinai, who went the whole distance there and back in nine days, returning on Feb. 24th with the MS. At Cairo he transcribed the MS. for publication. After various negotiations, the MS. was put into the hands of Tischendorf, Sept. 28th, 1859, to be presented to the Emperor Alexander II.

The fac-simile edition, executed (it is designed) with the utmost care, is intended to appear in 1862, not for sale, but only as presents in such quarters as the emperor may think proper. Another edition of the text, in common types, is to be published in the usual manner.

The portion of the MS. thus recovered consists of 346 leaves and a half. Of these 199 are of the Old Testament (and Apocrypha), the remaining 147 and a half of the New Testament, with Barnabas and part of Hermas. The Old Testament part contains a portion of the 1st of Chronicles, the whole of Isaiah, part of Jeremiah, the minor prophets (except Hosea, Amos, and Micah), Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; together with the apocryphal books, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1st and 4th of Maccabees, and part of Tobit and Judith.

The order of the New Testament books is, the four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles (Hebrews preceding the Pastoral Epistles), the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, Revelation. Then follow the Epistle of Barnabas, and (after a lacuna of four leaves) the fragment of Hermas.

The antiquity of the MS. is determined by the application of the same kind of paleographical arguments as have been used in connexion with other MSS., especially the Codex Vaticanus. In fact, the fourth century may be considered as the date previously established as belonging to the previously known portion of this MS.

But besides the antiquity of the actual ink and vellum of the Codex, the antiquity and character of the *text* is a subject of important consideration. And here *comparative criticism* comes to our aid; and this mode of investigation we can apply to this MS. even now, before we know its readings throughout, from the *specimens* of its readings which Tischendorf has now published. These, in the New Testament, comprise the text of Matt. xxvii. 64; xxviii. 20. Mark i. 1—35. John xxi. 1—25. 2 Cor. xi. 32; xiii. fin. Gal. i. 1—17. 2 Thess. ii. 17; iii. fin. Heb. i. 1—7. Acts xxviii. 17—31. James i. 1; ii. 6. Rev. ix. 5; x. 8, and the concluding verses of chap. xxii. And besides these portions of text, he has given specimens of the reading in various books, and a fac-simile of the upper part of the last page of St. Luke. An investigation carried on upon principles of comparative criticism has the advantage of establishing the point discussed as a matter of demonstration, and not as a mere question of opinion. The value of this will be felt, when it is remembered that some of late have sought to disparage the Vatican MS. by admitting that it does belong to the fourth century, and then alleging that to that very age pertained the formation of what I have termed the *transition text*, in which the gospels were assimilated, and what belonged to one writer was introduced into the work of another. This mode of undervaluing the Vatican MS., or any other, is completely and conclusively met, when it is shewn that such most ancient documents *contradict* the transition or mixed text in all the more characteristic points of detail.—Dr. Tregelles, in *Additions to the Fourth Volume of Horne's Introduction*.

*The Text and Versions of the New Testament.*—At the Truro Institution, in October last, a lecture was delivered by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A., Incumbent of Penwerris, on “the Original Text and English Versions of the New Testament.”—Commencing with an apology and an explanation for his introduction of such a subject, he said he desired to trace, in brief outline, the history of the Bible, from the hands of the sacred penmen, to the present day, when, in England, it had become a household book, influencing the thoughts and language of almost every Englishman. It was, however, necessary, within the limits of a lecture, to confine his observations to the *New Testament*; though many of his remarks would, with certain obvious modifications, be applicable also to the *Old Testament*. In the revelation and preservation of His Word, the Almighty had acted in manner analogous to the economy of His general providence—avoiding miraculous interposition when ordinary means and simple human agency were adequate to His gracious purposes. In illustration of this fact, the lecturer remarked that the sacred writers, while penning the truths with which they were divinely inspired, were allowed unfettered freedom, each according to his natural taste and temperament, with regard to the style and spirit of their writings.—The lecturer spoke of the providential selection of a language for the *New Testament*. It had been affirmed that the Books of St. Matthew and the *Apocalypse* were originally written in a dialect of Hebrew—Biblical Hebrew having passed into disuse some centuries previous. Hebrew, however, was, in the time of the Apostles, of too limited use to be a serviceable medium for the promulgation of Divine truths to the world; Latin had not yet become the mother tongue of a large part of Western Europe, whilst, in itself, it was scarcely a fit vehicle for such thoughts as were the subject of *Revelation*; it was an obscure and not a remarkably copious language, and except for the literature embodied in it, it was not particularly well worth the learning. But Greek—the queen of languages—was capable of expressing the nicest discriminations of thought, and it possessed the advantage of being cultivated throughout the civilized world, as the common language of educated society. Written then in Greek, the *New Testament* was transmitted during the many centuries that elapsed before the invention of printing, by means of MS. copies, made with much diligence and industry; and for this great service, civilized Christendom owed a debt of gratitude to the monks, which under no circumstances should it be tempted to disown, whatever might have been their faults in other respects. But, without a continuous series of miracles, inconsistent with the analogy of God’s ordinary dealings with man, it was impossible that MS. copies of the *Scriptures*, however carefully made, would be entirely free from errors and variances; and thence arose the duty incumbent on the Christian scholar and critic, to collate these various MSS. and by that means to endeavour to form reasonable conclusions on the points in which they differed. Of Greek MSS. of the *New Testament*, there were in existence altogether about 2,000—of which number between 300 and 400 were in England; many more were in the Vatican and in the Imperial Library at Paris, and in various continental universities. Until recently, there was no MS. known of earlier date than the end of the 4th century; but, about two years since, Tischendorf announced his discovery of a MS. of much earlier date in one of the monasteries of the East—in the Desert of Sinai. This MS. had been eagerly purchased by the Emperor of Russia, who had employed Tischendorf, at a cost of £50,000, to publish it within two years from the present time, in a manner suitable to the dignity of its subject. As yet only a small portion of it had been published; and, judging from this specimen, the MS. deserved all the praises that had been bestowed on it. The publication of the whole MS. in 1862, is an event looked forward to with the most lively interest. Meanwhile, however, there were in existence other MSS. of considerable interest and importance. The oldest was that of the whole Bible, in the Library of the Vatican, and which was guarded with the most jealous care and watchfulness. In proof, the lecturer gave an almost humorous account of the difficulties encountered in obtaining some brief glimpses at it, by Dr. Tregelles, of Plymouth; and of this celebrated Biblical student, the lecturer remarked that, next to Tischendorf, there was no man who

had done more for the world in this department of learning. The authorities at the Vatican had themselves lately published a copy of their MS.; but it shewed such discreditable lack of scholarly talent, and such inappreciation of the requirements in such a publication, that the Vatican MS. might still be said to remain a sealed book.

The next valuable MS., in regard to antiquity, was the Alexandrine, in the British Museum; it was of the 5th century, and was presented to Charles 1st by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Next in chronological order were noticed the palimpsests in the Imperial Library at Paris; and the MS. in the University of Cambridge, once the property of the celebrated Theodore Beza.—Photographic and lithograph specimens of the Alexandrine and other MSS. were exhibited by the lecturer; they included illuminated MSS., some presented to him by the Hon. R. Curzon, the celebrated author of an account of a visit to the monasteries in the Levant.—The lecturer next proceeded to speak of the English versions of the New Testament, commencing with the earliest in Anglo-Saxon, said to have been written by the Venerable Bede, and to have been finished in the hour of his death; and rapidly passing over the Anglo-Saxon period, the next version which he noticed with particularity was that of Wycliffe, in the 14th century; it had considerable effect in preparing the English mind for the Reformation in the 16th century. Though written nearly 500 years ago, its language was now readily intelligible; more so than Chaucer, because Wycliffe kept more close to the Anglo-Saxon elements of our language, while Chaucer—a man about Court—made copious use of the fashionable Norman-French; on the whole, Wycliffe's was a noble translation, though it was made, not from the original Greek, but from the Latin Vulgate, which, though itself not free from obvious faults, gives the general sense of Scripture sufficiently for practical purposes.—Tyndal's version (*temp. Henry 8th*) was the next in order: and a *fac-simile* of a portion of it was exhibited. An interesting sketch of his life and persecutions was given, and his version of the New Testament was characterized as one of the most valuable gifts ever bequeathed to man; though the lecturer was far from saying it was faultless, and he cited passages in support of this opinion. On the whole, however, Tyndal, in this early work of translation, did better than many translators since, who have been in possession of greater advantages than fell to his lot; and so much was his work the foundation of what had since been effected, that two-thirds of our Authorized Version was taken from it.—Coverdale's Translation, made partly from the Greek, partly from a German translation, and partly from Tyndal, was next commented on. Though Coverdale himself was characterized as a weak-minded man, his translation was spoken of with commendation, and as freer in style than most other translations.

The lecturer bestowed great praise on the text of the Geneva Bible—a translation effected by competent scholars, and with less haste than Coverdale's, and the Great Bible of 1539; but it was rendered objectionable and offensive by its notes, written in support of particular tenets. This induced, in the reign of Elizabeth, the introduction of what was called the Bishops' Bible; which, though used in churches, was too cumbersome for domestic use: and the consequence was, that when James 1st came to the throne, the Bishops' Bible was read in churches, while the Geneva Bible was read in families. The Bishops' Bible was over-literal, and inferior to the Geneva Bible, both in point of care and taste.—The lecturer next spoke of the Authorized Version—the translation made by a commission of forty-seven learned divines and scholars, by command of James 1st, after the holding of the Hampton Court Conference; this translation being not so much a new or a special translation as a revision of the older Bibles, and especially of Cranmer's which was founded on Tyndal; it was, in fact, Tyndal's Bible adapted to modern requirements. The book thus handed down to us deserved, said the learned lecturer, all the praises that two centuries and a half had bestowed upon it. He knew of no translation in any language that, generally, was more clear, more faithful to the original, than our English Bible. Were we to rest there? or were we to have a revision of the Bible? This was a point on which Englishmen must now make up their minds, and

express their views and feelings. In favour of revision, it was argued that every attempt, from the time of Tyndal down to 1611, had, on the whole, resulted in improvement; and that since 1611, there had been made such advances in the exact knowledge of the Greek language, and in scientific knowledge of various kinds bearing on Bible criticism, that there was reason to hope that any further revision would also be attended with benefits. But, on the other hand, was it nothing to shake the faith of those persons who knew the Scriptures only from our English Version, by substituting for it a book, which, though it might be in some respects better, would have the advantage of being new? In the early period after the Reformation, people were somewhat used to such changes; but we were not so used, and he did not believe we wished to be; and, unless we were certain, by revision, to get a version in *all* respects superior to the present Authorized Version, he believed evil would predominate over any good that might result from the proposed change. Already there existed in America an association whose object was to produce a new and improved version of Holy Scripture; but, from what had been seen of the operations of that Society, they were not such as to induce a wish for anything of the kind in this country. The lecturer spoke of the results of this society's work as exhibiting a want of discrimination, of caution, and of scholarship. He then spoke of the recent attempts at an improved version of portions of the New Testament, made by five eminent and very learned clergymen of the Church of England; and from what even such men as these had done, he observed that we could not help concluding that a satisfactory revision of Scripture was an almost impossible task. He instanced a text—John v. 39: “Search the Scriptures,” in the rendering of which from the original, which was in itself ambiguous, there was a majority of three against two in favour of an *indicative* form of the verb rendered “Search;” but he said there were in existence versions in the Syrian dialect, which our Lord spake, and these versions rendered the verb in the *imperative*. The five clergymen referred to had honestly made known their several opinions on this head; but, unless they had done so, the translation adopted by a bare majority would appear to have the sanction of the whole, as would probably be the case with the work of any commission of revision. Another argument against revision, strongly urged by the lecturer, was the effect it would necessarily have of increasing discord among Christians who now, however they differed in other matters, all concurred in using and venerating the Authorized Version. He admitted that in some minor points (a few of which he mentioned), the Authorized Version was defective; but these defects were as nothing compared with its merits. “In a word,” said the lecturer, in conclusion, “I admit the weight of the arguments urged in favour of a revision: I see it coming upon us, though I trust and believe not yet; I look forward with dread to its inevitable consequences; I rather wish than hope that, come when it may, *the good may prevail.*”

*The Roman Catacombs.*—The history of the Roman catacombs from the time when they ceased to be used as places of Christian sepulture,—namely, from the fifth century of our era,—it would be interesting to trace with accuracy. That they were places of pilgrimage,—the resort of devotees from every part of the Christian world, is certain. Many an inscription rudely scratched upon the walls, attest that from the remotest period until the days of Bosio, indeed down to the present time, they have been visited by strangers from all countries. But they did not escape the avarice and rapacity of the barbarian invaders of Rome, in the first instance: nor were these resting-places of the dead secure from another species of violation from the hands of their natural defenders. At a very early period, the Bishops of Rome began to despoil them. A list is preserved of about 60 or 70 “olea,” (meaning, according to Ruinart, oil taken out of the lamps which used to burn at the graves of the Saints,) which Gregory the Great sent to Queen Theodolinda. This shews the kind of spirit in which they were regarded in the sixth century. The age of burying in the Catacombs had gone by, and a new sentiment had evidently sprung up towards those repositories of the dead. The graves of holy men were opened, and their

bodies were given away, perhaps sold, as relics. I will by and by state what else I suspect was very freely done at this time with some of the dead. When Bosio, at so late a period as the commencement of the seventeenth century, in a manner re-discovered and explored these neglected subterranean labyrinths, it does not seem to have been even yet considered that the real value of the catacombs was the light they would throw on ecclesiastical antiquity in general; the evidence they would contribute to many questions of the highest interest; partly antiquarian, partly doctrinal, partly literary, partly historical. A rage for procuring *relics* appears to have been the great actuating principle. The consequence was that the inscribed marble slabs, the tombstones of those early Christians, were wrenched out of their places, generally without any record being preserved of the exact locality from which they came. Such objects as piety and love had deposited in the graves of kinsmen and friends were unceremoniously appropriated. No pains were taken to obtain representations of the frescoes while yet in their first freshness. A truly barbarous work of spoliation seems to have gone forward, and on the most gigantic scale. Heathen piety wrote on the urn which held the ashes of the dead,—‘*Ne tangito, O Mortalis! Reverere Manes Deos!*’ I do not remember to have met with such a sentiment on the tomb of any primitive Christian, (although in modern times it is common enough, witness the epitaph on our own Shakespeare),—probably because such a contingency was regarded as impossible in the first ages of the Church. The bones of the Roman Christians of the first four centuries in this manner were disturbed from their resting-places, and having been transferred as relics to churches and private individuals, are now scattered all over Europe.

Thus bereft of the remains of those who for more than a thousand years, had slept along the sides of those interminable passages,—despoiled of every little object of art which once adorned the several graves,—and rifled even of those sepulchral inscriptions which once distinguished the resting-places of infancy and innocence, youth and beauty, age and honour; as well as indicated the Christian name, and rank, and station, and office of the deceased;—so desecrated, the catacombs continued to be the occasional haunt of strangers visiting Rome for a further space of a hundred and fifty years; by which time, (naturally, about the middle of the last century,) they seem to have sunk sensibly into neglect. Robbed of their contents, there really was nothing any longer worth visiting in several of them. In others, the earth had fallen in, and choked up the passages. The fact of persons having occasionally been lost in exploring the catacombs, will have operated to deter the generality from asking permission to visit those dreary vaults. It is easy to perceive that grave difficulties will have attended any attempt to thread the maze of which no one any longer possessed the clue; and that oblivion will have speedily supervened on neglect. Thus it came to pass that the very whereabouts of many of the catacombs has been forgotten: and that, until a very recent period indeed, none of the catacombs were visited by strangers residing in Rome, at all.

The study of the catacombs was revived by Padre Marchi, of the Collegio Romano, the result of whose labours appeared in 1844; but it has been reserved for his successor in the same department, the Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi, to dignify the entire subject, and raise it to the rank of a scientific inquiry. This accomplished gentleman induced the present Pope to purchase the vineyard in which the long-lost entrance into the famous catacomb of Callixtus was subsequently by himself brought to light. Since 1852 the very appellations of the catacombs have been determined by De Rossi. His assiduous researches, conducted with a sincere zeal for truth, together with his very important discoveries, have invested the catacombs with fresh interest; while the labours of the commission over which he presides, have made them easy of access also. A new day is dawning on these extraordinary monuments of primitive antiquity; and it is to be attributed to the learning and enterprise of the Cav. De Rossi, under the enlightened patronage of Pope Pius IX.

I have great reason to remember with gratitude this learned and amiable scholar, as well as to express admiration for his labours in behalf of this department of Christian antiquity. Very delightful was it to make the acquaintance

of one whose conversation about the catacombs, and the monuments which they once contained, was such as to inspire perfect confidence in his statements, as well as to dispose one to accept the opinions to which his researches had conducted him. Something about his great work on the Christian inscriptions, I will tell you next week. Let me conclude the present letter by recalling a visit paid with him to the catacombs,—9th May.

As already stated, the Cav. De Rossi is at the head of a commission for the preservation of monuments of Christian art. I suspect that the machinery placed at his disposal is not nearly commensurate with his wishes. A staff of excavators is however continually at work, clearing out obstructed galleries, exploring the remoter recesses of the mysterious domain, or digging under his directions where there is reason to think that some forgotten catacomb may yet be lying perdu. His obliging intention on the occasion alluded to, was to conduct us over the catacomb of St. Calixtus: (*us*,—for I had the good fortune to be the guest of Mr. Macbean, and Mr. Payne was of the party,—certainly two of the kindest of friends.) On arriving at the gate of the vineyard, however, to my great delight, up came the “Capo,” or head man, grinning like a Cheshire cat, with the intelligence that the labourers had just stumbled on the entrance to a new catacomb, exactly at the spot where De Rossi had directed them to look for it. De Rossi’s eager questions on receiving these unexpected tidings, and Valentino’s curt sententious replies, (conscious of knowing for once a little more than his master,) were delightful. “Large?—to be sure! . . . Painted?—All over! . . . Fine?—stupendous! . . . When discovered?—Why—an hour ago,” etc. . . . This was just the thing one wished for most,—namely, to have the first peep at an unsophisticated catacomb. Unsophisticated it was not; but still it proved a very interesting and most instructive sight.

Good-naturedly directing me to follow him close, (I required no urging,) De Rossi slipped down into the newly excavated mouth of a sepulchral chamber. I was at his side in an instant. The earth had fallen in considerably, so that it was like walking on a heap of fresh garden mould. With our candles we made a hasty survey of the walls and the ceiling, which were painted all over in the usual arabesque fashion, with Christian emblems. These frescoes were much cleaner than usual, having hitherto escaped the blackening of torches and tapers. The graves, however, had all been rifled. Presently the well-known name Bosio, (which is of perpetual recurrence in the catacombs,) met one’s eye, and established the fact that this was another of the catacombs which had been explored by that energetic antiquary; who, in *memoriam*, usually inscribed his name in large letters on the wall. I noticed plenty of names scratched here and there, some of which bore so recent a date as 1730, or thereabouts. This, then, was not a new catacomb, except to the present generation; but as a sight, it was of the utmost interest all the same. Especially was it interesting to hear De Rossi’s remarks on the several representations which his roving taper brought to light. Moreover, the entire incident explained to me the nature of what has generally befallen the Roman catacombs,—the manner of their re-discovery,—and the extent of the spoliation which they had previously undergone at the hands of the men of a bygone age. It was impossible to proceed any distance along the gallery which this sepulchral chamber terminated, in consequence of the earth which had either fallen through, so as to choke up the passage; or been piled up there by its former explorers.—The Rev. J. W. Burdon in the *Guardian*.

*Rare and curious manuscript and printed Bibles, etc.* From the Catalogue of Mr. Quaritch, November, 1860, with the prices.—Bonaventura (Saint) Life of Christ, and other devout pieces of the XVth century, an early English manuscript, on vellum. A perfect and very extraordinary volume, containing the following pieces, written in Gothic letter, in double columns, viz.,

I. The boke that is clepyd, “the Myrrour of the blessed Lyfe of Jhesus Crist,” from the *Speculum Vite Christi* of Bonaventure, with a Shorte Treatice of the Hieste and moste worthy Sacrement of Criste, in blissed body, and the marvelous thereof. On the recto of the second leaf is a remarkable note in Latin, of which

the following is a translation :—"Memorandum; that about the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ten, a number of copies of the original Latin work was brought over to England by the compiler of it, and presented at London to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his inspection and approbation before it was generally circulated; who, after a due inspection, and keeping the book several days, expressed an unqualified approbation of it, and by his metropolitan authority, commanded that it should be carefully digested and circulated for the edification of the faithful and confutation of heretics; otherwise Lollards."—Amen. The translator's name is unknown, but it was performed for some lady, as in the proheme to Bonaventura, he recommends her "the frequent reading and meditating on the life of Christ, after the example of Saint Cecilia; informing her he had divided his book into seven parts; for her contemplation on each day of the week, as also on Christian festivals." At the end of Bonaventura is, "Blessed be the name of our Lord Jhesu and his moder Marye, now and ever withouten end," Amen. Explicit: Speculum Vite Xpi in Anglicis.

II. Here begynneth the Boke of the Crafte of Dyinge (Ars Moriendi), with a Tretyse of Costely Batayle righte devoute. A very popular production of the middle of the XVth century. Caxton is said to have translated it for his own impression, but whether he only improved on the present version, which there is little doubt preceded his, could only be arrived at by comparing the two: the lingual differences appear to be many, but as the English language was undergoing great change at the period this volume was written, a collation of the pieces alone would remove all doubt on the matter.

III. A Lytle Shorte Tretyce, that telleth how there were VI Masters assemble togeder, and eche asked other what thynges thei myght best speke of that myght best please God, and were most profitabyl to the people, and all thei were accordid to speke of tribulacion. At the close, Thus is ended a lyttel Treatys of the XII profyts of tribulacion righte devoute.—The translator's name of this is unknown. In one large vol. folio, 168 leaves of vellum, in double columns, in the original wooden binding, £52.

A venerable, and to the philologist, almost priceless English manuscript, such as has not been offered for sale for many years past. The whole of the pieces were printed at several periods by the father of English printing, William Caxton, but whether he used any part of the contents of this volume, must be only conjectured, but certain it is that these are not manuscript copies of his printed productions.

Novum Testamentum, Latine, cum calendario, 8vo manuscript of 306 leaves, meas. 6 inches by 3*1/2*, upon vellum, 27 with elegant capital letters, some the full size of the page, illuminated in gold and colours, in the earliest style of Italian art, written at Milan between 1200 and 1204, with the name of the patron and scribe; in very fine preservation, £75.

A most important manuscript, containing many very valuable various readings, written in beautiful clear hand, with the books arranged in the following order: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Apocalypse, Acts, Epistles of James, Peter, John, Jude, Paul (to Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Laodiceans, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon), and concluding with the Epistle to the Hebrews. The reading of the verse respecting the three heavenly witnesses, is "Quoniam qui tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra Spiritus aqua et sanguis et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo pater verbum et spiritus sanctus. Et hii tres unum sunt." At the end of Hebrews is the following colophon:—

Finito libro arnoldinus pede saltat in uno  
Benedicamus Domino Deo gracias  
Ad honorem dei et beatissimæ ecclesie  
Johannes Serrabula fecit curiose  
Istud opus fieri late studiose.

This is followed by a short chronicle of events from 1111 to 1200 and the calendar. On the last leaf, in a later hand, is the Hymn to the Virgin, commencing, "O regina gloria, virgo nimis speciosa, sancti dei genetrix," etc. On

the leaf preceding the calendar itself is the following inscription : " Anno d'm'ce mill'o ducenteximo (1200) quarto idus Ap'l incepit fieri hic liber et quarto anno trasiacto (1204) Joh's posit' fuit huic facto."

*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*: facsimile of this blockbook, as printed in 1414, with all its singular woodcuts, executed with the pen by Jacques Fucien Leclabart, folio, old crimson morocco, gilt edges, £12 12s.

Considering the almost absolute impossibility of the original block-book being ever offered for sale, this well-made facsimile will be a desirable substitute for it. On the first fly-leaf of this book is the following memorandum, apparently in the handwriting of W. H. Ireland : " Of this extraordinary work another copy was executed by Leclabart, on vellum, which produced, when sold, 4000 francs. At the King's Library (at Paris), however, the present copy was esteemed the more curious, being written on paper exactly similar to that on which the work was printed ; so that this volume might literally pass for the original imprint. The figured title-page is merely a decorative title from the hand of the peasant ; as the printed book commences at page 1, having had no title whatever, as was the case with works from the press of those early periods." In another memorandum, on a loose piece of paper, in the handwriting of Leclabart, he styles himself, " Membre de l'Académie Royale d'Ecriture de Paris, Ecrivain Imitateur de caractères de toutes les impressions modernes, tant l'Ecriture des anciens manuscrits, gothiques, ou imprimés, qu'en Hébreu ou autres langues étrangères, que pour les figures, les vignettes et les ornemens, pour l'entretien des vieux livres," etc. The copy of the work from which the above facsimile was made is in the Royal Library at Paris. For a description of the book itself, see Heinecken, *Idée d'une Collection complète d'Estampes*, p. 432.

*Therami liber Belial. Anonymi Flores Sacrae Scripturæ*, pp. 1—39. Jacobi de Theramo, Archidiaconi Avessani et Canonici, Compendium breve de redemptione generis humani, consolatio peccatorum nuncupatum et apud nonnulos Belial vocitatum sive processus Luciferi contra Jesum judice Salomone, pp. 41—118 ; at the end, " Datum Aversæ prope Neapolis, anno Domini 1382 aetatis meae 33°. Ego scriptor, qui hunc scripsi, imposui extremam manum die 16 Juli 1463. Absque labore gravi vix munera magna dabuntur." Folio, a well-written MS. in a neat gothic hand, in excellent preservation, pale morocco extra, gilt edges, a handsome volume, £6.

Ce second ouvrage est un roman ascétique, recherché pour sa singularité. L'auteur, Ja. Palladina de Theramo, ou d'Ancharona était Archidiacon d'Averse, plus tard il devint évêque de Monopoli, et en 1400 Archevêque de Tarente.

*Koran Mujeed*. A most magnificent and valuable Arabic MS. stout folio, 385 leaves, measuring 15 inches by 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ , most beautifully written in ornamental black, coloured, and gold Arabic letters, on the finest Khan Baligh paper, in Iranee characters ; the top, middle, and bottom lines of each page are in gold and blue letters, the title pages and headings of each soorah very richly illuminated in gold and colours ; a few prayers, finely illuminated, are added ; on the back leaves are the seals of Mahomed Shah, Badshah, or king of Delhi ; Meer Gholam Alli Khan Talpore, king of Scinde ; and inferior princes to whom this book formerly belonged : bound in the native Persian style, £60.

This wonderful MS. was purchased at the sale of the confiscated property of the late Ranjeet Singh, and is of undoubted antiquity. As the art of writing and ornamenting oriental works has been much on the decline since this Koran was prepared, its value is much increased, and it could not be replaced. Each leaf is pagued, but that for 202 is accidentally omitted. Arabic manuscripts executed by Persian artists are preferred to all others, as it is in Persia only where oriental penmanship was carried on as an art, and where the writers of MSS. ranked equal with the great courtiers. Any nobleman or gentleman desirous of a really fine specimen of Persian art should secure this volume.

*Evangelia IV., Armenice*, manuscript on paper, 18mo, beautifully written, with drawings of the Evangelists, and numerous ornaments, executed in gold and colours, £25.

This beautiful gem is covered with a rich cinque-cento binding of gilt silver,

elaborately carved, having on the obverse side of the covers a representation of the crucifixion, with the heads of the four Evangelists as corners; and on the reverse the resurrection, with the devices of the Evangelists as corners. The whole exhibits an exquisite specimen of byzantine art. It is enclosed in a silk bag, on which the crucifix and other ornaments are worked in silver lace.

Preces et Praecepta Hebraeorum, Hebraice, small 4to, a beautiful specimen of Hebrew calligraphy, written in very elegant Romano-Jewish characters, with points, and having the commencing words in letters of gold, surrounded by ornamental borders, painted in various colours, upon vellum, richly bound in green velvet, the sides and edges thereof protected with centres (having a lion rampant and three stars, as arms, engraved thereon) corners and clasps of solid silver, £35.

Illuminated Hebrew MSS. by Italian artists are of very rare occurrence. This elegant specimen of Italian art was a marriage gift, it is in the purest state of preservation. Some of the prayers are intermixed with benedictions in Italian, but written in Hebrew characters.

English. Byble, nowe lately with greate industry and diligence recognized (by Edmund Becke after Taverner's recognition, with prologues to the New Testament by William Tindale), folio, in gothic type, 65 lines to a full page, 3 titles, each containing four woodcuts, numerous wood engravings interspersed with the text, and ornamental initial letters; wanting a corner of a leaf in the Kalendar, title to the Old Testament, in place of which the title to the New Testament is put, one leaf at chapter viii. of Ecclesiasticus, one leaf at chapter ii. of Baruch, and from Revelation of St. John, chapter xvii. to the end; otherwise a fair copy, old calf, lettered Tyndall's Bible, £10 10s. London, by John Daye and William Seres, 1549.

The first complete English Bible printed during the reign of Edward VI.; it is Taverner's edition, by Becke. Very rare, even imperfect copies seldom occur for sale. Priced, complete, 1833, Thorpe, original binding, £31 10s.; 1847, Thaerpe, russia, £52 10s. Fetched, 1854, Gardner's sale, original binding, £40. Mended copies: fetched, 1857, at Stevens' sale, bottom of the title restored by Harris, morocco, £22; 1854, Pickering's title and leaf mended in the margins, morocco, £16. Imperfect copies fetched, Bp. Randolph's, 1 leaf wanting, £10 10s.; 1854, Pickering's title inlaid, last leaf mended, etc., russia, £7 15s.; at the same sale, another copy, facsimile title, table after the end of Revelation wanting, £5 15s.; 1824, Thorpe, wanting title, dedication, and all up to b. ii., £8 8s.; 1855, very imperfect, £5 10s.; fetched, 1855, Puttick's, wanting about 26 leaves, £5; 1856, Sotheby's, imperfect, £5 15s. The value has considerably risen within the last few years.

Bible in Englishe, according to the translation of the great Byble, sm. 4to, printed in a remarkably small and neat black letter, double columns, 62 lines to a full page; imperfect, beginning with fol. xxvi., i. e., chap. xvii. of Exodus, wanting fol. lxiv.; in good sound and clean condition, particularly as regards the end, rough calf, £10. Colophon: printed at London by Richard Grafton, printer to the Kinge's Highnes, An. M.D.LIII.

The last Bible printed during the reign of Edward VI. Priced, 1820 or 1826, Thorpe, mor. with arms of Queen Elizabeth, £15 15s.; in 1827, the same, £12 12s. Fetched at the Duke of Sussex's sale, £56. Imperfect, priced, 1845, Thorpe, on yellow paper, £7 7s. This edition of Cranmer's Bible is wanting in some of the most celebrated collections. Some copies have the names of Grafton and Whitchurche as printers. Collation: title and fol. i.-xxv. wanting; fol. xxvi.-ccclxxvii. (erroneously numbered ccclxxxi) containing the Old Testament, with the Hagiographa (Apocrypha), including a title with an engraved border to the Hagiographa; title with an engraved border to "The Newe Testament in Englishe, translated after the Greeke," fol. ii.-xcii. containing Matthew to the Revelation of S. Jhon: "A Table to fynde the Epistles and Gospels usally read in the churche, after Salsbury use," 2 leaves.

"In the margin are references and indications of the portions appointed to be read as lessons in the church. There are neither prologues, heads of chapters, notes, or woodcuts. Some copies have only Grafton's name as printer. In St.

Paul's Library, and the Baptist Museum, Bristol. Inglis, 161, morocco, £11 10s.—*Louwdes*.

See Dr. Cotton's List, 13, 121-2. Ames by Dibdin, iii., 478, 498. Bibl. Harl., No. 290.

"An edition which appears to have escaped Lewis; but of which read the account in the *Typaq. Antiq.*, vol. iii., p. 478, and Cotton, p. 171. It is said to be 'according to the translation of the great Byble,' and is printed with a very small dazzling black letter, in double columns."—Dibdin's *Aedes Althorp*, I, 65.

Bible (The Holy), containing the Old Testament and the New (and the Apocrypha), appointed to be read in churches, large folio, black letter, the title rather soiled, and the margins of the six leaves of the Kalendar stained, otherwise a tall and fair copy, with good margins, in the original old rough calf binding, £10. London, by Robert Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, Anno. 1602.

A very scarce edition of Archbishop Parker's version, with his prologues, generally known as the Bishop's Bible. A copy fetched, 1854, Gardner's sale, Russia, £9 10s. Collation title, with a broad and finely engraved border with figures of the four Evangelists and the twelve Apostles, emblem of lamb slain on a block, and heraldic signs of the twelve tribes; Kalendar, 6 leaves; "An Almanacke," 1 page; Archbishop Cranmer's prologue, 6 pages; "The whole Scripture," 3 pages; "Table of the Genealogie of Adam passing by the Patriarches," etc., "in lineal descent to Christ," 6 leaves, on the reverse of the last is a large woodcut, nearly the size of the page, of Adam and Eve in Eden; Genesis—Malachias, leaves numbered 1—314; title to the Apoorypha with an engraved border, different from the first title, leaves numbered 316—398; title to "the Newe Testament," with border differing from the former two; "The description of the Holy Land," 1 leaf, followed by the New Testament, leaves numbered 395—496.

Testament (The Newe) both Latine and Englyshe, ech correspondent to the other, after the vulgare texte, commonly called S. Jeroms. Faythfully translated by Myles Coverdale anno MCCCLXXXVIII., sm 4to, the Latin in Roman, the English in black letter, printed in parallel columns; wanting the title and dedication, and "to the reader," 3 leaves; a piece of fol. 1 supplied in manuscript; otherwise a clean and fair copy in the original calf binding, £21. In Southwarke by James Nicolson, 1538.

First edition of Bishop Coverdale's translation of the New Testament from the Latin Vulgate; the former one, printed with the Old Testament, in the year 1535, being made from the original Greek. The translator was most desirous to render it as close to the Latin as possible, and his anxiety gave rise to some singular expressions, e.g., Matt. xxvi., letter c, fol. 40, "That in thyng nyght before the cock syng, thou shalt deny me thryse." Rhomanos xv., letter c, fol. 220, "Lest I shulde buyld upon another man's fundamente," etc., etc. For the blunders of the printer he remonstrated with Nicolson, and probably desired the copies bearing his name to be called in. Nicolson, perhaps, only complied with the letter of his request, and not with the spirit of it, as he in the same year put forth another edition with some trifling corrections, in appearance the same, but substituting on the title the name of Hollybushe as the translator, in lieu of that of Coverdale. The above edition was unknown to Lewis and all the early writers on the English translations of the Scriptures. See Dr. Cotton's list, pp. 91 and 134-7. The following is the history of the only three copies that are known to have occurred for sale:—White Knights, 4198, fetched, mor. £5 18s.; Duke of Grafton, 56, mor. £7; 1858, Sotheby's, wanting the title, one leaf, and the Almanacke for eighteen years and Kalendar, 2 leaves, £25.

Hore Beatissime Virginis Mariae ad legitimum Sarisburiensis Ecclesiae Ritum, cum quindecim Orationibus Beate Brigitte, ac multis aliis orationibus pulcher-rimis et indulgentiis, cum tabula aptissima, jam ultimo adjectis 1535. Venundantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault in vico Jacobi sub signo Elefantis. Printed on vellum, in black and red, with very spirited and brilliant woodcuts, a

very rare volume to be seen even on paper, 4to, original binding, £18. Impræsse, Parrhisis, per Franciscum Regnault, A.D. 1536, die vero xxv Maii.

Unfortunately this excessively rare book wants seven leaves, viz., c iii, c vi, g vii, and viii, m. iv, v, and s. iii. and at g iv a woodcut is also wanting, all of which, being in the body of the volume, might either be completed from some already imperfect copy on paper, or facsimiled on vellum. Two leaves from another edition (bordered) are inserted, and supply the woodcut to, and the deficiency at, m. iv. The first edition of the Salisbury Hours, printed by Regnault, appeared in 1527. A copy on paper, fetched at the Townley sale, £2 2s.; 1856, imperfect, and with the name of the Pope erased, Pepys', £8 17s. 6d., resold, 1857, for £3 15s. Of the above, the edition of 1535-36, an imperfect copy on paper, wanting 5 leaves, was priced, 1849, by Thorpe, £12 12s.; 1854, a very imperfect copy fetched, at Pickering's sale, £23. Only two copies are known to exist on vellum, and those unattainable; one in the far-famed collection of Earl, Spencer, the other in the Bodleian, which though of the same year as to date, may still not be of the same impression. This rare edition contains many of the prayers, printed in the English language.

*Wild Interpretations of the Bible.*—Nothing but a sense of duty induces us to publish the following paragraphs:—The latest discovery of Dr. Cumming has been that the Jews are about to be restored to their native land, as a "fragrant national offering to God," by the instrumentality of England. He gives chapter and verse. Let our readers turn to the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah. In the first verse, we read: "Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the river of Ethiopia." It requires some ingenuity to see how this evidently applies to England; Dr. Cumming is an ingenious man. "Woe," he has discovered in this passage, means "ho;" "shadowing" undoubtedly means "protecting;" and that "wings" stand for "sails," is triumphantly proved by Lamartine's having once written, "The wings of the gull flapped against the mast like the sails of a ship." Then we have the passage thus, "Ho to the land protecting with sails," etc. "Of what land," asks the Doctor, "is this the dominant characteristic?" "Why, undoubtedly of England." "The white sails of England," etc., etc. This is pretty clear; but the Doctor, to make assurance doubly sure, proceeds to comment on the second verse thus: "That sends ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters," etc. Sending ambassadors by sea, he tells us, refers to the normal habit of the people of England. It may be said pre-eminently of our country, that she sends ambassadors by sea: which of course is clear enough to those persons who will take the trouble to recollect that they live in an island. What then are bulrushes? "Bulrushes live upon water; in fact, the word means steamships or steamboats." Will any one venture after this to maintain that Macedon is not Monmouth, or that Monmouth is not Macedon? "Bulrushes live upon water,"—*ergo*, they are steamships. So do teetotallers—*ergo*, they are steamships, we suppose. Take another passage. Ezekiel says: "Tarshish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin and lead they traded in thy fairs." "This Tarshish," adds the Doctor, "was called upon by God to accomplish the purpose, 'with the young lions thereof.'" First infers Dr. Cumming from this passage, Tarshish is an island; so is England. Is it not then probable that Tarshish means England? But hold a moment; how about "the young lions?" Has not every country its distinctive mark, and has not England her British lion? Is it not clear to every one that several young lions must mean one old one? If this be granted, can there be any doubt for a moment that Tarshish is an island, and means England? And so the Doctor deals with other texts and quotations from Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel.

#### ERRATUM.

In the Number for July, 1860, page 462, line ten from bottom, for "which no few," read, "which no Jew."

